

THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written Originally in Italian, By .

P A U L O P A R U T A,

Procurator of St. *MARK.*

To which is added the

WARS of CYPRUS.

By the same Author.

Wherein the famous Sieges of *Nicossia*, and *Famagosta*,
and Battel of *Lepanto* are contained.

Now humbly Dedicated to their Excellencies the
Ambassadors from *VENICE.*

Made English,

By *HENRY* Earl of *MONMOUTH.*

L O N D O N,

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T O
Their Excellencies
Signior *Soranzo* and Signior *Venier*,
Ambassadors Extraordinary from the State
of *V E N I C E*;

THIS
HISTORY of *V E N I C E*

Is most humbly Dedicated by

Francis Saunders.



H E N R Y ,
Earl of Monmouth,
TO THE
R E A D E R S
His Country-men.

IN my *Author's* Sololo-
quie, in the latter end of
his Politick Discourses,
wherein he gives you a
short Relation of his Life, He men-
tions this History of his, which he
terms, *Opera buona, & degna*, a
good and gallant Work. I took his
own word for the Approbation
thereof, and truly I finde he hath
made it good : and if I have not in-
jured

To the Reader.

jured him in making it speak my Language; I am very confident you will be of my opinion: for you will finde in it, great variety of History, handsomly woven, and delightful, intermix'd with Negotiations, Treaties of Warre, and Peace, Leagues, and Confederacies made between Christian Princes, several Speeches and Orations, made upon many several occasions, and strongly argued; and indeed, whatsoever may make a Book seem pleasing to the Reader: Which, that it may do to thee, is the wish of

Thy Compatriot,

MONMOUTH.



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E



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK I.

THE CONTENTS.

A Preparatory Proæmium to the Description of the ensuing History; Framed upon some Allions of the Common-wealth of Venice. Italy (being made a woful receptacle of forreign Nations) is miserably lacerated, and almost reduced to slavery, which is remedied by the Venetian Forces. The Miseries of Italy are renewed by Lewis the twelveth of France; and by the Spaniards, who occasion the contentions in Naples. Bajazet and the Venetians are agreed. Maximilian of Austria, is denyed entrance into Italy, by the Venetians: He makes war with them, and loseth some Castles upon the Confines of the Empire. Almost all the Kings, and Princes of Christendom, conspire together against the Venetians: Lewis of France is the Authour thereof. They re-gain some Cities; They refuse to make Peace: The intentions of King Lewis: Of the Pope: His Treaties. Of the Swissers: Of the Vice-Roy of Naples. The Senate is in dispute whether they shall embrace Peace, or War. At last they make a League with the King of France. War is renewed; The Articles of the League. The Election of a new Pope. Alviano, his first successes. The Dutch go out of Verona. Novara is defended by the Swissers. Alviano doth in vain assault Verona. The attempt of taking Padua, by Bishop Gurgense, the Emperours Lieutenant; The Siege is given over. Various accidents which beset the Common wealth. The War by reason of the Winter, is deferred till a better season.

THe Common-wealth of Venice, for the long continuance of her Command, and for the excellency of her Government, is deservedly held to be the goodliest, and most fortunate, of as many as ever were in the world; and if her remarkable Actions, both of

Peace and War, had been more lively kept in memory by writing, and by mens mouths; so as her Fame had been equal to her deservings, she would by this time have arrived at such Renown, as her glorious Actions would have far exceeded the memory of all other Cities, Rome only excepted. And certainly, that such a flourishing Common-wealth; both for good Laws, and wholesome Institutions, should not, in so long a concurrence of time, have achieved greater Empire; And also, that the glory of her Enterprises hath been so little celebrated by famous Writers, and not preserved in that Dignity, and Splendor, as becomes their merits, ought not to be imputed to the baseness nor wretchedness of her Inhabitants, but rather to their Modesty: For the custom of our fore-fathers, was not to undertake War out of a desire of Rule; but to preserve their Liberties: and being wholly intent upon the welfare of their Country, they did not mind their own greatness; but studied more to be, then to appear, good. Hence it was, that not placing the chiefest Glory in extent of Empire, or in the praise of other men; but in the good Government of the City, and in the uprightness of their own consciences; they lost many occasions of aggrandizing their Common-wealth; and suffered many of their glorious Actions, to sleep in silence: But in the following Age, the Common-wealth being much encreased in Citizens, Riches, and Laws, whereby she had drawn upon her, the envy of many other people; it might easily be known by their dangers, and by their affairs, that the Common-wealth stood in need of larger Dominions, and of greater Forces; to the end that she might provide for her safety, and for her plenty, both by Sea and Land: Therefore whereas formerly our Ancestors, being provoked to war by their Neighbors, thought they had done enough if they kept themselves from being injured by them; They began to take in Cities, and to enlarge their borders on all sides, to the end that they might put their Affairs into a safer, and a more honourable condition. It also oft times hapned, that by their civil ways, without any noise of war, which was suppress'd by peace; by their negotiations, and hopes of tranquility; they won upon the Peoples good will, and did enlarge their Confines; In so much as the City being already become very powerful, both by Sea and Land; she seemed to represent the greatness and Majesty of the ancient Romans: Which things, if they had been sooner done, the City of Venice would have arrived to such a height, as she might have been parallel'd to the Common-wealth of Rome, for Empire, and warlike Glory: But this advice was so long a taking, as that all things fell out cross unto her: For the Times began already, apparently to favour the Ottoman Family, which being come from a small beginning, it is a wonderful thing to say how soon it increased; so as having by great contest in war, overcome many Kings, and States; and by its formidable greatness, utterly ruined the Eastern Empire, it bereft the Venetians of all hope of enlarging their Dominion in the Maritime parts: Other hopes likewise of happy success, were by a short delay spoiled, and corrupted; for if the Common-wealth had turned her Forces sooner upon the Viceroyents of the Empire; who taking occasion by reason of the

Emperors

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

Emperors troubles in the tedious wars of Germany, usurped the free Dominion of many of the noblest Cities of Italy. She might easily have regained them from their unlawful possessors, who were yet weak and of no repute. And then Italy being subdued, how easily it was for them to subdue all other Nations, and to spread their Empire from the East unto the West, is easily demonstrable, by the very proceedings of the Romans: But howsoever the Forces, Customs, and Laws, of this rich and flourishing Common-wealth, continue in greater vigor, and the Fates will one day open them the way to great Achievements.

I have propos'd unto my self to spend the time which shall be permitted me, in writing the Actions of this so famous City, as well in times of war, as of peace; the memory whereof, I will endeavor to leave to posterity, with as great sincerity, and uncorrupted Faith, as I possibly can. I thought it became me cheerfully, and readily, to undertake this, being laid upon me by publick Commission, that I might employ my time in the service of this my Noble, and dear Country, in that point wherein (as I have said) the care of our Predecessors may seem sometimes to have been wanting; in which duty assuredly I will do my best. Therefore, laying aside all partiality and passions, I have, with a peaceable and free mind, undertaken this business; and if any one shall peradventure think, that I do sometimes praise the Affairs of the Venetians too highly; let them excuse me, and think, that it is not the love of my Country that moves me therunto, but only the desire of speaking truth; the memory of these times, and men, not being to be sufficiently celebrated, whose excellent worth was able to govern so many affairs, and to sustain the violence of adverse fortune.

I am by the commands of the Counsel of Ten, the supreme Magistracy of this our Country, to take the rise of this my Narration, from the time wherein the History of Cardinal Bembo, a Famous Personage ended, and therewith the League made by the Venetians, with Pope Julius the second, and with Ferdinand, King of Spain, against the French; which League ended almost together with the life of this Pope. It will be good and useful, that in the continuation of this History, the perfect form of our Republick be represented; wherein may be seen the true Image of perfect Government, for those things to which the wit of man hath not been able to attain, in their fancying the Government of an excellent Common-wealth, are all seen to be confirmed by time and experience, in the City of Venice. The memory of these times will afford various Examples of both Fortunes, which may help very much to the acquiring of State wisdom; and moreover, many Testimonies of worth, whereby great moderation and constancy, in prosperous and adverse Fortune; at home, and in the wars, true Justice and Fortitude, may be found in our Citizens. But before I begin what I intend to say, I must expound some things, taking them a little higher, to the end that the truth of what is to be said, may appear the more clearly.

It was already long since Italy was fallen into great calamity, and being become the Seat and Receptacle of Forraign Nations, she advanced a pace towards a long and hard slavery; being by them rob'd of

her Empire, and of her Military glory: For the French having a little before the time from which I am to take the rise of this my History, assaulted the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the means and advice of *Lodowick Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*, (who did not therein foresee his own ruine) the way was ever afterwards laid open for all the Italians greatest enemies to enter *Italy*, to her prejudice and ruine: For all our Princes being desirous of Noveltie, and confiding in Forreigners, they waged war against themselves, renting this their unfortunate common Country in pieces by the Sword, and by all injurious proceedings, for they beleev'd they might easily come by those Dignities and States, by disturbing her peace, which they despair'd of obtaining whilst *Italy* was in a quiet condition; wherein how they were cheated, the event did prove: For they soon saw those evils turned upon themselves, which they had prepared for others; In so much as there was not any one part of this Noble Country, which tasted not deeply of the miseries of war, and which being long tormented with slaughters, rapine, and all sort of cruelty, hath not lost almost all their ancient Priviledges and Dignities, and changed their whole Aspect. The unlooked-for coming of the French into *Italy*, whether they brought a dreadful and unusual way of warring, did so terrifie the Kings of *Aragon*, as having more respect to their safety, then to their Honour, they forsook a Noble Kingdom, and left all things as a prey to the avarice of the Conquerors. But the French, who had got the Victory, more by an opinion which was had of their Forces, then out of meer worth, did through their negligence, lose the fruit thereof, and were soon driven home out of *Italy*: which was chiefly done by the advice and Forces of the Venetians; And had our Princes been able then to have bounded their Appetites, the power of the French had not peradventure, extended it self beyond the confines of their own Kingdom. But hardly was this first Combustion over, when suddenly another war was kindled in *Italy*; the same way of civil discord being opened unto the French, by which they had at first entred our Countries: Their King *Lodowick*, the twelvth, having made a League with the Venetians, did again assault *Italy*, with yet a greater preparation for war, and won one of her most fruitful Provinces, and which did most abound in Inhabitants, and goodly Cities, having driven the Family of the *Sforza's* out of it: And soon after, having a mind to be Master of all *Italy*, calling in the Spaniards to assist him, he, together with them, possesst himself of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Great contention arose between these two Potent Kings of *France* and *Spain*, about the division thereof; and *Italy* being made the Seat of war, they often fought with various success, and keeping themselves out of danger, ruined the Countries of other men with sword and fire. In these troublesome times, whilst *Italy*, was full, almost in all her ports of Foreign Armies, and troubled with various success'es of war, the Affairs of the Venetians went peacefully, and prosperously on; for Fortune not having as yet begun to frown upon them; and they having accommodated the differences between them, and *Bajazet* the Emperour of the Turks, with whom before they had made war, and put all their Maritime parts into a peaceful condition, they turned their

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their thoughts upon their Land Militia, and to their Dominion on *Terra firma*; and did with all diligence study how to increase their Forces, and their Empire; that their Common-wealth might be able, when occasion should require, to resist forreign Forces. The Dignity and Fame of the City of *Venice* was hereupon so much increased, as it now held the first place for Authority and Power, in all *Italy*; and by common consent all differences were referred to her: there was not any one who intended to attempt any thing upon *Italy*, who did not chiefly endeavor to have the Venetians for their Friends, and Confederates.

Thus *Maximilian* of *Austria*, King of the Romans, Elect Emperour of the West, desirous to come into *Italy* to receive the Ensigns of Empire, according to the customes of his Predecessors, and to restore *Italy* to her Liberty, by freeing her from the severe slavery of the French; and to reduce her under the civil *Germane* Empire, endeavored very much to win the Venetians to join their Forces with his, or at least not to have them his Adverseries. But the Senate of *Venice*, not willing to make more way for the barbarous Nations to ruine *Italy*, whereby she might draw upon her the hatred of all her Neighbour Princes, resolved not to forego the friendship which she had contracted with the French, but to oppose the Emperour *Maximilian*, if he should come into *Italy* in a war-like posture. Hereupon arose war between them, which hapned successfully; for the Venetians entring with greater Forces into the Emperours Confin'es, took from him some Castles, which belonged to the Patremony of the House of *Austria*, and joyned them to their Empire. The other Princes did very much envy the prosperity of the *Venetians*, where power being become so formidable, they thought fit to suppress: wherefore almost all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, conspired against her, and proclaimed war against *Venice*, *Lodowick*, King of *France*, being the chief Author thereof, who was obliged to the Common-wealth by many ancient and modern good Offices, wherefore she thought she might very much confide in his Friendship. As soon as this unexpected news came to *Venice*, the Senators not shewing any sign of fear of this so great and dreadful War; but being resolved to meet the Enemies Forces, left nothing undone which might make for their defence, and which might be done by Advice, Gallantry, and Force of Arms. But now they must give way to adverse Times: the Common-wealths Army did unfortunately fight the Enemy, upon the Banks of the River *Ada*; and after the bad success of this Battle, as if the Common-wealth had received a fatal blow, out of a sudden despair, she freed the Noblest Cities of her Dominions, from their former Oaths, and gave them leave to submit unto the Enemy: So as falling on a sudden from the height of Happines into great misery, she was a great Example of the variety of humane Affairs. Yet soon after, the Senators resuming courage, began to Rally their dispersed Forces, to raise more Forces; wherewith in a short time, the Enemies Forces being separated, and they having gotten some of the Enemies to joyn with them against their own confederates, they re-venged themselves of the French, who were the first occasioners of their

their Calamity, and drove them out of *Italy*; and did likewise recover, and defend many of their Noblest Cities and Castles: by which success, growing higher in their hopes, they oft times refused peace when it was offered them; being resolved either to obtain such conditions, as whereby they might recover their ancient State, or else put themselves again upon the utmost dangers of war. Wherefore all men said, that even in the obscurity of so much adverse fortune, some light did yet remain of the ancient Glory of *Italy*, and of the Venetian virtue, in the perpetual constancy of that Senate, and in their generous invincible fortitude of Spirit. The Venetians oft times when they were worsted, treated with their Enemies which had overcome them, as if they were to give, not to receive Laws; demanding restitution of whatsoever was theirs before the war began, before they would lay down Arms. They had by this time recovered the Cities of *Padua*, *Treviso*, *Vicenza*, *Crema*; and besides these, the Towns in *Frenti*, and the Cities of *Feltre*, and *Belluno*, submitted to the Venetian Empire; but *Verona* was still in *Maximilians* hands: The Viceroy of *Naples* held *Brescia*, whereinto he powered a great many Spaniards; and the Switzers having won *Cremona*, held it in the name of *Maximilian Sforza*: *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, possessed the Towns and Havens of *Puglia*, which formerly belonged to the Common-wealth; having restored them to the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Members thereof. And the Castles of *Ramagna*, which were won by Pope *Julius*, were by him annex to the Ecclesiastical State. The Common-wealth was not then upon any good terms with the Pope, nor with the King of *Spain*, though not long before she had entered into League and Friendship with them: Not with the one, because he did favour *Cesar* too much, and not with the other, because contrary to Articles, he detained the City of *Brescia*, which appertained to her. The Switzers friendship was greatly suspected, though they professed adherence to the Common-wealth; as well by reason of their ancient repute of not being over faithful, as also for the new success of *Cremona*. But the profest open enmity to *Lodowick*, King of *France*; and the time of League made for some Months with the Emperour *Maximilian*, was expired, all Treaties of peace between him and the Venetians having always proved vain; out of their constant resolution to recover, and the like in him not to quit *Verona*.

This was the Condition of the Times, and of the State of *Venice*; When in the beginning of the year 1513. counting from the Birth of Christ, and 1092. from the building of *Venice*, *Leonardo Loredano*, being then Duke, which is the highest degree of the Common-wealth; there began some appearance of peace and quiet, after so many troubles; for the French, who had been the beginners of the late Calamities, were already driven out of *Italy*, and had the Mountains given them for the bounders of their Empire, and together with them it was thought that the sink of all other mischiefs was thrown out. It was to be conceived by no improbable Arguments, that Peace would be acceptable to all those who had any Dominion in *Italy*; *Cesar* was not thought to be able of himself to make good the War, having no hope of assistance from the French, and invironed with many necessities;

cessities; wherefore it was likely that he would give way to some agreement; nor were the Venetians averse unto it, being now by the continual troubles of so many sore wars, invited to rest. The Pope, who had wont to boast that he by Counsels, had freed *Italy* from the slavery of the French, it might with reason be thought, that nothing could be more desired by him then this; That, since he had much enlarged the Churches Dominions, and re-invested the Duke of *Milan* in his State, the Affairs of *Italy* might begin to be in a better condition by enjoying peace. And it was very manifest, that *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* was to desire peace more then the rest: This wise Prince knew that it was by Peace that he was to confirm himself in his new possession of *Naples*, and by his own industry, or other mens negligence, increase his Force and Reputation; therefore under appearance of the Common good, but indeed minding more his own advantage, he had oftentimes sent Embassadors to *Cesar*, and to the Venetians, labouring to compound their differences. But hardly did this light begin to appear out of cloudy by-gone-times, when suddenly it vanished.

Some seeds of the former mischiefs remained yet in *Italy*; for the strong castles of *Genova*, *Milan*, and *Cremona*, held still for the King of *France*, and many factious men began to desire Novelties; and to the terror of all men, news was spread abroad of new stirrings in *France*, which as it was believed would suddenly break forth into open war. *Lodowick* did greatly desire to recover the State of *Milan*, and his ancient Reputation; and he was much the more incited by the discord of the Colleague Princes, hoping that he might easily divide them, and get some of them to joyn with him, when he should send his Army into *Italy*. He therefore sometimes egg'd on *Cesar* to war against the Venetians, and sometimes the Venetians against *Cesar*. He offered all his Forces to each of them, he propounded great rewards of Victory; he made himself appear to them to be in a condition of joyning with any one of them, when the other should undervalue his Friendship. Moreover, to the end that a more firm and inviolable agreement might be made between them, he promised *Cesar* to give him his Daughter *Renea* for wife, to his Nephew *Charles*, or else to his Nephew *Ferdinand*, and to give with her for Portion, the State of *Milan*, when it should be regained by their joyned Forces. The Pope was hereat greatly troubled; for he saw that great dangers were threatened to *Italy*, by the power of the French, which he did no less hate then fear: but he was much in doubt which side he should favour: If he should lean to *Cesar*, he feared least the Venetians having no hopes of peace, should have recourse to the friendship of the French, and should endeavour to secure themselves by their Forces; so as he should lose all that Glory, which during all the time of his being Pope, he had so much laboured after. And on the contrary, if he should lose *Cesar* by assisting the Venetians, he thought he had not sufficiently provided for all dangers; and being very jealous, he perswaded himself it might easily happen that *Cesar* siding with the Council at *Pisa*, which the King of *France* had long before set up against him, and which was at this time removed to *Lions*, his Glo-

ry, and Dignity might be exposed to great danger. But a fervent desire to get the City of *Ferrara* did most of all prevail with the Pope in making him alter his first resolution of assisting the Venetians. Rejecting therefore at the last all things which might persuade him to the contrary, he resolved to be govern'd by *Casars* Interest; and whereas formerly he had wont with great dexterity and humanity to exhort the Venetians to Peace, he began now to threaten them severely, if they did not accept thereof upon whatsoever severe conditions, as soon as it should be propounded: Whereby he hoped to induce *Cesar* to give over the defence of *Ferrara*, which losing his assistance, must needs fall into his hands. But the Venetians being certainly advertised by their Embassadour *Francisco Foscarini* of these the Popes new inventions, began to listen to the reasons which had been many times before urged by *Andrea Gritti*, of joyning in League with the French.

This *Andrea* being taken Prisoner in *Brescia*, and afterwards carried into *France*, was for his wisdom, good behaviour, and affability, very well esteemed of by all men, and especially by the King, and kept with great respect and honour, so as he now convers'd and treated in the Court, much like an Embassadour of his Country, than a Prisoner; the Venetians thought it an unworthy thing, and not to be endured, that their prosperous Success in War against the French had brought them no advantage, by reason of the great Injury that was done them by their Friends and Confederates; who notwithstanding would have it believed that they had undertaken that War chiefly for the Venetians good, and that their Commonwealth might flourish again. By which appearances the Venetians being nourish'd in hopes, they were the cause why they willingly continued the War, underwent much labour, and danger, not sparing for expences; but as soon as the French had a way made them for the League, *Constanzo Ferrario* was suddenly sent to *Venice* to negotiate it, not without the Kings consent and knowledge. This man brought Letters with him to the Senate, from *Giovanni Giacompo Trivisio*, one who was then in great Authority with the King, wherein he appeared to be very well inclined to the Commonwealth, and then shewing the reason which had moved him to send this his Servant of purpose to them, left the whole Authority of negotiating, and concluding the business to him; that it might be the more closely carried, this business of Treaty touching the League with *Ferrario*, was committed to *Antonio Justiniano*, one of the prime Senators, and who was then in great esteem for his Wisdom. These after divers meetings agreed, that some things being altered which the condition of the times did require, those capitulations should continue which were made some years before, when the Venetians joyn'd in League with the French against the *Sforza's*. *Gritti* was made acquainted with all this, and was desired that he should by all means endeavour, that this Friendship and Peace might be confirm'd by the King as soon as might be. *Lewis* seemed to be content with what was done, and promised to make good all that had been agreed upon by *Ferrario*, except that Article of yielding up *Cremona*, and

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Giudadada to the Venetians; which places he absolutely denied to surrender up to any. The Venetians would very gladly have had *Cremona* restored: for when they called to memory what expence and labour they had been at in the getting of it, the more desirous they were to re-possess it. To which purpose they used these reasons to the King, that either of their States ought to be bounded by remarkable Confines, to take away all future occasions which might arise of breaking their Amity, which could be none else but the two Rivers of *Poe* and *Ada*; that the Cities of *Brescia* and *Cremona* were so situated, as unless they were Masters of *Cremona*, their Dominion must be continually divided and weak, and subject to many Inconveniences. That the better to strengthen the new League, it was best to renew it upon the same conditions which were formerly accepted of by the King, that the King could not retract (without injury to them) from any thing which was treated upon and concluded by *Ferrario*, not without his knowledge. Thus whilst both the parties were firm to their opinions, Affairs grew every day more difficult, and there appeared less hope of bringing them to their desired end. The Pope was very much moved, when he heard of this Treaty, though it came to him but by an uncertain Rumor, and was occasioned rather by Jealousie than by apparent Evidence, he therefore being desirous to keep the French and the Venetians divided, began to lay aside much of that severity wherewith he had wont to treat with them, and endeavoured to sweeten them with many Courties and Humanities. He excused himself for having entered into a new League with *Cesar*, whereunto he was enforced, for the avoiding of many mischances: He promised that when he should have secured his own Affairs, he would declare himself a Friend to the Commonwealth; that the mean while he would not take up any Temporal Army against them, but would annul the Ecclesiastical Censures which he had laid upon them. Moreover the Switzers exhorted thereunto by Cardinal *Sedunensis*, a great Friend to the French, and being also stirr'd up by the Pope, sent their Embassadours to *Venice*, to use their Authority in this business, which at this time was very great with all Princes, out of the high esteem which was had of their Military Valour. These exhorted the Senate to Peace, and making great boasts of themselves, and of their Power, strove to make all other Friendships less safe, and less desirable than theirs. Likewise by Advice of the same Pope the Vice-roy of *Naples* sent *Pietro di Castro* to *Venice*, to let the Senate understand that the Vice-roy had Power to prolong as long as they should please, the Peace which but a little before they had concluded with *Cesar*, by *Ferdinand's* procurement, and to use all means to confirm such as were jealous in their ancient Friendship and Affection with his King. The Senators being assaulted by these several Adresses, as if it had been by so many Engines; whereas they were jointly minded before, to make Peace with *France* and renew the War, some of them began now to think upon Peace; which they did the sooner, because News came every day from several parts, of great Preparations for War, which *Henry* King of *England* was making to assault *France*. Whence it

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was to be feared that King Lewis being busied in defending his own Kingdoms, could not that year bethink himself of the Affairs of Italy, nor employ his Forces therein: Therefore as soon as any Proposition was made tending to the new League, the others by spinning out time endeavoured to abstruse the business.

They put them in mind of the great miseries of those times, affirming that after so much labour and danger it was now time to endeavour Peace to themselves; and their Subjects. That all humane things were governed with a certain variety and change, and by a perpetual turning about, were seen sometimes to increase, sometimes to diminish; that their Commonwealth had enjoy'd Prosperity for a long time; it now became them to bear with some Adversity, that when the times should alter, she might recover her ancient Reputation, Empire, and Glory. That therefore they were to use such Wisdom and Temper, as not to bring their Commonwealth to ultimate ruine, by pressing upon time, and by too hastily accelerating the new growth of their Commonwealth; that all Italy might bear witness of the French mens cruel dispositions, which being imperiously used by them as well in Peace as in War, might prove how this Nation was equally troublesome and insupportable both to their Friends and Enemies. That to open the way again to this barbarous Nation, was to return Italy into much misery and calamity. That Maximilian's nature was such, as through his Inconstancy and immense Prodigality, which had oft time brought him to greatest Extremities, they might assuredly hope shortly, and at no great expence, to recover all that he possess'd of theirs.

But others labour'd to persuade the contrary, who were of opinion, that a high, though not assured hope, ought to be prefer'd before a safer, but more humble thought. They said the Venetians were never so overcome by fear, as by so great a desire of quiet, to forego all occasions of just and glorious War. That it was therefore, that the same of their Commonwealth was so highly extoll'd, and lowly cry'd up even in the farthest distant Nations. And that she had then purchas'd most praise, when she appear'd to be almost extinct, triumphing over victorious Fortune. That they should still keep the same noble resolutions; for all things do at last bow to Worth. That their greatest dangers were already over, that they did not fight now for safety, but now for Glory and Empire. That since they had so freely undergone the weight of so great War, there was no necessity of oppressing the little remainders by Peace and Agreement, but to secure their Affairs for a longer time by a famous Victory: That they should remember what the common Proverb says, That every one builds up his own Fortune. That the loss at Geradada was accompanied by many other unfortunate successes, because despairing so soon, they neither hoped for, nor put for any thing. But as soon as they began to rouse up their minds, their Fortune began likewise to rouse up, and their good hopes were accompanied by good success. That if the Affairs of Italy should be established in a settled Peace, and that Venice now accustomed to the Inconveniences of War, should be abas'd with idleness and wantonness, it would be too late to hope for the recovery hereafter of her former State and Dignity: That the condition of Italy was now such as she needed not to fear any prejudice by the coming in of the French, but that she might the rather recover her liberty by means of their Forces, so much the more easily, for
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that being now Lorded over by several powerful Princes, every one of their Authorities would become weaker, and less formidable; and one not bearing with an others greatness, it might so fall out as she might shake off the yoke of all foreign Nations. That if she should now sit down by so great injuries done her by her Collegues, she would assuredly be hereafter scorn'd by all people, and injur'd without any manner of respect; that this might be argued, by the French mens so much desiring amity with the Commonwealth for no other reason, save only that they knew how generous and powerful she was by the revenge which she had taken of them.

From this diversity of opinions and contention, the advice for War or Peace was carried on uncertainly: The doubtfulness of the thing it self was rendred yet more doubtful by the nature and condition of those with whom they treated. For the Emperour Maximilian was of a lively Spirit, able Body, patient in undergoing Labor, and with all was well acquainted with Military Affairs. But his drifts and affections were contrary to one another: He was hasty in Council, his Speech and Actions differ'd, he willingly embraced all that was presented unto him, but did not much minde the effecting of them. The Name of the Empire was large and magnifick; but this Dignity was rather sustained by an appearing greatness, than by any real strength: It was otherwise with King Lewis, the power of whose Kingdom was very great, and his desire of War no less. But his desire of Dominion was such, as he made it lawful to break his word, and to violate all Justice, which the Venetians were sufficiently taught by the remembrance of their late received Injuries: Therefore as his Friendship seem'd in some respects greatly desirable; so in some other it was as dangerous and suspicious. No certain hope was to be built upon the Popes, nor the King of Spains promises; their assistance being weak and uncertain, and their Counsels not very sincere, which was sufficiently witnessed by their past Actions: So as it might easily be known, that their thoughts were set only upon their own particular designs, not upon the preservation of the Commonwealth. Hence it was that the hopes and hazards of War were equally poysed. The Senators opinions being thus divided, the good Fortune of the Commonwealth did at last decide the business, which had destin'd her to a larger and more lasting Empire. For this business being long discut by the Colledge of the Savii (who are sixteen pickt out by the Senate, distinguisht amongst themselves by several degrees of Dignities, and by distinct Offices, to whom it belongs to advise of all publique Affairs, and report them to the Senate) it was by a joynt Vote propounded, that by all means the League was to be made with the French; whereby the Commonwealth might be freed from the Treachery of the Confederates. The Senate was well pleas'd with the agreement, and with almost an universal consent, the renewing of the War was agreed upon: and that the business might be the more easily proceeded in, (they not having of many days received any Letters from Gritti) the Senate sent one speedily away to treat the business with the King, and Luigi di Pietro, Secretary to the Council of Ten, was chosen out to this purpose. He was enjoy'd first to endeavour Gritti's liberty, if it were not al-

ready granted him: For the Senate had at the same time chosen him for their Embassadour, authorizing him to confirm the agreement, and to bind the Common-wealth by oath to the observancy thereof: but that if *Gritti's* settling at liberty should be too long delayed, that he himself should act that part with the King: that he should leave nothing undone to get *Cremona* and *Giaradada* to be restored to the Commonwealth: but that if he should finde no hope thereof, he should not notwithstanding delay settling the agreement, provided that things agreed upon should immediately be put in effect, and that the Kings men should forthwith come into *Italy*. For all the hopes of Victory seemed to consist in making haste, and in the terror of a sudden War, whilst the Enemies being but yet weak, might be easily suppressed. But before the Secretary could get to the Court of *France* the Pope unexpectedly dyed, notwithstanding which News, he was not sent for back, it being uncertain who should be chosen next Pope, and no less uncertain how he would stand affected to *Venice*; and howsoever the Senate thought the Friendship of so great a King must be a great Establishment and Reputation to their Affairs. It was said that a great affliction of mind was the chief cause of Pope *Julio's* death; for being very much subject to passion, and immoderately desirous of Glory, he could not long lye under the grief, hearing his advice mightily blamed by all men: That by his too much severity he had forced the Venetians to make Friendship with the French, and was cause of re-kindling the War in *Italy*, which not long before he had much to his Praise, extinguished. It was evidently seen by many signs that *Julio* was of a very eager Spirit, which neither his Age nor Dignity was able to correct or temper. As soon as the Secretary was come to *France* the King granted *Gritti* his full Liberty, and the League was suddenly concluded upon these conditions.

That Cremona and Giaradada should be understood to be annex to the State of Millan, and to belong unto the King; but that Brescia, Burghamo, and Crema should remain free to the Venetians, and that the King should quit all his Claim or Right therein to them. That the Collegues should be bound to assist each other, and to run the same fortune in War, till such time as the King should be Master of the whole State of Millan, and that likewise the Common-wealth should be re-invested in all that he was possess of in Terra Firma before the War. That all Prisoners on either side should be set at liberty and restored to their Goods and Countries; and that free commerce might be granted both in the State of Venice and in France. It was afterwards added that by joynt consent they should use all diligence to draw any Prince of Italy into the League, and particularly the Pope, who if he would enter therein should be allotted the first place.

The League being thus concluded, and establish'd by Oath on all sides, free power to depart the Kingdom was permitted to *Gritti*, to *Bartholomeo d'Alviano*, and to all the other Prisoners. Things being thus disposed of and confirmed, the Senate thought it was fit to give an account thereof to the other Kingdomes, and chiefly to the King of *England*, which by publique order was done by the Common-wealths Embassadour, then resident in that Court. Who said,

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That the Venetians moved by the Counsels and friendly Advertisements of that King, had the more readily accepted of Peace; that they had with patience suffered many unjust offences done by the Collegues, to the end that by their Friendship, some occasion might be offer'd of coming to a fair agreement with Caesar. But that now it was too apparently seen that his Affairs grew daily worse and worse; and that the League being broken, not under the appearing name of Peace, but with apparent Injury, he plotted against their Liberty. So as being violenc'd by necessity, and not to abandon the welfare of the Common-wealth, they had contracted Friendship with the French. That they call'd God and man to witness the sincerity of their Souls and Counsels, and of the present necessity. But they excus'd themselves handsomely to the King of Spain, laying all the faults upon the late Pope; for that being long troubled, and consulted by his dubious and importune Counsels, and also often provoked by Injuries, they were forc'd to betake themselves to new Friendships, and to better helps to preserve their Affairs, which were in danger of precipitation. But howsoever they said they did not condemn the League which they had made with that King, but that they desired to continue his Friendship.

This mean while *John*, Cardinal of *Sancta Maria in Dominica*, one of the House of *Medeci* was chosen Pope by the universal consent of the Cardinals. All men were over-joy'd with this Election, but chiefly the Venetians, as those, who had always been very kind and civil to the House of *Medeci*, which was at that time received into the City, and put into the number of the noble Families, in whom the power of chusing the Magistrates, and the Majesty of the Empire in the Common-wealth of *Venice* lay. Wherefore the Senate hoped they might easily draw the new Pope to joyn with them in League and Friendship. But *Leo*, as soon as he was made Pope, had many high thoughts, revolv'd many things in his mind, fitting his Counsels sometimes for War, sometimes for Peace. He was mov'd by his ancient Customcs, and by the Life which he had formerly led to embrace quiet, chiefly now, when he found he was in such supreme Authority: He thought it became him, who had always profess'd an Inclination to Learning, and to the Love of the Liberal Sciences, to foment Peace and Concord, by which those Studies are nourished, and do marvelously increase. Moreover he was to have respect to his high Dignity, wherein he knew he had taken upon him a great Charge, especially since he had rais'd so great an expectation of himself amongst all men, as he was very vigilantly to think upon the common welfare and safety; to the end that *Italy* and all other Nations who hoped to find some ease to their long sufferings, by his Popedom, might enjoy peace and safety. To theie Considerations it was also added, that having often times tryed adversity, he ought to shun all occasions of putting himself into the hands of Fortune. By experience of the late evils he did hate the name of War. But yet he thought not peace safe, amidst such rumour of Wars and general Confusion. He knew that men were naturally apt to grow insolent by successful victory, which bore them headlong to satiate all their appetites. That therefore whosoever should prove Conquerour was to be feared; that all Forraign Prin-

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ces had so great a desire to be Masters of *Italy*, as whosoever of them should be very powerful, would endeavour to bereave all the weaker Princes of their States. Nor was the memory of the last Pope a small means to incite *Leo* to War, finding that by his Actions and diligence, the Church Territories were very much increased both for Dominion and Reputation. But if he should resolve upon taking up of Arms, he was in great dispute, with which party he should side. He was much troubled to think of the returning of the French into *Italy*, remembering the late private Injuries; and calling to mind the dangers of his Predecessor *Julius* the second, and those wherewith he himself was likewise threatened by the Pysan Council, which was removed to *Lyons*, but not extinct; he held the Power of the French to be very formidable. But on the other side, the French being joyn'd with the Venetians, did dayly increase so much in Force and Reputation, as no apparent means was seen how to make head against so great a Power. He knew that the Cities in the State of *Millan*, being plundered sometimes by their Enemies, sometimes by their Friends, were to exhausted, as it was impossible to get any considerable sum of money from them to maintain the War. And the Switzers, in whom all the hopes of safety seemed to remain, were known not to be willing to undertake any thing which they might not greatly gain by. And an opinion was had of them, that they had so given themselves over unto Avarice, as not being with-held by any shame, they grew oftentimes so very greedy and so immoderate in their demands, as the Treasure of a King was not able to satisfy them. Nor saw he how he could lay any good Foundation for his designs, upon help from the Spaniards, though their Actions should be answerable to their words. *Leo* being thus full of various thoughts, did often alter his opinion, and was not steadfast to any one resolution. In the beginning of his Popedom he by his Briefs had exhorted all Christian Princes to peace and union, and to bring them the more easily thereunto, he resolved so to carry himself, as not to seem to incline to either party. Yet at the same time, as if he had laid aside all hopes of agreement, he incited the Venetians against the French, endeavouring to persuade them, that not only the Common-wealth of *Florence*, would side with his Authority, but that the Switzers would take up Arms, for the Liberty of *Italy*, and joyn in League with him and the Duke of *Millan*. But the Venetians would not harken to this Advice, as well for that they thought they ought not to forsake the certain League which they had already made with the French out of any vain hopes; as also that looking more inwardly into the truth of the business, they knew that those things which at first sight did promise apparent liberty, did much increase the dangers, and hasten the Slavery of *Italy*. For it is most certain, that the French had not so regulated their designs by the Forces and favour of the Venetians, but that they treated the same time concerning divers things with *Cesar*, by whom they were sure they might always be easily received, for he very much desired their Friendship; neither did they think it was harder to agree with the King of *Spain* for what concerned *Italy*, since they had already

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ready accomodated their most important businesses with him, beyond the Mountains. *Ferdinand* who was a very wily Prince, was already accustomed to abuse the French by his wary Courses, and to reap the fruit of their Labours. Therefore the Venetians minded the Pope that there was nothing more dangerous, then by too much trusting the Spaniards, to put the whole Affairs of *Italy* into their hands; that they had condescended that an Italian Duke should be Master of *Millan*, because they knew he was rather to be a Prince in appearance than in effect, whereby they hoped they might reduce that State upon the first occasion that should be offered, under their Dominion. That therefore moved by the same Interests, they profess'd now to defend *Maximillian Sforza*, that they might make use of the Millaneses and of the Switzers, to drive the French out of *Italy*, whom they thought they ought only to fear. That it might clearly be seen the Spaniards did no less aspire to the Empire of *Italy*, then did the French; but whereas these made their way by open Force, the others finding themselves to be too weak, sought to work their ends by cunning and by cozenage, and did under a colour of Friendship with the Italians, undermine their Liberties. That therefore it was very advantageous to suffer the Forces and Reputation of an other Foreign Prince to increase in *Italy*, to obviate their Power, since that the Italians, who had been so long afflicted with War, were not able of themselves to defend themselves against Foreign Nations.

The Venetians did by these reasons make good their Counsels and Actions, but whilst these things were in Treaty with the Pope, all sides made diligent preparations for War. Nay Princes seemed to be the more set thereupon, so: that *Leo* by his various thoughts and promises, made many of them hope to be able to maintain the War by his Help and Authority. But the Venetians were more solicitous in this business then the rest, as those who found themselves most necessitated to continue the War; therefore they raised men diligently in all parts to make up an Army. They solicited the King of *France* continually to come speedily into *Italy*, shewing him that the Victory consisted chiefly in celerity. That if such Cities as were not yet provided of Garrisons should be on the sudden assaulted, they might be easily reduced into their Power. But that if the business were spun out in length, greater difficulties would daily arise. King *Lewis* being moved by these Exhortations, bent himself wholly upon this War: and being desirous to employ his whole Forces therein, he agreed with *Ferdinando* to lay down Arms on the other side of the Mountains for a certain time. This King was so carryed away with a vain glorious desire of recovering the State of *Millan*, as he valued neither fear nor infamy. So as not caring what blame he might incur thereby, he by this suspension of Arms gave over his Friends and Kinsmans Cause, the King of *Navarr*, who for having taken part with the French, was a little before driven out of his Kingdom by the Spaniards, and reduced to a miserable condition. And being likewise advertised of great preparation for War made by *Henry* King of *England*, a powerful Prince, to assault *France*, he contented the

the Forces of that Kingdom, though they had oft times made the French feel them to their Cost. For having already in his mind taken in the whole state of *Millan*, and taken the Victory for granted, he thought he might bring back his victorious Army time enough to defend his own Kingdom, before the English, dejected of all Military Preparations by reason of their long Peace, could provide all things necessary for so great an Enterprize. All the Kings men met then according to Orders, in the City of *Susa*, that they might the more easily pass from thence into *Italy*. *Lewis* Lord of *Tremouilla*, a Personage very famous both for his Birth, and for many places which he had discharged, was made chief Commander of the Army. Yet the War was for the most part govern'd according to the pleasure of *Giovanni Giacomo Trivulcio*, who was at that time in great estimation for his great experience in Military Affairs. 'Twas said that the French Army consisted of about 20000 fighting men; the Venetians muster'd 8000 choice Italian Foot, to which were added 200 Curassiers, and 500 light Horse, and a great Train of Artillery, which did much strengthen the Army. Two noble Venetians, *Domenico Contareno*, and *Andrea Loredano* were the Commissaries general, whose particular care it is to provide Victuals, Monies, and all things requisite for the Army, and then to be assistant in their Advice to the Captain General in all difficult businesses; for the Venetians do themselves execute all the places of the Militia by Sea, but in *Terra firma*, by their ancient wont, and the Custom of their Fore-fathers, they manage their War by Forreigners. At this time *Bartholomeo Alviano* was Captain General of the Venetian Army, who being lately returned from *France*, and Count *Pitigliano* being dead, was chosen by the Senate to succeed in his place, with the same Conditions, which were granted formerly to *Pitigliano*. His yearly pay was 50000 Duckets, and he was bound to keep still on foot 300 Curassiers, and 500 Cross-bow men on Horse-back, to be ready upon any occasion to serve the Common-wealth. This man when his place was conferr'd upon him, went to the Army, which was then upon the Banks of *Adice*, and thinking it fit to be speedy in the business, began forthwith to exhort the Senate that he might anticipate the time, and that they would suffer him to march with his Army into the state of *Millan*, whilst the Enemy were unprovided of aid, and the Cities ungarrison'd. That all other attempts would be in vain, or to very little purpose: that it was requisite that the Venetians should run the same fortune as did the French in this War. That if Affairs should go well with them, it was no question but they were to share in the good Fortune; but if otherwise, they had no hope, neither of getting any thing, nor yet of keeping any thing that they had lately re-gained. But the Senate after they had well and narrowly examined the business, resolved that the Army should not pass the Rivers of *Po* and *Ada*; for what remain'd they left the whole managing of the War free to *Alviano*, with leave to direct his Forces and Designs, whether he should be invited by the negligence of the Enemy, or advised by his own Industry and Reason. There was not as yet any certain News come that

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

that the French were past the *Alpes*; therefore the Senate thought it a rash Counsel to leave their Countrey exposed to the Injuries of the Enemy, and to send their Army to a place, from whence, in any case of adverse fortune, they could not return. But *Alviano*, being very fervent in all he took in hand, and very quick and bold, thinking that the occasion and the present condition of Affairs invited him so to do, resolved to advance immediately with his Army, and took his way first towards *Verona*, hoping to get that City. *Pandolfo Malatesta* was taken into pay by *Cesar* at this time, and made Governor of one of the Towers, who allured by greater rewards, had sided with the Enemy when Affairs went ill with the Commonwealth. This man had agreed with some Citizens who stood well affected to the Venetians, to let in *Alviano* by *St. George* his Gate, as soon as he should be come unto the walls of the City. But the Conspiracy being discovered, and *Alviano* knowing that the Town could not be easily stormed, as also that though he should take the Town, he must spend much time in taking in the Towers, he thought it better to hasten towards *Cremona*, and in his March thither took the Town of *Vallegio*, and the Castle of *Peschiera*; places for their situation very fit and convenient for the State of *Venice*. He gave the charge of *Vallegio* to *Zacharia Ghisi*, and that of *Peschiera* to *Lui-gi Bembo*, and gave 200 Souldiers a piece to each of them. The News of the Venetian Armies approach being come to *Cremona*, those of the Town who were of the contrary Faction, soon left the City, and the rest who were of the Province of *Marcha*, received *Alviano* and all his men readily into the City, who were allowed to plunder a thousand Spanish Foot, and 200 Curassiers, who had the custody of the City; the Commanders not suffering any prejudice to be done to the Citizens, and keeping the Souldiers from plunder. As soon as *Alviano* was entred within the Walls, he soon made himself Master of the whole City; for the Castle whereinto the Venetians had formerly put a Garrison, who had sent a supply by *Renzo de Ceri*, held still for the French.

Alviano displaying the French Colours upon the Walls, let the City know that he received it in the Name of *Lewis* King of France, for whom *Theodor de Triulcio*, who was then his Legate in the Venetian Army, did take it. He afterwards endeavoured to free the Commonwealth from any blame, if having tryed all things in vain she were forced to accommodate her self to the Times, and yield up so rich a City, and one which she did so dearly love, to another. He moreover exhorted the City to keep their Loyalty to so puissant and bountiful a King: under whose Government, if they would be honest and faithful men, they might promise themselves to live for ever after safe, and free from many grievances: for which they were obliged to the Venetians, who had procured them that good which they could never have hoped for from the afflicted Fortune of a petty Duke.

These things being so happily and so speedily done, wonne great Reputation to the Venetian Army; in so much as *Soncino*, *Lodi*, and other Towns of *Giardada*, following the Example of *Cremona*, surrendered themselves to *Alviano*. But the Venetians fared otherwise

wife in the Territories of *Verona* and *Vicenza*: For after *Alviano* was gone with his Army, and had left small Garrisons in the Cities and Towns which held for them, and that *Sigismonde di Cavalli* Commissary General of the Venetian Militia stay'd behind with some few men at *St. Bonifaccia*; the Germans, who kept *Verona* being advertised thereof, sallied out of the City with 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, and unexpectedly assault the Commissary. Our men, who for the most part were rude and unexperienced, troubled at the sudden assault, betook themselves to their heels, and those few which stay'd and would stand the Enemy, being forsaken by their Companions, fell into their power, and amongst those *Costanzo Pio*, a man famous for Birth and Worth. The Commissary *Cavalli* seeing all his men routed, and chiefly the Alban Horse, wherein he had placed his chiefest hope, began likewise to run, and with him *Giovanni Forte*, a Captain of Curassiers, and a Troop of Horse which had tarried with him; wherewith they got to *Cologna*; but were so hotly pursued by the Enemy, as being hardly entered the Town, and not having any the least time to take a better Garrison into the Town, or to put the men who were there in a posture of defence, they understood that the Enemy were come, and were about the Walls: The Town being therefore strongly assaulted, and but slenderly defended, was storm'd and sackt. *Cavalli*, and *Vesfor Malipiero*, Mayor of the Town, together with some others of quality, knowing that they were not safe in the Castle wherinto they were retired, yielded themselves up to the Enemy, and were by them taken Prisoners. The Dutch men, loaded with prey, and not having received any harm returned back to *Verona*, the Enemies grown insolent by their successes, began to promise themselves greater prosperity; and thus going forth of the City with 4000 Foot and 500 Horse, they marched towards *Vicenza*; which coming to the knowledg of *Giovan Paolo Manfrone*, who had the keeping of that City, he took in many Countrey men to a Band of Souldiers which he had with him, and provided for any accident that might happen.

But the Dutch-men over-running the Territories of *Vicenza*, ruin'd all things with sword, fire, and rapine; and being come to the Town of *Arzignano*, after having taken it, they committed great slaughter amongst the Towns-men, set fire on the Castle, and on other Buildings, and despairing of ever getting the Town of *Vicenza*, they returned safe to *Verona*. Whilst Affairs went on thus in these parts, tumults did daily increase, and disorders grow greater in the state of *Millan*; nothing there was safe or quiet. There was neither City nor Castle, which either could, or endeavour'd to resist the Enemy: for the people of *Millan*, and the other Towns thereabout, being moved again by the approaching of the Venetian Army, and by the French mens passing over the *Alpes*, began to waver in their Loyalty. The people wearied but a little before with the Government of the French, did very much desire the return of the Sforzas, their ancient Lords and Masters: But finding afterwards that they had not got that Liberty nor Immunity which they expected (for *Maximilian* their new Duke, being but a weak Prince, was forced

forced to burthen the State with many impositions, and being jealous of many, was necessitated to injure many for the better securing of his Dominion) changing their minds, as is common with the vulgar people to do, were desirous of Novelties: thinking that for the future they should be in better condition, and under more just Laws, if the State should return again to be govern'd by the French. Many also who hated idleness and quiet; some who were poor and banisht, and other moved by the diversity of Factions, favour'd the French. Therefore Count *Manfocco*, son to *Giovan Giacomo Trivulzio* being gone with a Troop into sundry places to make the people rise, finding them ready thereunto, did easily work his ends. Moreover *Sacramoro* Viscount, who had the Charge of besieging the Castle of *Millan*, forsaking the Sforzas as soon as he saw them forsaken by Fortune, wheeled about with her, and suffering the besieged to be relieved both with men and victuals, discovered himself so far an Enemy to Duke *Maximilian*, as it was now said abroad that he did not only plot against his State, but against his life. *Maximilian* being therefore greatly troubled, seeing his Affairs in so bad a posture, and seeking to provide for his own safety, retired with some few Horse into *Navar*, to try the utmost of his Fortune. For he understood that some Troops of the Switzers were already got thither, expecting to be followed by many others of their Nation, who came in much greater numbers to defend that State. Wherefore the *Millanese*, seeing their City bereft both of Commander and Souldiers, that their Castle which was well garrison'd, was in the hands of the French, and that the Enemies Army drew neer, some allured by hopes of better Fortune, others moved by fear, thought it best to put themselves willingly into the power of the French, and to this purpose to send Embassadors to the General of the Venetians Army, who having already made a Bridge over the *Ada*, threatened to bring his Army before the Town. This mean while the French, with whom was *Andrea Gritti*, as Embassadour from *Venice*, assaulted *Italy*, took many Cities and Castles, some by slight skirmishes, some without any withstanding. Thus the state of *Millan*, straitned at one and the same time by the French and the Venetian Armies, fell in a short time into the French mens hands. Two only Cities, *Navar* and *Como* held still for *Maximilian*. The Venetians heightning their hopes by these prosperous successes, promised unto themselves a happy end of all the War. Their Army was grown into such Reputation, after the getting of *Cremena*, as *Renzo da Ceri* being ordered by *Alviano* to go with a Band of Souldiers to recover *Brescia*, the City yielded as soon as he came before it. For the Spaniards who had the Guard thereof, when they heard of his approach, withdrew themselves into the Castle. There was but one thing which appeared might hinder the conceived hopes of Victory, which was, that it was said, the Switzers had so zealously undertaken to protect Duke *Maximilian*, as it was thought they would prefer his honour, before whatsoever other thing. Their Nation was then in very great esteem, out of the opinion which was had of their excellent Discipline in War. Wherefore they were much

much celebrated and feared by all people. So as blown up with Pride for having once had good success in their attempts, chiefly because the French Forces were once worsted by their means, and Duke Maximilian restored to his state, aspiring yet to greater Glory, they did totally despise the French Nation, which they had once overcome. Their haughty minds could not endure to be despised and under-valued by King Lewis, who when there was a treaty of renewing the League with them, seemed more desirous of some little advancement of Monneys, than of their Friendship; whereupon the business remain'd undecided. These men said that they had always highly esteemed the King of France his Friendship, that they had toyled very much in several Wars to the end that he might by them receive Glory, that having by their egregious actions deserved much better salary than they demanded, they could not receive such reasonable reward from that ungrateful King, as they by their service and hazard had won. King Lewis repenting this his advice, sent his Embassadors to their Dyets to accord those differences, who though they had endeavoured to please some of the best amongst them with presents and promises, yet could they not get them to receive the King into their Friendship. 'Tis thought that the hopes of great Reward, and an Opinion of vain Glory did incite the multitude to fight against the King of France since they saw their Friends and Companions rich, and return'd with Conquest from the late Wars of Italy. The Popes authority and exhortations were added to these things; for Julius was wont mightily to magnifice the Helvetians, whom he had honoured with the glorious title of DEFENDERS of the ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTY: and Leo did continually, though under-hand, solicit them to take upon them the defence of the state of Milan. Besides he had sent them a certain summe of Money, by Morone, Maximilian's Embassador, under pretence that it was due unto them for service done in the other Popes time.

And since the recent Memory of the glorious Actions done by that Nation invites me thereunto, I have thought it greatly suiting with the business which I am now in hand with, to say something of their Customes and Discipline.

The Switzers are a Nation of Rusticks, far from any neatness or civil breeding, but very desirous of War, and for strength of body, beyond all the Nations of Europe. They inhabit those high Hills which bound France on the West side, and on the East and North Confiner upon Germany. Therefore as formerly this Counrey was held a part of Gallia Belgica, so now it is placed as a member thereof, within the Confiner of Germany. The Inhabitants suffer much in the scarcity of all things, by reason of the Countries barrenness; the which they use to remedie, not by cultivating the ground, or by merchandizing, as other people for the most part do, but by the pay which they get in the Wars: They think that curious and delicate living makes men effeminate, therefore despising Learning and all civil Adornments, they spend their lives in continual sweat and labour. So as being naturally strong of body, and accustoming themselves to hunger, watching, cold, and thirst, they do so strengthen themselves, as they can easily undergo the hardest things. As soon as their years will suffer

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them to bear Armes, they leave their own homes, put themselves into other Princes pay, and learn all Military Affairs in Armies. Hence is it, that strength of body, and experience in War, makes these fiercely minded men, so daring, as they dread not any Enemy; nor is there any Enterprize so hard or difficult, which they do not willingly undertake; whereby they have won singular praise for matter of war, amongst all Nations: and their Discipline is chiefly esteemed in pitch fields, when people fight with Banners flying. For they so order their Squadrons, as they stand fast and firm, and bear any shock of the Enemy without any disorder. But this their great Industry is marr'd and corrupted by many bad Customes, so as they deserve not that praise which is due to true Worth. For they esteem nothing a fault in War, but to fear the Enemy, and think it not a fault for able valiant men, to take Liberty in committing other faults, so as the Soul being sick and weak in what concerns true Honour, suffers herself the more easily to be contaminated. They have often therefore been observed to despise Loyalty, to refuse obedience even to modest Commands, and to measure all things according to their own Interests, more then according to Honesty. They have Liberty in great esteem, and veneration, and preserve the maintaining thereof more than any other Nation doth. Wherein being contented, and secured by their cragged situation, they go out of their Confiner, not with any intention of enlarging them, but to fight for other mens Power and Glory. So they exercise the Militia rather for profit and private praise, then to acquire Empire and publick Dignity. They are divided into many Communalities, which they call Cantons; and order their Affairs after a form of civil Government, according to the Rules of a popular State. Every Canton hath its particular Laws, and have peculiar Magistrates to do them Justice. But when they treat of most important business, which appertain either to War, or Peace, they all convene in a common Council, which according to occasion is appointed in several places. The way to publick Employment is open to all, for valiant Actions are those which are only esteemed as ornament and greatness in this Nation, which knows no other Riches or Nobility then what is placed in Military Valour. Finally their whole Life is nothing but Warfare, whereby they have won such Reputation with all other Nations, as great provisions are paid in unto them, both in publick and in private, by the most potent Kings of Europe. And Embassadors are sent to them from all parts, to seek League and Friendship with them. But the Switzers seemed to love the Venetians above all others, only for the name of Liberty which is so acceptable to them. Therefore our Common-wealth, to honour them the more, was wont to call them not only Friends, but Cousins, and hath often made use of their Friendship, particularly at that time when by their assistance they drove the French out of Italy.

Therefore the Venetian Senate, relying much upon the Switzers, chose Pietro Stella, Secretary of the Consiglio di Pregadi, and sent him to them in the Common-wealths name, to endeavour the taking of them off from the League which they had made with their Enemies, and to reduce them to Friendship with the French. But when the Secretary was come to Zurich, and began to acquaint them with his Embassie, the fierce multitude, highly incens'd against the King of France, could not only not be perswaded to do so, but scandalized

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zed with the motion, suffered themselves to be so carried away with an uncurb'd fury, as violating the Laws of Nations, they used violence upon the Venetian Secretary, who with much ado and by means of some of the chiefest, and wisest amongst them, escaped the danger, and by order from the Magistrates was secured in his own house. The Council being then called hereupon, war against the French, was with such joynt consent and such fervour resolved upon, as most upon receiving very little pay, and many without any pay at all, made themselves be listed in the Militia, and having in a short time made up a numerous Army, they began to fall down by Squadrons into the Dukedom of *Millan*. When the French Commanders heard that they were come, they were much troubled, remembering their gallant late actions; but considering that they had neither Horse, Victuals, Artillery, nor any other thing fit for an Enterprize, they thought they were not to fear such Enemies as came without any warlike Preparations, rather to pillage than to fight. So as they thought that being dissipated by their own necessities, they would return home without doing any thing, as they had sometime formerly done. Therefore the French not valuing this the Enemies succour, left the City of *Alexandria* well garrison'd, where they had made their first stay, and march'd with their Army towards *Novara*, they intended first to try the Switzers with gifts and promises, and see whether they could sooner overcome them with Gold, than with the Sword; hoping that they might easily bribe them to deliver up Duke *Maximilian* into their hands, following therein the example of their own Countrey-men, who had violated their Faith some few years before to his Father *Lodowick*, in the same place: Which though it should not succeed, thought the taking of that Town would prove no hard business, wherewith they hoped the War would be ended. But this advice was even then blamed by men of great Experience and Fame in Military Affairs, who said the French did not manage the War well, who having already reduced almost all the Cities and Castles in the *Storza's* possession, had bent all their Forces upon the taking of *Novara*, where they would find employment for a good while; when to have done well they should have marched forward with their whole Army to encounter the Spaniards, whom when they should have overcome, and driven out of the State of *Millan*, it might be hoped that the Switzers seeing themselves deceived in their hopes from the Spaniards, would take some other course, now that they were not far from their own homes. Therefore *Gritti* had often times exhorted the French Commanders to mind chiefly the beating of the Spanish Army, whereon the Enemies chief refuge did seem then to depend, and the maintaining of the War. And the Venetian Senate, thinking that the Enterprize should be handled thus, had given order to their General, and to their Commissaries, to make a Bridge over the *Ad-da*, giving out that they would suddenly pass their men over to meet with the French, to the end that the Spaniards frightned thereat, should not only forbear sending succour to the Switzers, but might be enforced to think of their own safety, and retire into the Kingdom

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of *Naples*. The Vice-roys mind was various and uncertain, and his way uncertain; for being gotten but a little from the River *Trebbia*, he returned the next day to the same place, and quarter'd his Camp there, which made all men grow jealous of him, it not being evidently seen whether he meant to retreat, and abandon the Switzers, or by seeming to do so, to assault the Venetian Army at unawares: But seeing that he kept the same Quarters a good while, every one believed that he stay'd expecting the event of things, and accordingly to govern himself, either in continuing Peace with the Venetians, or in making open War against them. Therefore the Venetian Senate carrying themselves in all their resolves, according to the variousness of his Designs, ordered *Alviano*, that if the Spanish Army should pass over the River *Poe*, to joyn with the Switzers, who marched towards *Novara*, that he should advance with all his Forces to free that City from being besieged, and to give credit and assistance to the French Affairs. But that if they should pass the *Poe* on the lower side, and that he did conceive they meant to come upon the Territories of *Verona*, to joyn with the other Enemies of the Commonwealth; that then he should keep his men in such a place as he might be ready to assist wheresoever need should require. *Alviano* therefore halted with his Army in the Territories of *Cremona*, that he might turn any whither according to the Proceedings of the Enemy. This mean while the French had in vain made many assaults upon *Novara*, which was stoutly defended by the Switzers, and now despairing to take it by force, they were in a great strait, for they had certain Intelligence that the Defendants did daily expect great succours: Wherefore the undertaking grew more difficult; they thought that if they should give it over and retreat, the honour of their Army would be much lessened, and the Enemy would be thereby much incouraged, and if they should tarry longer in the same Quarters, they saw it would be to no purpose, and not without danger: Some of the Commanders were of opinion that the Army should remove from those Marsh Grounds, and march into open *Campagna*, where the Chivalry, wherein their chiefest hopes lay, might shew their Worth: That therefore they should go to encounter the Enemy, and set upon them on their way, whom they might easily overcome, since they were unfurnish'd of all warlike Preparation. But *Trivulzio's* opinion prevailed: whose experience Fortune began already to mock. He said they were not to hazard themselves upon the uncertain Event of a Battle, wherefore they withdrew two miles further from the City, and encamped themselves near the River *Mors*, to the end that lying in a safer place they might keep the Enemy from Victuals, and by this means enforce them to surrender. When the French had altered their Quarters, the Switzers not seeing the Enemy appear any where, entred safely into the City of *Novara*, and were exceeding joyfully received by the besieged; and without taking any manner of repose, they called a Council of War, and began to consult how they were to carry on the War, and suddenly it was resolved with a general consent, that they would assault the Enemies Camp the next night.

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They were so inflamed with a desire of Glory, as they despised the worth of all other Nations, which heat of theirs was made the greater by the exhortations of some of the Commanders, who labour'd to persuade the multitude,

That Affairs would grow worse by delay, that dangers did daily increase, and that therewithal Glory would decrease. For they knew that some other of their own Companies would shortly come in to their succour; which, in case that they should get the Victory, would usurpe the greatest part thereof: And that notwithstanding, after such an assistance, their condition would be impaired, if they knew not how to make use of the present occasion of fighting, which was offer'd them. For that there was certain News come that both many Foot and Horse were come into the City of Alexandria, sent by the King of France to joyn with his Army; which if they should be suffer'd to joyn with the rest of the Enemies Forces, Maximilian's Affairs, and the defence of that City would be reduced to great difficulties. That therefore a short delay might produce great difficulties, and spoil a fair advantage. That they were to make use of the opportunity of place, and time which was offer'd them, whilst they had means so to do. That they had then great commodiousness to order their Army in the open Campagna, and to assault the Enemy, who were not encamped in any strong situation, nor had yet time to fortifie themselves by Art, or by their Souldiers labours; so as those little works wherein the Enemy were, would rather prove a hinderance, then an advantage to them. But that above all things nothing made so well for them, and so ill for the Enemy, as the obscurity of the night, for then they could make no use of their Guns, wherein they placed their hopes of Victory, more then in their own courage: Moreover they came with resolution and minds prepared to fight, whereas they should find the Enemy half asleep, astonish'd at the Novelty and unexpected Assault, expecting nothing less at such a season, then battle. That they should not fear the smallness of their numbers, nor for that lost any of their ancient Courage, since the Enemy, though they exceeded them in the multitude of men, were not to be compared to them for Valour. That if they should put this off till another time, there was no hopes hereafter of Battle, whereof the Enemy would be very far from giving any occasion, as they who having opportunity by time to fortifie their Camp, and being sure to keep the City from Victuals, hoped to get the Victory with less hazard. That gallant men might be thus indangered by base people, when they should suffer themselves to be reduced to such necessity, as they must either fight upon much disadvantage, or else being tyred out with want and molestation, fall at last into the Enemies hands. That it better became their Generosity to run the same hazard of life by making Tryal of their Valour, then by suffering the Inconveniences of a Siege. That it was greatness of Spirit, not wariness which was the true Ornament of Souldiers.

These warlike men being wholly set on fire by these speeches, they all with lowd voice desired to be led on to the Enemy. And feeding themselves with the desire of Glory, and hopes of Victory, were not overcome by the weariness of the way. The Commanders praising their Courage and Resolution, dismiss'd them, ordering them to be in readines with their Armes, against the sign should be given.

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

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given. The French having been in Armes all that day, and part of the night, and being told by their Scouts, that all was quiet in *Novara*, had betaken themselves to their rest; and thus being the first night after the raising of their Army, they lay scatter'd and confusedly amongst their Baggage. The better half of the night being past over in silence, 10000 Switzers sallied out of the Town, and having divided themselves into three bodies, marched speedily strait towards the Enemy, and proceeded in such order, as the farther they advanced, the farther did the Army spread abroad. The greatest Squadron was ordered to assault the Enemies Camp on the Front, and to begin the Battle: The other two, when they should be come to the Flanks of the Camp, were to tarry there, and keep the French Horse from succouring the Foot. The Switzers began now to march with displayed Banners against the Enemy, who being advertised of their coming by their Scouts, had but very little time allowed them to stand to their Armes, and put themselves in order, for being startled out of their sleep, and the Commanders being no less abash'd at the first with the Novelty, then the rest, they were much terrified, not knowing well what to do; yet soon after, gathering such Troops together as the suddenness of the accident would permit, they began to give order for such things as were most necessary; and the Souldiers following their Commanders Orders stood to their Arms, and got to their Colours as well as they could. *Trivulcio* kept in the midst of the Battle, *Monsieur de Tremuglia* took care of the right Flank, and *Roberto Sedanio* commanded the left: They all of them exhorted their men the best they could valiantly to withstand the Enemy, affirming they had no reason to fear them, who were weary and tired with their Journey, whilst they themselves were fresh and lusty. They shew'd them how much superior they were to the Enemy both for advantage of Place and numbers of men; that they wanted nothing to obtain the Victory, if they were not wanting unto themselves in boldness and Courage.

The first thing the French did, was forthwith to order their Artillery against the Enemy, whereby to retard the Violence of the Assaulters. But the Switzers, though many of them were slain by the Cannon, keeping their Orders, advanc'd, and bending towards the right hand, they wonne the Ditch, which did environ the French Camp, and addrest themselves against the Enemies middle Squadron, which consisted of Dutch Foot, and wherein their chiefest strength lay. Thus a cruel Battle was begun, all sides fighting with no less hatred then Courage: For these two Nations, as they use almost one and the same Discipline in War, so being Rivals in Glory, they strive for Precedency in Military Valour. The Dutch were not to be made forsake their Station, and the Switzers were very loth to depart without Victory. The Issue of the Battle was therefore a long while doubtful; but the other two Squadrons of the Switzers, which were sent on the Flanks of the French Camp, being safely got neer the Enemy by by-ways, whereby they escaped the danger of the Cannon; and seeing that the Horse did not move to succour their Foot, they put on another Resolution; the one of

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them assaulted the Camp in the Rear, where the Souldiers that were on that Guard being slain, and run away, it turn'd suddenly to pillage the baggage; the other moving with great violence against the French and Navarrese Foot, who guarded the Artillery, and making them run, advanced to succour their own men, who were fighting with the Dutch; and coming very opportunely, fresh and intire upon the Enemy who were wearied, and weakened with fighting, put them into great disorder. This mean while it was noised, that the Switzers were entred the Camp, and were pillaging the Baggage; which as soon as the French Horse heard, who till then had stood still, neither spur of Honour, nor fear of Infamy, being of Power enough to make them enter the Battle, they suddenly ran behind the Camp, to recover the prey from the Enemy. Therefore the Dutch being assaulted on all sides, and forsaken by their Friends, were at last forc'd to yield. The Commanders and all the rest seeing all hopes of Victory lost, fled, and provided as well as they could, for their own safeties. The French Horse, as if they had quite laid aside their ancient Discipline, did nothing that day worthy praise. There are some notwithstanding that say, that being placed in an ill Quarter, because there was a great Fen between them and the Enemy, they were so hindred as they could not get out of the Camp, nor put themselves into the Battle. This was the Battle of *Novara*, which I thought I could not pass over with silence, as well for the weight of the business it self, as likewise for the great Calamities which by reason thereof befell the Venetians. Great alteration of Affairs arose suddenly in *Italy* from this adverse Fortune of the French; and especially of those wherein the Venetians were concerned; For though the greatest part of the French Army, and chiefly the Chivalry, was got safe into the City of *Alexandria*, the Enemy wanting Horse to pursue the Victory, yet the French, parting soon from thence, retreated to *Piemonte*, using no less diligence to return into *France*, then they had done to come for *Italy*. But *Gritti*, who being then in the French Camp, accompanied them in this their flight, was not wanting in exhorting them not to be disheartned so soon at Fortunes first blow. He put them in mind, that by this their immoderate fear they would beget an opinion in men, that what had befallen them by chance, and through the obscurity of the night, proceeded from the Enemies Gallantry, or else from their Cowardize, and that so they would make that their own fault which was the fault of Fortune. That by this base flight the King of *France* would suffer in his Honour, and the Fame of that Nation, glorious for so many Victories would be obscured. *Trivulcio* and the other Commanders used the like Perswasions; and it fell out very opportunely, that in their retreat they met with some Foot Companies, and some Troops of Horse which the King had formerly sent to recruit his Army into *Italy*. But nothing was sufficient to make them stop; they despised their Commanders exhortations and commands, all Military Honour, and whatsoever else, suffering themselves only to be guided by their own Wills. Therefore *Gritti* seeing the French Army wholly defeated, and knowing he could be no longer serviceable

serviceable there for his Common-wealth, return'd by *Savona* to *Genoa*, and from thence took his way towards *Luca*, and at last after much ado, and having ran many hazards, got safe to *Venice*, from whence he had been four years absent. After this Victory, *Maximilian Sforza*, who being but a little before neglected by all his own men, was not in any good condition, did hereby get such Reputation, as the peoples minds altering together with Fortune, Embassadors flock apace to him from all his Cities to return under his Obedience; and the Milanese by a solemn Embassie of the chieft of their City, did strive most of all to obtain his favour and pardon, excusing their Rebellion, and shewing themselves willing to do whatsoever he should command them. The Cities were received into favour, upon condition that they should pay a certain sum of money to the Switzers, that so they might reap the fruit of the Victory which was got by their labour and hazard.

The Vice-roy this mean while, who keeping his Spaniards within their Quarters upon the River *Trebia* even till this day, which was the thirteenth of *June*, had not discovered himself to be Enemy neither to the French nor Venetians; following the Fortune of the Conquerors, past over the *Poe*, and marched towards the Territories of *Cremona* to assault the Venetian Camp, which he knew was there: Which when *Alviano* understood, and finding that the people began to tumultuate in all parts, and that being already begun to be Enemies as well to the Venetians as to the French, they prepared to take up Arms in *Maximilians* behalf, he thought it became him to hasten out of those Confines, and to draw his Army safe out of so many difficulties. The Senate hearing the bad News of the rout of the French, had ordered their General, and Commissioners to retreat with their Camp to *Valeggio*, to defend their Confines; but that they should proceed in such manner, as their Retreat might not seem a running away, whereby their Friends might grow fearful, and their Enemies be emboldned. Yet *Alviano* putting on such resolves as became him to do upon such an accident, seeing his Affairs grew dayly worse and worse, withdrew hastily with his Army to the Territories of *Verona*. But *Cremona* having none to defend her, when he was gone, fell quickly into the Spaniards hands, which was lack'd for having received the Venetian Army within her Walls. Thus the Vice-roy, seeing that other mens dangers had opened a safe way unto his Counsels, resolved to make use of the Occasion, and to fall at the same time upon divers Enterprises. He sent *Prospero Colonna* with 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse towards *Novara* to recruit *Maximilian* with fresh men, if he needed them. He ordered *Francisco Hernando* Marquess of *Pescara* to march with a good Band of men towards *Genoa*, willing him to make what haste he could, to the end that he might assault the City at unawares, and drive *Adorno* out of it, who was newly made Duke, and who was of the French Faction, and to put *Ottaviano Fregoso* into his former place, and use all means possible to reduce that City to *Ferdinands* devotion; which things were performed very boldly and luckily by the Marquess. The Vice-roy passing with the rest of his Army first o-

ver the *Po*, and then over the *Ad*, entred the Venetians Confines, and took *Brescia* and *Bergamo* almost without any gain-saying, together with many Castles in those Territories wherein were left either no Garrisons at all, or but very weak ones. These towns were received in *Cesars* Name, and according to the abilities of each of them, had great Fines set upon them, which being severely raised, were distributed amongst the Spanish Army. *Alviano* being very much grieved to see himself bereft of that Glory, whereunto he had with great hopes aspired, but not any whit lessening his desires, and resolving howsoever to make some gallant Attempt, did without difficulty take the town of *Liguago* as soon as he came into the Territories of *Verona*, and leaving *Giovan Paolo Baglione* with 2000 Foot and a good Troop of Horse to take in the Castle, he march'd apace with the rest of his Army to *Verona*, to endeavour the taking of that City by an unexpected Assault. *Baglione* apply'd himself diligently to the taking in of the Castle, and having beaten down part of the Wall near the Gate with his Artillery, took it after it had been long and valiantly defended by the Spaniards. Whereby he according to his desires received thanks by publique Order from the Senate. But soon after finding that the town could not be made safe in any convenient time, and that when it should be so, it would require a strong Garrison to keep it, they advis'd the General and Commissaries, that taking out the Artillery and Victuals, and burning, or throwing the other things into the River, which they could not easily carry away, whereby the Enemy might be deprived thereof, they should quit it, slighting the Castle and the Walls, which was immediately done. This meanwhile, *Alviano*, being of a ready and sharp wit, coming with miraculous speed so before the City of *Verona*, placed his whole Army on that side which appeared to be weakest, and having by frequent shot of cannon thrown down a good part of the Walls, and thereby made way for an Assault, he made all his light Horse advance, and followed in very good order with the rest of his men, that his Army might seem the greater, and more terrible. Then chusing out 3000 of the most valiant, he divided them into three Squadrons, so as they might undergo the labour and peril by turns, and might according to occasion assist one another. With these he gave the first Assault so fiercely, as those who were within upon the Guard of the Wall being frighted, our Souldiers scaled the ruin'd Walls; but the Wall was so high, though in part batter'd, as kept them from descending into the City. So as being forc'd to stay there, many were slain by Musket-shot, and the rest endeavouring oft'n to advance, met with greater difficulties. For the Dutch Foot running from all parts to the place of greatest danger, threatned to receive such as should dare to descend, upon their Pikes point. Wherefore *Alviano* seeing the difficulty of entering the city hourly to increase, and that those who sided with the Commonwealth, did not rise within the Town in his behalf, as he hoped they would have done; despairing to do any good in this Enterprize, he thought it best to give it over, fearing lest his Army might receive more prejudice, having lost 50 men in this Assault, amongst which

which *Tomaso Fabrone* a very valiant Gentleman, and a Captain of a Foot Company. Thus with incredible speed he took away his Artillery the same day that he had begun the Battery, and given the Assault, and came with his whole camp to the *Tomb*; where thinking himself more safe, he put on new Resolutions, hoping to effect his design by another way of Warfare. He block'd up all passages by which any Victuals might be brought to the City, and then began to waste and consume the Territories round about just when the corn was ripe in the fields, hoping that by this means the Citizens and Souldiers might be brought to yield, the one to preserve their Incomes, and the others to shun the Inconveniences of a Scidg. The Senate had published an Edict a little before, that if the City of *Verona* would willingly of her self return under the Dominion of the Commonwealth, all those who had been of the contrary Faction, should be pardoned; and those who were well affectioned to the Venetians should be largely rewarded. Yet were it either that the Citizens minds were alienated from the Commonwealth, or rather that keeping the same affection still towards her, they were forc'd by fear to conceal it, no commotion at all was seen in the City, nor was there any sign of surrender shewn. Whilst these things were done by way of War, endeavours of Peace were not wholly laid aside. *Leo*, as he had formerly often times exhorted the Venetians to Peace; so did he now the more sollicite them thereunto, hoping the better to compass his desire, for that he thought the Venetians being persecuted by so many ill Fortunes, might be now somewhat more humbled, and better disposed to listen after Peace: And that on the other side *Cesar* being wearied with the length of War, might be no less desirous to have things accommodated in *Italy*, chiefly at this time, when he had undertaken other Wars, to make use of the occasion which was offered of recovering *Bretagne* to his Nephew *Charles* by Arms, and by the assistance of the *Switzers*; who to revenge their own particular Injuries, prepared to assault that State, at such time as *France* being molested with sore Wars by the English was less able to defend it. Yet there were some that imagined these the Collegues endeavours for Peace with the Venetians, proceeded only out of a desire to make our State less careful in providing for War; which suspicion appeared the more rational, for that their Actions did not correspond with their words. The Pope sent *Genesio Santesio* to *Venice*, to treat of Peace, which the King of *Spain* sought also to procure, and yet inclining sometimes to favour *Cesar*, sometimes the Venetians, his Proceedings were so various, as it was not easie to discern whether it were Peace or War that he desired. *Ferdinando* was so ambitious of Glory, as he would not have any thing thought to be agitated by any Prince which was not done by his Council and Authority. Wherefore it was that at the same time, and by the same means he endeavoured contrary things. The Count *di Caretto* who was gone a little before this time from *Venice*, to the Vice-roys Camp, his Secretary who stay'd at *Venice* to dispatch such things as should occur, was present at the treaty of Peace which was negotiated by *Santesio*, and did by Order from him interpose

pose the Kings Authority therein. But this business which had been too often in treaty, had no better success now then it had at other times. For the Venetian Senate being disposed alike in all Fortunes, and not yielding any thing to the present calamities, resolved not to accommodate their counsels to their Enemies desires, but to do in what concern'd either Peace or War, what they thought stood most with the Dignity of the Common-wealth. There was one thing only which might seem to detract from their hopes, and from their constancy of mind; which was, that certain News was given out, that the King of *France*, with whom (as it hath been said) *Ferdinando* had made Truce for what concern'd Affairs on the other side the Mountains; did also treat with him upon conditions of Peace, which if it should succeed, there was reason to doubt that *Cesar* would likewise joyn with them, and that being all joyn'd together, they might once more endeavour the prejudice of the Common-wealth. And this was the more likely to be believed, for that the King of *France* stood in need of such Friendships, now that a heavy War was threatened him by the English. The English Army which was very numerous, was already past over the Sea to *Callis* in *France*; and King *Henry* was ready to pass over himself, to be present at this Enterprize. Therefore upon this so weighty occasion, the Senate thought fit to confirm King *Lewis* by all means possible in his former taken resolution, and to exhort him by the mouth of their Embassadour *Dandolo*, who was then Resident at that Court, not to give the Affairs of *Italy* quite over.

That he would endeavour as soon as might be, to renew the War before the Reputation which he had wonne was lessened, and before his Claim to the Dukedom of Millan, which did now begin to be of Force and Vigour, should grow stale. That the Forces of so great a King were not so much lessened for one Rout received at Novara, as that he should suffer the Switzers, a Mountainous Nation, and which wanted all things, to say they had driven a powerful Prince out of his Dominions, and rob'd him of all the Praise and Profit of the Victory which he had almost already got. That his Majesty of France would put on such Resolutions as became his greatness, and assure himself that the Venetians would never be wanting in any thing to him. That he might command their Forces, Men, and Money, for whilst they had any Power, nay whilst they should have Breath and Life they were ready to expose themselves to all hardship and danger for the Greatness of the Kingdom of France, and in defence of the common cause.

To these things King *Lewis* answered, *That he very much thanked the Venetians for this their Civility, he gave them very good words and hopes, shewing a great desire to revenge himself of his Enemies, for the Injuries which he had received; that it was true his Forces were somewhat diminished, but that his mind continued still the same; and chiefly in prosecuting the War, and continuing League and Friendship with them. That it was the ancient Custom of the Kings of France not to be grievous, but helpful to their Friends: That therefore though he should little mind the Affairs of Italy for any Interest of his own, he would not be unmindful of his Obligations to the Venetians; wherefore he would be ready with all his might to help them to recover their ancient Dominions, and to increase their Honour and Dignity.* But

But it was certainly held that the King of *France* could not misde the Affairs of *Italy* that year, his Kingdom being infested in several parts; for not only the King of *England*, but *Cesar*, and the Switzers had declared themselves his enemies. Yet the Venetians thought it much needs make for their Affairs to keep the Kings mind by these means still set on Glory, and confirm'd with hopes of better success, and to keep him their Friend as much as they could. And that they might begin to receive that advantage by this Negotiation at least which they could not as then expect from his Forces; they exhorted the King, that since he could not at present employ his Forces, nor his thoughts upon the Affairs of *Italy*, he would the mean while endeavour to remove all those Impediments which might afterwards, when he should have leisure to think thereon, make his acquisition of the Dukedom of *Millan* more difficult. That therefore he should endeavour to get help from all parts, and that he should chiefly get the Pope to joyn with him in League and Friendship. Which thing being desired very much by his Nobility, and generally by all the people of *France*, *Lewis* was persuaded to send the Bishop of *Marcellus* Embassadour to *Rome*, to let the Pope know, *That he had annull'd the Counsel which he had formerly removed to Lyons, and was ready to joyn with that of Latheran, which was then celebrated in Rome, and that following the Custom of his Ancestors, he would always highly honour the holy Name of Pope, and would be ready to defend the Church of Rome to the utmost of his Power.*

At the same time the Venetians sent ten Embassadours to the Pope, all of them both for Age and Dignity the chief of the City, that they might witness the singular Affection and Reverence which they bore unto him, which having formerly endeavour'd to do, they had appointed their Embassadour at *Rome*, *Francisco Foscarini*, that as soon as the Counsel should be begun which the Pope had intimated to be held at *St. John of Latheran*, he should be present there in the name of the Common-wealth.

But afterwards they found the Popes mind to be otherwise disposed than they had thought; for fearing now no more the French Forces after the Rout at *Novara*, which was the reason why till then he had handled his business variously, detembling his secret Intentions, expecting the Issue of that War, he began to discover himself, and the Practices which he had held secretly before with the Common-wealths Enemies.

He reprehended the Venetians, and blamed them for having call'd back the French into *Italy*, to their own prejudice, and the like of others; and that they, who ought more then all the rest to have laboured the quiet and liberty of *Italy*, were the cause of raising new Commotions, and of bringing her again under the Slavery of Barbarians. Which that they might appear the more hainous faults, he accused them of being minded if their Affairs had succeeded prosperously, to turn their Forces against the Church, which he said might be easily seen by their League made with the French, wherein having obliged King *Lewis* to assist them in recovering whatsoever they were possess'd of before that War, there was no doubt but that they aspired at the Recovery of the Lands of *Romagnia*.

Leo did oft times expostulate these things, for not being able long to conceal his Counsels, he endeavour'd to excuse himself by laying the fault on others, and by supposing a necessity for what he had done, and by alledging false reasons for it, to deserve Praise instead of Blame. He was continually sollicit'd by *Cesar* to send him those Aides which were promis'd him by agreement by his Predecessor, and which were renewed by him. Therefore *Leo* being no longer able to make either excuse or delay, he ordered *Torazio Savello*, and *Mutio Colonna*, who commanded his *Gens d'Armes*, that they should depart from *Bologna*, where they then were, and go with their Troops, which consisted of one hundred Horses apiece, to joyn with the Dutch and Spanish Army. The Venetians were troubled at nothing more then to see that the Pope had declared himself their Enemy; for they having never been faulty in their Love and Obedience to him, in any whatsoever condition of his Fortune, as he himself had confess'd, and seem'd desirous of an occasion to deserve it of the Common-wealth, they presumed they might safely build upon his favour: And though he had not as yet joyn'd with them in any League against their Enemies, yet they thought him no whit less well minded towards them, but rather that he desired to have no hand in the War, to the end that he might be the freer from all suspicion, and be the better able to use his Authority in serving them upon managing any Agreement. The Venetians seeing no hopes of Peace, and that their Enemies did increase in numbers and Forces, plac'd all their hopes in themselves; and betook themselves to provide more diligently for all things, which they thought might secure them from so many dangers, and revenge their Injuries. They took many Foot Souldiers into pay out of *Romagnia*, and list'd a great many light Horse: Moreover they ordered *Vicenzo Capello*, who was Commissary for the Fleet, that he should recruite the Gallies with Marriners, and furnish the Fleet with all things necessary, that he should recall the Candie Gallies, and having gotten what numbers of Vessels he possibly could from all places, he should with all speed bring the whole Fleet to *Sara*. With the like diligence they provided Victuals, Ammunition, and Moneys, and all things else, as it were, for the beginning of a new War. Some Senators were of opinion, that the Fleet should put into the Rivers of *Puglia*, and infect the Maritime Places, and that they should by all possible means seem at least to revenge themselves of King *Ferdinando*, who being provoked by no Injury, had declared himself an Enemy to the Common-wealth. Yet having thought better hereupon, they thought it was not fit, in so calamitous times as these were, to incense a great King so far as to block up all ways of ever returning into his favour. The Venetian General was this mean while with his Army upon the Banks of *Adice*, and being advertised by the Spies, that the Spaniards were gone towards *Vicensa*, intending to go to *Padua*; and that *Cordona*, with whom those men were already joyn'd, which, as we told you before, were sent by him upon other Enterprises, was marching with his whole Army towards him, he thought it fit to get beyond the *Adice*, so to free his own men from danger, and by them

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to secure the Cities of *Padua* and *Treviso*. Therefore the Senate, though it had been of another Opinion but a little before, fearing least their Affairs might run into some greater disorder, commended *Alviano's* Advice, and forthwith sent *Luigi Barbato* to re-build the Bridge over the *Adice* at *Albaredo*, which as soon as it was finished, the Army pass'd immediately over, and stay'd at *Montagnana*, where it quarter'd. But after the departure of their Army, the Venetian Affairs, which by reason of their first good successes, began a little to hold up their head, fell to precipitate again. *Polesine di Rovigo* yielded presently to the Enemy, and great Ristings were in all parts; for the people in the Venetians Dominion, seeing their Enemies to grow strong, and their Friends weak, and that they were grievously molested by the one, and but slowly defended by the others; even such Towns as had been most faithful to the Common-wealth, did on all sides, for their own safety surrender to the Enemy. Only *Renzo da Ceri*, who stay'd with part of the people to defend *Grema*, wonne some Praise in War at this time, and did somewhat maintain the ancient Venetian Reputation; for sallying frequently out of the City, he much incommodated the Enemy, he pillag'd and overran their Confines, fired their Towns, took many Prisoners, took away their Monies, which he brought to the Camp, and maintained the Souldiers therewith. The Spanish Army being this mean while advanc'd to countenance and assist *Cesar's* Assaults, the Town of *Peschiera*, having made some little resistance, fell into the Power of the Enemy, and the Castle likewise, though it were strongly walled, and well garrison'd, was the easilier lost by the disagreement of the Captains. *Lodovico Contarini*, who was Putvbyet for the City, was taken Prisoner together with the Captains, and most of the Souldiers, the rest escap'd the Enemy by flight. From hence, the Spaniards losing no time, went presently towards *Verona*, and joyning with the Dutch, at the Town *San Martino*, they began to consult, how they were to manage the War, whereupon there being several Votes given, the Opinion of the Bishop *Gurghense* was at last followed, which was to march with the whole Army to the taking in of *Padua*. *Gurghense* was the Emperours Lieutenant in Italy, and was particularly at this time as Head of all the rest in *Verona*, from whence going to the Army, he held therein likewise the supreme Authority. It was not well known whether this Enterprise were propounded by *Gurghense*, as by command from *Cesar*, or of his own meer Advice, that so if it should succeed, he might win the greater Praise, the Enterprise being very difficult. But howsoever, *Gurghense* despising the Opinion of the Military men, who were all against him, did obstinately persist in his Opinion, and yet in his Speeches he stood rather upon amplifying the Greatness of the Rewards which they were to expect from the Victory, than upon giving any reason why they should hope to be victorious. But *Alviano*, who had already convey'd all the Artillery and Baggage into *Padua*, that he might be the freer and readier to march accordingly as he should see the Enemy move; when he heard their Resolution, arose presently with his whole Army, and was very sollicitous in putting good Gar-

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risons into *Padua* and *Treviso*; for it was generally thought that the whole success of the War did depend upon the Preservation of these two Cities. *Baglione* went with 2500 Foot and 400 Horse to the custody of *Treviso*; and *Andrea Malipiero* was sent thither likewise from the Senate, that he might take particular care for Ammunition, and all other things which might be requisite for the Souldiers. And *Alviano* went himself with the rest of the Army into *Padua*; and though the City might seem to be sufficiently therewith garrisoned, yet the Senate would have some companies chosen out of *Venice* and *Istria* which should be put into Arms, and sent to guard that City: Moreover many of the Country people who were run into *Venice* to save themselves from the Enemy, were sent thither, to be made use of as Pyoners upon any occasion. To infuse the greater courage and confidence into all which, many of the young Nobility of *Venice*, and many other well born Citizens, went with their Servants and Friends to the defence of *Padua*, and readily exposed themselves in common with the other Souldiers to all labour and danger of the War. *Gritti* also, who had hardly been eight dayes in his Country, was sent by order of the Senate to that City to discharge the same place which was formerly done by *Malipiero*. *Padua*, a great and noble City, was kept by the Venetians with great care and vigilancy; for the Common-wealth having placed the surest Foundations of her Empire by Land in that City, both for the opportunity of its situation, fertility of ground, and certain other fortunate Auspices, they had not been wanting in these hardest times, to attend the Preservation of that City with all sort of care; so as it was made very strong, and those parts of the Suburbs were thrown down, which extending themselves into a great length, could not be walled in; the Trees were cut down for a good space round about the City; and all the neighbouring Villages pull'd down to the ground, so as being inviron'd on all sides by open fields, no Enemy could approach the City, but must be discover'd from a far off, and expos'd to the shot of Cannon. The Emperour *Maximilian* had formerly endeavour'd the taking of this City with great warlike Preparation; but finding all to be in vain, was forc'd to quit the Enterprize. But the Venetians hereby instructed, had with all care and diligence caus'd works to be made about the Fort, and had brought it to great security and perfection. The City was likewise excellently well provided with Victuals, and much corn was every day voluntarily brought in by the Neighbouring Inhabitants. There was great store of Artillery of all sorts, which being very well ordered and disposed of, did sufficiently guard the Walls on all sides, though they were of a very large circuit. Thus had the Venetians carefully provided for all things requisite to the Preservation of this City, mov'd thereunto rather out of the considerableness of the cause, then fear of danger. All these things being thus ordered, those who were to defend the City did courageously expect the Enemies Approach: who being gone to the Castle of *Este*, and from thence falling down along the River banks till they were come within two miles of the City, encamp'd themselves on the right hand of the river *Bachiglione*. There

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was nothing in the enemies Army except the train of Artillery which could give such Reputation as was requisite for the winning of so renowned a City. The men were but few for such an Enterprize; the Foot did not exceed 8000, nor the Horse above 1000 in all: And their provision for Victuals was but by hazard, from day to day; so as it was conceived the Army would in a short time be reduced to great straits. There were several Commanders in the Army of very great Renown in War, but their experience was of no avail here, by reason of the Bishop *Gurghense* his great Authority, and his greater Obstinacy. But that which did most of all trouble, and confound the Commanders, was the difficulty of bringing the Artillery to the Walls, and of leading on their Souldiers safe to the Assault. Which could not be done without a long and laborious work of Trenches, under the shelter whereof they might escape the Cannon-shot which play'd from all parts. But such work required so many men to make them, as though all the Countrey round about was fetch'd in with great severity, yet could they not find men enough for the business. Inasmuch as the Enemy having begun to make a broad and deep Ditch, which was led on by crooked lines from the Camp to the City, to make a Fence against the cannon-shot which was made from off the City Walls, with the earth which they threw out; they were forced quickly to forsake that work, as well for want of Pioners, as for the continual disturbance which they met with from the City, and chiefly by the light Horse, which falling out often at unawares, fell upon the Pyoners, disturb'd the work, and did continually infect the Enemy sundry wayes. So as nothing passing on either side but slight Skirmishes, the time past on and but little was done; and the Inconveniences of the Enemies Army increasing every day more and more, their hopes of getting the City grew lesser and lesser; for the Camp being pitch'd in a low situation, and subject to the often Inundation of water, and consequently let's healthful, the Souldiers began to fall sick apace, so as they could not tarry there; moreover the Camp being kept from being victuall'd, by Light Horse which sallied often out of the City, and not being furnish'd with any great store out of the Countrey, the Army was greatly inconvenienced. The Souldiers not being content with their abode there, complained grievously, and with injurious words told their Commanders,

That that Enterprize was idly undertaken, that the business was too difficult, and which by other tryals was almost impossible to effect; that they would not refuse any duties how sore soever, nor shun any danger if there were any hope of good success, but that a business which was not accompanied with any hope of good, was certainly not only vain, but very dishonourable, and mis-becoming Military men. What hopes had they to win a strong City now, when numerous Armies of several joyn't Princes being brought before it to the same purpose four years ago, were forced with shame to forego it? What reason had Caesar to persuade himself, that his very name, though at a far distance should make so much for the Victory now, when his presence could not effect it before? That a War of such importance ought not to be govern'd by the Authority and Counsel of Bishop Gurghense, a man wholly unexperienced in what belong'd to War. That

he minded only *Cæsars Affairs*, and cared not for the *Souldier*; that they had not received their due pay, nor had not had such Aids sent them as was promised. What remained there now to be done but immediately to raise the Camp.

These Speeches being noised throughout the whole Camp, came to *Gurghense's* ear, who being moved thereat, and despairing now to perfect his work, it being taken into consideration to raise the Camp, he who had formerly tenaciously defended the contrary opinion, gave suddenly his consent thereunto: So as on the 16th of August by consent of all, the Camp was raised, and *Padua* was freed from the Siege, which had laid before it 20 days, occasioning more fear then danger.

The Enemy marched towards *Vicenza*, and finding it without any Garrison, and forsaken by the Venetian Magistrates, and chiefest part of the Citizens, who hearing of the Enemies approach, had with-drawn themselves into stronger Holds, they soon took it: and the Souldiers began to commit many enormous cruelties; they plundered private mens Houses, not forbearing Churches, nor sacred things, but tore and rent the miserable City; not for that they had therein received any injury, but because the Army was for the most part maintain'd by Rapine, which did never receive pay in due time. When the Camp had stay'd there a while, it began to find want of many things; for the City being wasted by War could not supply the Army with sufficient Victuals, the Inhabitants having transported their corn and cattle to other parts; and it was hard to get any from other parts by reason of the free-booting Carobines, which by perpetual In-roads kept the Enemies Army from Victuals; being then forced out of these respects to quit those Quarters, the Bishop *Gurghense* went with the Dutch to *Verona*, and the Vice-roy went to encamp at *Alberedo* upon the River *Adice*. Over which he began to cause a Bridg be made, intending as he affirmed to lead his Souldiers into the Territories of *Bergamo* and *Brescia*. But seeing that the Vice-roy tarried long in those Quarters, *Alviano* was of opinion, to draw the men out of *Padua* and *Trevigi*, and to assault the Enemy, who free from all suspicion, and scattering themselves about the Countrey for Pillage disorderly, might soon be routed. He said that the whole Remainder of the War lay in this Army, which if it should be beaten, the War was ended; and that as long as it should be kept together, the Enemy would always be able to molest the Common-wealth.

But the Senate thought otherwise, being constant in the opinion not to hazard that Army to the uncertain event of Battle, in which the chiefest hopes of their Preservation lay. Neither thought they it safe in such hazardous times, to draw the Garrisons out of *Padua* and *Trevigi*. But howsoever keeping this their Intention secret to themselves, they endeavoured to beget an other opinion amongst men, to the end that such News being spread abroad, and that the Enemy hearing that their Army was to take the field, they might forbear free-booting, and might hasten out of their confines. But *Cordona*, little valuing such Rumors, which he saw not in many days seconded by any effects, but rather taking courage hereby, and hoping

ping for better things, he began to promise himself good success in whatsoever he should take in hand. Wherefore changing his former opinion, and calling back the Dutch Souldiers to him, he marched oncemore towards the Territories of *Padua*, with intention (as it was seen since the season would suffer him to do nothing else) to over-run and pillage all that Countrey. Some say that *Cordona* was moved to this by the many complaints which *Gurghense* made against him, calling him a *Liconian*, of an unsettled mind, that he did too much affect the continuing in that Dignity, and that he used deceit, because he proceeded slowly in the Siege of *Padua*, and in all his other works. Others believe that *Cordona* was enforced to take this course; for that the Army being much in arrear for pay, which they demanded with great ferrency, and not without insolency and tumult, it became him since he wanted moneys to satisfy the Souldier, to stop their mouths by suffering them to prey upon the Enemy, so to supply their want of pay. *Prospero Colonna* was of a contrary opinion, who held the next place in the Army, after *Cordona*. This man having often overcome the Enemy both by Counsel, and by the Sword, had wonne great Renown both for his Valour and Will-dorm in Military Affairs.

He after his accustomed manner, affirm'd the other to be a rash and unbecoming Counsel; for that good part of the Autumn being now over, and the time drawing neer wherein Armies began to draw out of the field, this would be to engage the Army in action out of Season; that they could not go into the Enemies Countrey without much danger, they being to pass between two strong Cities, full of Souldiers, as if they went through the jaws of the Enemy; but that the chiefest difficulty would lie in getting out of the Countrey, which was so environed with Rivers, and in a season when great rains were likely to fall, and where snares were to be laid for them by their Enemies on all sides; that therefore that Counsel was to be held the best, whereby the Army was to be preserved from great danger, which when it should be closed in by great Rivers and in the midst of the Enemy, and should also want Victuals, might instead of spoiling the Enemy, be made a prey of by them. That therefore some better Proposals ought to be made for the preservation of the Army, and not seek to prevent uncertain dangers by certain ruine. But *Colonna's* advice would not be listned to; for *Piscara*, who confided much upon the Spanish Foot, and totally slighted the Italian Souldiers, joy'd in Opinion with *Cordona*, and got it to be put in effect. Wherefore the Camp suddenly moved, and that they might march with more speed, they left the baggage behind them, neither did they take all their Artillery with them. They took up their first Quarters at the Castle of *Montagnana*; and went from thence to that part of the Paduan Territories, which extends it self towards *Chioggia*, and towards the Sea; which was the richest part of all the rest, both for fruitful fields, and store of Inhabitants: And was at this time particularly full both of people, and of cattle, because many of the Countrey people had with-drawn themselves thither, as into a place of safety. There is one Town in these parts observable, called *Bovolenta*, seated in a place free from the sudden In-roads of the Enemy; for the River *Bachelone* which takes

takes its course from the Territories of *Vicenza*, as soon as it comes to the Town of *Bassanello*, two miles distant from *Padua*, runs a various and crooked course through the Paduan Territories, having received into her bosom some parts of the waters of *Brenta*, which invironing a great space of ground, meet and joyn together in this place. There was a Castle here of old, which being taken by *Alphonso Duke of Ferrara*, when things went worst with the Common-wealth, was afterwards recovered by the Venetians, and fortified as much as the situation could bear. The Enemies came first hither, and passing over the River with some Boats, they took, and burnt the Castle, and sack'd the Town; having opportunity to make the greater Booty, for that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, thinking that the Enemies Army was so far advanced, as not to return, fearing no farther danger, were returned to their own houses; so as the Enemy coming upon them at unawares, they had very little time left them to escape their hands. The Vice-roy then led on his Army farther to that part of the River which comes from *Padua*, over-running and plundering all that whole Countrey even to the Gates of *Chioggia*. Nothing was seen through all places that they went, but death and rapine. From thence he went towards the Castle *di Pieve di Sacco*, a rich place, and well inhabited, which they ranfack'd, with all manner of injurious dealing, pardoning nothing neither sacred nor profane. And whilst the rest are busied in these Rapines, *Troilo Savello* one of the Popes Captains, understanding by some that fled away, that many Countrey people were with-drawn with their Wives, Children, and Goods to those Marshes, made by the waters of *Brenta*, five miles distant from the City of *Venice*, where the *Terra firma* parts from the Wash, past over the *Brenta* with 150 Horse, and some Foot Companies, and marched speedily thither, which when the many that were there without either Arms or Garrison, understood, they began suddenly to flye, and being scattered here and there as they ran, they were taken Prisoners; yet many out of the knowledg of the passages, escaped. The prey which they got here was forthwith carried away by the Enemy, whereby they got but little good, though much Infamy.

Savello past on then towards *Mestre*, whither *Mutio Colonna* was gone a little before with some of the Popes men, and chasing away some Horse, nor meeting with any to with-stand him, had taken that Town: Wherefore *Savello's* Souldiers, which came thither after, minded nothing but Booty, and not leaving any thing behind them, burn'd the Castle. These were followed more slowly by *Cordona*, who being come to the Wash at the utmost point of the *Terra Firma*, which is commonly called *Marghera*, he gave order for the planting of his cannon there, and made many shot towards the city of *Venice*, which was just over against him. This City which is round about environed with salt water, hath no way which leads unto it by Land, and the ways by Sea which are known to those who are acquainted with the sundry and uncertain channels, are block'd up to others and concealed. Therefore safe by her situation, and needing no Garrison to defend her, she is preserved from any calamity

mity of War, and dispatch the power of her Enemies. But this proud Spaniard, to whom this was well known, would be able to boast as of a very glorious thing, that he had got so near so famous a City with so small an Army, whereby he might, as it were, bereave her of that Renown which she had won amongst other Nations. 'Tis very true that Fortune had shewn her self at this time very bitter and cruel towards the Venetians, who were not able now to stop the force of so weak an Army, having formerly with much boldness and success, opposed the greatest Forces which threatned the liberty of *Italy*. The Citizens were therefore sorely grieved, seeing the Honour of *Venice* with such insolency offended, and that they must be forc'd to suffer those who were so well affectionated to the Common-wealth, and who had lived so long safe and quiet under her Empire, to be now thus lacerated by all sorts of cruelty: And that whereas formerly they were wont to assist distressed Forreigners, they could not now defend their own. The Venetians were formerly formidable to others, but now so cow'd, as they were forced to fear their own Affairs. Which variety of Fortune was the harder to be tolerated, out of the memory of their former Felicity. But the Enemy fore-going those parts the next day that they were come thither, went still wandering up and down the Paduan confines, and wheresoever they came, laid the Countrey waste, all things were stoln and consumed by the Souldiers, who where they found no Inhabitants, and consequently nothing to bear away, that they might even there leave some signs of their rage and wickedness, they shewed their madnes against the Walls and Houses, firing all as well publick as private Buildings, as were any thing beautiful. But *Cordona*, growing now aware of his rash counsel, was desirous to hasten his departure, but could not keep the Souldiers from pillage and plunder, who had so long a time lived licentious, neither by laying before them the necessity of departing suddenly, nor by his Power or Authority.

At this time *Alviano* kept with his Army in *Padua*, and much troubled to see these Proceedings of the Enemy, could not well suffer, that so much to his disparagement, and to the dishonour of the whole Italian Militia, they should be permitted to pass by, leaving so strong, and so well garrison'd a City behind them, without paying for this their rashness, and for having ruin'd and wasted so large a space of ground. He therefore advertised the Senate, that he would march out of the City with his men, and meet the Enemy to block up his way in his return.

He alledged, *That being laden with prey, and marching in disorder, they might easily be beaten; that their Common-wealth was fallen into a most miserable condition, very much unworthy of her former Glory, nor was she to be put into a better, but by a noble daring, and by a gallant, and generous Assault.* But the Senators were of another mind; thinking that to have respect to all things, was not the part of abject and cowardly, but of solid and resolute persons, and that it did not suite with the Gravity of the Venetian Senate, nor with the praised Wisdom, which they had in the perpetual course of so many years won, to place their resolutions,

solutions, and the totall of their Affairs in the power of chance; the success of Battle being always doubtful, and uncertain: That therefore their Judgment was, that the Enemy should only be molested by the Chivalry, leaving the rest of the Army to guard the City.

But *Alviano* was too head long born to the desire of Victory, so as his mind being blinded with a desire of Glory, he oft times knew no danger, and did despise the safest and wisest counsels. Therefore pressing daily more and more that the Army might remove from *Padua*, and the Venetian Commissaries being of the same opinion, being induced, as they said, to hope well, out of a singular good affection which they found in the Commanders and Souldiers towards the Common-wealth, and as great a readines in them to defend her honour, the Senate departing a little from their first resolution, left the business to *Alviano*; that if he thought it might make well for their Affairs, he might march with his Army out of the City: always provided that he would be sure to quarter his Army in so secure a place, as he might not be compell'd to run the hazard of a Battle. And that he would so follow the Enemy, as without indangering himself, their Army might be inforced to disband, being consumed through their own Inconveniences. And that he should remember that it was the duty of a Commander to overcome the Enemy no less by counsel than by the sword. The Senate also charged the Commissaries, that they should use all means possible to confirm the Souldiers minds; and that in the name of the publick, they should thank the Captains, and every man of any account in the Army for their good will to the Common-wealth. The Souldiers were then quickly drawn out of *Padua*; they took up their first Quarters at *Limina*, where the Brent dividing her self into two branches, takes her course by several ways into the Sea: This place was made choice of, because 'twas thought the Enemy could not pass the River lower, it being deeper there. Our Army being fixt here, *Andrea Loredano*, one of the Commissaries, having assembled all the Horse Commanders, and Captains of Foot, and some other of the chiefest Souldiers together, spoke thus unto them, according to the Order he had received from the Senate.

The Senate having understood by Letters from us, and by the relation of many others, with what Courage, and hopes, You my fellow-Souldiers have taken the Field, as if you were assured of Victory, but yet with a mind prepared and disposed for all events, were all of them so over-joy'd with the News, as even with tears in eyes, they humbly thanked God, that amidst so many blows of adverse Fortune, he had afforded them this of comfort, that in so calamitous times he had given them proof of your Bravery, and of your singular affection to the Common-wealth. Therefore they have commanded us in their Names to let you know that our City bears the like good will to you; and to witness unto you how great an obligation the whole Common-wealth acknowledgeth to one unto you for it; and that her Citizens will always thankfully remember it, which they desire you to take in good part till such time as when Fortune shall better upon us, they may witness it better by effects. The Common-wealth doth now by me give you many thanks. Let nothing then be of force enough to re-

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move you from the affection which you seem to bear her, or to make you repent this your purpose. You have taken upon you to defend a noble City and her just Empire, which is the Seat of the Liberty, and the Glory of Italy; which City whilst she shall have either Seat or Power, you may be sure will not be wanting in rewarding your great desert; for we have ever greatly esteem'd, and honour'd all valiant and honest men. It is too apparent that the Transalpine Nations envy our re-rising greatness; out of the memory of the ancient Worth and Empire of the Italians; and that therefore they do use all the means they can to ruin our Common-wealth; which is the true Glory of Italy. But we having formerly made much greater Forces of our Enemies prove vain, our City hopes we shall now be easily able to beat the remainders thereof, which are all now in this Army. The Aids which we have had from the Friendship of Foreign Princes, and from Trans-Alpine Forces, have been of no advantage to us, but have often done us more harm than good; but our Common-wealth will find all things in your love and affection, a ready Will, perspicuous Worth, and as I hope, successful Fortune. We are not now to fight with Souldiers, but rather Thieves; for they do not wage War according to the Custom of Military men, nor do they thereby endeavour Empire and Glory, but guided by fury, are contaminated with all sort of Rascality: God will not suffer their wickedness to remain long unpunish'd; so as our Militia will be crown'd, as I trust, with Victory and Triumph. We have a faithful, and loyal Army, and in it many gallant Souldiers chosen out of the Flower of all the Italian Militia; the Enemy are oppress'd with much want of Victuals, and their men, now many months accustomed to pillage, not to fighting, being beyond measure imberbed, slothful, and wanton, have made their bodies weak, and in their minds effeminate: Yes must not we for all this be the less diligent, we must observe all the removes of the Enemy, block up their way, and finally we must leave nothing undone, whereby either by mature advice, or forward daring, according as time and place shall require, we may be able to slay these insolent Enemies; to take them, scatter them, and recover what they have got of ours. If those things which we have resolv'd upon, be duly put in execution, doubtlessly the Enemies Army, which is now become so insolent through the prey which they have gotten, will become our prey. Things are now grown so hopeful, as the Senators, and the whole City, believing the Victory to be certain, begin to think how they shall reward you, and pay you the merits of so gallant an action. The eyes of all Italy are bent upon this, and are big with expectation what the success will be, hoping to be one day revenged for all the Injuries which she hath received from the Barbarians. You must therefore endeavour by all means not to defraud the Senate of the fruit of their hoped for Victory; no the rest, of the opinion they have conceiv'd of your Gallantry, nor yet your selves of Praise and Glory.

Loredano having said this, the whole Army answered with one joynt voice, *That they were ready for all things, nor would they refuse cheerfully to undergo any whatsoever danger, for the welfare of the Common-wealth, and for their own honour; that they wished the Common-wealth might for the future be more prosperous and successful, which for their parts they would by all industry endeavour, and whatsoever her for-*

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tune should be, they would think it to be their own: That the Commonwealth might many times before have known their Fidelity, but that they were glad [he should now have tryal both of their Fidelity and Valour.

Thus with univcrsal consent, and great alacrity, the Camp removed, and the Army was brought to *Fontanina*, two miles distant from *Cittadella*, where our men resolved to wait for the Enemy, because the River could not be well waded over any where else. They planted their Artillery upon the Banks thereof, and placed sufficient Garrisons in every fitting place, and not far from hence was the Army encamped, betwixt which and the Artillery, a large Ditch was drawn, that the Souldiers might upon any whatsoever occasion be fenced within a strong Trench. The Enemy hearing this, began to hasten their March, to the end that they might pass the River before those men which they knew were led on by *Baglione*, might joyn with *Alviano's* Army. But as soon as they were come to the Banks of *Brent*, and that they found them to be guarded by many Garrisons, and that their passage was stop'd there, they resolved without delay to march farther on; *Cardona* gave order, that whilst the rest of the Army marched, the Light Horse should stay behind, and that keeping about the River Banks, they should let themselves be seen by our men who were on the other side, whereby their departure might not be suspected; and the Enemy having marched three miles towards the upper part of the River, where they found no Guard, they past their men safely over, using such diligence therein, as our men hearing afterwards that *Cardona* was gone to pass over the River; before our men could be drawn forth to hinder their passage, the Enemies whole Army were past over, and had put themselves in order to stand our Assault. *Alviano* finding that the business had succeeded much otherwise then he had thought, was much afflicted, that he had miss'd the opportunity of assaulting the Enemy, whilst they were divided, and busied in passing over the River; for by the opinion of the other Commanders, and his own also, it was resolved, that they would not come to a day of Battle with the Enemy, but upon some notable advantage, and that they would expect the succour which *Baglione* brought them from *Treviso*. But *Cardona*, as soon as he had past the *Brent*, turn'd towards *Vicenza*, and because he was to take his way about, *Alviano*, that he might prevent the Enemy, and possess himself of the passes by a nearer way, took his way suddenly thitherward: The mean while he sent *Nicolo Vendramino* before with all the light Horse, to the end that he might vex the latter Squadrons of the Enemy, and retard their March as much as he might. He then gave order that all the Bridges which he thought the Enemy might make use of, should be broken down, that the tops of the Mountains should be possess'd by Countrey people, and that many Trees should be cut down, and laid cross the High-ways, and that all Avenues might be with all diligence block'd up, *Manfrone*, having assembled a great many Mountrainers of all the Country thereabout, to near about the number of 5000, with these, and with some small pieces of Artillery, possess'd himself of the pass of *Montecchio*. At the same time

whilst

Part I. * Written by Paulo Paruta.

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whilst these things were a doing, *Alviano* having left *Gritti*, and *Baglione* with a third part of the Army in *Vicenza*, to defend that City, he past on three miles farther, and finding a Plain fit to receive the Camp, he took up his Quarters there, and began forthwith to fortifie it. This place was thus situated. In the High-way which leads from *Vicenza* to *Verona*, when you come to the Village *Olmo*, there is a little Plain out of the way, somewhat on the right hand, which being guarded on the right hand by *Monti di Creazzo*, and environ'd almost every where on the other side by a Valley, is naturally very strong, and there is but one way that leads unto it. In the midst thereof the ground is somewhat raised up, and makes the place fitter to encamp in. *Alviano* chose this as a fit and safe place to tarry in. He together with the rest of the Commanders, resolv'd to expect the coming of the Enemies Army there, according to the Senates Order, and blocking up his Passes to reduce him to a scarcity of Victuals; not affording the Enemy any opportunity of coming to a day of Battle, for it was clearly conceived, that without running any hazard, the Victory was to be ours. The Venetian Camp was pitch'd (as hath been said) in a very strong place, and very fit to draw the business out in length, and where they had plenty of all things necessary; on the contrary the Enemy suffer'd many Inconveniences, and their difficulties did daily increase.

Cardona this mean while, following the journey he had begun, was come to within about four miles of the Venetian Army, and making his Camp tarry in a place which is called by the Countrey people *La Motta*, being much confus'd and troubled, he consulted with the rest of the Commanders, what course they had best to take in the very great straits which they were in. They differ'd in their Opinions, but they all agreed in their very small hopes of safety, or remedy for so many dangers and difficulties. They could not keep longer in those parts for want of Victuals, and it was almost impossible for them to get away, the Passages being strait, difficult, and guarded by strong Garrisons. They must either go towards *Trent*, or towards *Verona*, to either of which they might go by two ways; for they might go from where they were into *Germany* either by a shorter cut over the Mountains of *Schie*, or by a longer way about, through the confines of *Basense*; and likewise they might get into the way which leads to *Verona* by the way of the Plain wherein they were, or by climbing up the Mountains on the right hand. But whichever of these ways they should take, they were to meet with almost the same difficulties, some of these passages being very rough and craggy, and the rest fortified and guarded by the Venetians; so as the Commanders knew not which way to chuse, nor how to make their passage. Thus after long and various disputes, they at last resolv'd to make their way by the Sword, since in great difficulties, great and unwonted Valour is to be shewn. Wherefore *Cardona*, seeing that the present wants, and the greater ruine which over-hung the Army, could be no longer concealed, without farther delay, thought it was best to acquaint the Souldiers how Affairs stood with them, and to encourage them as much as he might; wherefore calling them all together, he spoke thus unto them.

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Were not your Worths, my Fellow Souldiers, well known to me by many gallant Tryals, I should not dare to lead on this Army, recommended to my trust by two great Princes, Cesar and Ferdinando, where I know you are to make your way by your Swords. But if I should take any other course, your Glory would be the less, and your condition the less fortunate, by losing the Honour which this noble Attempt, and the rich Booty which you have taken from the Enemy, doth put into your hands. As the memory of your former actions hath put me upon this bold and generous undertaking, so trusting to your Worth and upon the Fortune which attends this Army, I assure my self I shall conduct you all safe out of danger. And certainly if you will be men, and mindful of your own actions, these difficulties which seem now to threaten ruins to you, will turn to your greater Glory. Necessity sometimes makes even abject and cowardly men, daring and generous; but to tarry till you be thereby constrain'd to shew your Valour, suites not with the opinion which is held of you, and of your Worth. You ought to know into what condition we are brought: All ways whereby to march away, are stoppt, either by the Mountains, or by our Enemies Forces. On the one side we have craggy and Mountainous places, strong by nature, and possess'd by the Enemies Garrisons; on the other side our retreat is impeded by the Venetian Camp: Want of Victuals, against which there is no fence, will not suffer us to tarry any longer here, though otherwise it might be good for us so to do: We cannot march any whither, be it either by way of the Plains which lead to Verona, or back by the Mountains, without meeting with many Inconveniences, which will be still occasion'd by our Enemies. So as whatsoever resolution we shall put on, the Danger will be the same, but not the Glory. But I have always been of opinion, that it became a good Commander to have a care of the preservation of his Army so far, as he be not unmindful of their Honour: And yet not to value that so much, as that he have not a like care of their safety. If we turning our back upon our Enemies, shall take our way by the Mountains, we shall not be able to shun many dangers before we can come thither, being that the Enemy will always pursue us, and when we shall have most need of rest in respect of the journey which we shall have made, and of perpetual Skirmishes, we shall then (being come to the narrowest places) be to fight both with the difficulties of the ways, and with those that do guard them. Therefore I think it better by much, that you, who profess Souldiery, may fight with those of the like profession, in an open and equal place, and by your Worth, experience the event of Battle, then suffer that this Army being molested, and outraged by Mountainers, be at last consumed. But let us suppose, that by excessive good Fortune, (after having left our Artillery, Baggage and Booty in the Power of the Enemy) we escape safe through the jaws of these Mountains, and get into Germany, (which truly I cannot expect we shall do) we may perhaps free our selves from danger; but how can we cancel such shame and ignomy? or how can that life be dear unto us, which we shall have valued more than our Honour? And what greater Infamy can we undergo, then through base fear, to have shamefully abandoned an Enemies Countrey, which we have but just now victoriously over-run) without being overcome in Battle? I think it therefore our best course, to fight the Enemy as soon as may be, and to make our way with our Swords through the midst of

of their Camp. As this resolution suites best with the Honour of this Army, so doth it carry along with it more hopes of safety. Whereas if we tarry longer disputing, and shall suffer our selves to be over-born by immoderate fear, our Enemies will have so much more reason to grow resolute and insolent: But if they see us ready to defend our selves, I am confident they will soon re-assume the same Cowardliness which they have hitherto shewn. If they did confide in their Forces, who sees not that being so often provoked and invited by us, they would not have staid so long lock'd up within their Cities Walls; and now they are come into the field, only to make a vain shew of Valour, not with any intention of hazarding themselves in Battle. They very well know that the Italian Souldiers can no ways stand in comparison with the stout and valiant Spaniards, and Dutch, who are much better then they at the Militia; I have often try'd their Valour in War, and their desire of Glory: Therefore if you will imitate your domestick Gallantry, nay if you will be what you always have been, we may assuredly account the Victory already our own. These clownish people, and unexperienced in War, who have neither learnt to observe Order nor to follow their Colours, and who praise the Militia for a little gain, not out of any desire of Praise, cannot long sustain nor retard our Assault: Therefore for what I can at the present foresee, we may promise our selves assured Victory, and by that Victory, great and certain rewards. But say that we should meet with some ill success, and that I should be deceived in my expectation, we may miss the fruit of Victory, but certainly this our gallant action cannot miss of Praise: Since having done what was possible for us to do both by Counsel, and by Force of Arms, all men must confess, that neither daring, nor Valour was wanting in us, but only Fortune.

The Souldiers being greatly moved by this discourse, casting away all doubts and fears, began to desire what they had formerly avoided, promising the General to do their parts: And Cardona finding the Souldiers willing, led the Army, though the day were far spent, out towards Alviano's Camp, and being come within two miles of him, he made almost all his Chivalry, together with some companies of Spanish Foot advance, who gave furiously upon those who were upon our Guard. But being terrified by our Artillery, (for the Trees were cut down every where round about, so as they had no place to shelter themselves from shot) they faced about, and having past over the Valley, went against those, who as it was said, were left by Alviano at the Gate of Vicenza: Our men made presently towards the Enemy who came to assault them, and having stoutly stood their first Onset, quickly repuls'd them, the Horse staying to skirmish, a little while after the Foot were retreated. But the night drawing on, and being much gall'd by our Artillery, they were likewise soon glad to quit the field, and retreat to their own men.

Whilst these things were a doing, Cardona was drawn with the rest of his Army, very near the Venetian Camp, and had kept his Army in posture to fight Alviano's Camp, even till Sun set. Wherefore the night being already come on, and our Quarters being so near, Cardona would not suffer the Tents to be set up, nor fall to forti-

fortifying, fearing lest his men might be unexpectedly set upon by our men, whilst they should be busied about the works. The Souldiers did not quit their Arms all that night, lying down upon the ground, without any light, and in great silence, to keep from being hurt by the Artillery of the neighbouring Camp. This mean while the Commanders, possess'd with great fears, bethought themselves of many things, but could not well say which was the least dangerous course to take amidst so many hazards; they stay'd expecting day, hoping that it might chalk them out what to do amidst these difficulties. *Alviano's* Souldiers kept in Arms all that night likewise, diligently observing every motion of the Enemy, as well in their own respects, as also for the safety of those other people, with whom *Baglione* (having taken them away together with the Artillery to whither we told you he was gone) had possess'd himself of the other part of the Valley which stood over against *Alviano's* Camp. Which as soon as the Enemies knew, utterly despairing to make their way on that side, and being by necessity dictated so to do, they alter'd their way, and turn'd backwards towards the Mountains of *Schio*, the which they might the more easily do, for that they found themselves less incumbered, and not bounded within any Quarters. They divided their whole Army into three Squadrons, wherewith they marched in close order; and that they might march the faster, and be the readier to fight, if they should be thereunto inforced, they left such part of their Booty behind them, as was of least value; and the greatest part of their other Lumber, and though they made great haste, yet they marched in good order, and with much safety. That day being the 9th of *December*, chanc'd to be so dark and cloudy, as the Enemy had thereby opportunity of getting out of the ken of our Army, unseen by us; so as the day was well advanced before our men were aware of their departure, which when it was known, *Alviano* being very glad, said,

What have we now to do but to make use of time? If we lose this opportunity which is now offer'd us of utterly overthrowing the Enemy, when shall we ever meet with the like? The Victory is undoubtedly ours, the Enemies confess themselves overcome, they have already turn'd their backs, having no hopes of safety but in running away; this is the time for us to recover the Honour and Dignity of our Common-wealth, and of all Italy.

Alviano said this with the greater assurance; for that *Loredano*, who had scow'r'd up and down the fields all that night, had much encouraged the Souldiers to fight, and had had such discourse with the Commanders, as he appeared to be clearly of *Alviano's* opinion, saying,

That they were not to refuse the first occasion of Battle which was offer'd; for if they should suffer these Rascals, their bitter Enemies, to depart safely and quietly away now that they were almost routed of themselves, it was to be feared that they might incur very much blame; for that it being in their Power to free the Common-wealth from a bitter War, and the Italian name from great Infamy, they had either through negligence or cowardliness let slip so fair an occasion.

Besides

Besides *Alviano*, and the Commissaries, had sundry times given such an account of the State of Affairs to the Senate, speaking very lowly of themselves, and lowly of the Enemy, as all men had conceived an assured Victory, and they began already to feel the fruit of Praise for these their Services. *Alviano* being hereby inflamed, and being of himself very hasty and confident, thought the Victory so clear and certain, as he counted his Glory so much the longer retarded, as the Battle was deferred. So speedily quitting his Quarters, he made *Nicolo Vandramino*, and *Barnardino Antignicola* advance with the *Stradiotti* a Cavallo, or Dragouns, to the end that following the Enemy, and skirmishing with them, they might the more molest and hinder their March, to boot with what impediment they were to meet withal by the Mountainers, who waited for them on all sides. The Venetian Army consisted of about 10000 Italian Foot, and 1500 Curassiers, and 1000 Light Horse. Half the Foot were new men, drawn to that purpose out of the Towns and Villages by the Venetians, some of them coming by command, some of them of their own free will: The rest were veterane Souldiers, who had been a good while under the Common-wealths pay. Of all these *Alviano* framed three bodies, mingling the old and new Souldiers together in some of them, but he placed all the stoutest men in the middle Squadron, which was the greatest. There was therein, besides *Alviano's* own person, *Guido Rangone*, *Giulio Manfrone*, *Giovan Battisto da Fano*, *Giovan Paolo da Santi Angelo*, and divers others. These did inclose, with their several Companies disposed of in two wings, 500 Curassiers. *Antonio di Pio* commanded the left wing, who had with him the rest of the Foot, and on the right wing was *Baglione*, with 1000 *Gens d'Armes*. Things being thus ordered, *Alviano* commanded *Pio* that he should keep where he was, diligently observing what way he should take, and expect Orders from him. He charged *Baglione* (who had with him the *Gens d'Armes*, as hath been said) that fetching a compass, he should go beyond the last Squadron of the Enemy, and that as soon as he should see the Battle joyn'd, he should at unawares assault the Enemy on the Flank. He moreover made 20 pieces of Artillery be drawn on before the Army in very good order, he himself riding sometime on one hand, sometimes on another, encouraged the Souldiers to Battle,

*Praying them not to suffer so great a shame, as to let the Enemy go away without being reveng'd of them, who were a people contaminated with all sorts of wickedness, hateful to God and man, that therefore they should hasten to an assured prey and victory which was prepared for them. That they should not any whit fear that Enemy whom they saw grown so weak, and already reduced to the utmost extremity: That they should remember what they had by Oath promised to the Commissary *Loredano* but a little before touching their Loyalty and Courage; and then that they fought for a Common-wealth, where, as in a safe place of refuge, valiant and honest men had always been largely rewarded; nay that they were to fight for the Liberty, and Glory of all Italy; that therefore it was expected from that Army, wherein were none but Italians, that they should shew how excellent*

cellent that Nations was for Military Knowledge, and true Valour.

This mean while the Enemies Army having marched two miles, was come to the same place *della Motta*, from whence we told you it was gone but a little before, having our Horse still in their Rear, who continually held them play, and did much molest them. Then *Cardona*, finding that he was followed by our whole Army, seeing no other way of safety, encouraged by despair, resolved to hazard all upon the event of Battle: Whereof the sign being given to the Souldiers, he made them all halt, and turning his last Squadron upon our men, made thereof the Front of his Army; wherein were the Dutch Foot, who were commanded by *Prospero Colonna*. These men couching their Pikes, did stoutly stand the Assault made by our Horse, who had first begun the Skirmish, whom a great Band of the Enemies Horse coming from two parts did furiously charge, seeking to cut off our men in the midst, and though they were repulsed at the first Encounter, yet the Enemy continuing to press violently upon us, and being much the stronger, they forc'd us to retreat: Which when *Alviano* saw, he hastened his March, to bring timely succour to his men; wherein he was the more diligent, because he feared lest that part of the Horse being made to run, all the rest of the Army might thereby be put in disorder. Thus the two Armies joyning suddenly together, a terrible Battle began. *Alviano* being foremost in all dangers, endeavour'd both by words and actions to infuse Courage into his men, nor was *Colonna* wanting this mean while in exhorting the Dutch Foot not to forego their ancient Worth, telling them often that therein only did all their hopes of safety lye: and truly they fought courageously; but notwithstanding *Alviano* had given them so fierce an assault at first, as they could not possibly long sustain it; so as in this first Encounter the Battle began already to favour the Venetians; which being seen from above by those Country people who were placed upon the Mountains, they in hopes of Prey, ran down into the Plain, and mixed with the Souldiers: But *Cardona* coming in presently after to the aid of his men, who was somewhat advanced with the main body, wherein the Spanish Foot led the Van, those Country people who were come to pillage, not to fight, being affrighted to see so many Enemies, began to cry out they were overcome, and at the same time turn'd their backs; at which noise, and by their sudden running away, the Venetian Souldiers began to slacken their former violence, and to give over the Battle. Wherefore the Enemy still advancing, our mens Out-cries, Tumult, and Fear began to increase throughout the whole Army. At first *Alviano*, nothing at all astonished at so strange an accident, provided for all things; he stay'd his affrighted men, re-order'd them, call'd every one of them by their names, encouraged them, excited them to shew their worth, in fine, left nothing unattempted: But the Souldiers were so possess'd with sudden fear, as all that their Commanders could say or pray, was in vain; they could not be made to stay neither by shame nor by command. There was not any one of them that remembered their former worths, nor hopes. Thus in a moment the fortune of

War

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

War did so alter, as nothing was to be seen in our City (which but a little before was as good as Conquerours) but fear, flight, and death. The Souldiers being routed, and made to run, fled towards *Vicenza*, believing that they might there save themselves. But those who were upon the Guard, fearing lest in such a confusion, the Enemy might together with our men enter the City, clapp'd to the Gates, and kept both Friends and Foes out. So as the Venetian Souldiers, not being in a condition of re-ordering themselves, nor expecting any succour from elsewhere, were almost all of them shamefully cut in pieces before the City Walls, suffering themselves to be slain, without any revenge. Many of them also who fled another way towards the River *Rovone*, finding the Bridges broken, and not able to overcome the violence of the River, were therein drowned. But *Baglione*, who as we told you, was past forwards by another lower way, whilst he hastened to assault the Enemy, being intricated, and hindered by the Bogs of the neighbouring Vally, could neither then, according to *Alviano's* directions, assault the main body of the Enemies, nor after our mens Rout, get himself into any place of safety: Wherefore being inviron'd on all sides by the Enemy, he together with many of his Horse, fell into their Power. But those who escaped so many dangers, by taking another way, got into *Padua*, and *Treviso*, amongst which were *Alviano*, and *Gritti*, who being gone to *Vicenza* a little before, to raise men, was not present at the Battle. Of Commanders there dyed, *Sacramento Visconte*, *Hermes Bentivoglio*, *Cosanzo Pio*, *Francisco Saffatello*, *Alfonso da Parma*, and *Meleagro da Forli*; who amongst others had won very great Praise; for thrusting himself into the thickest ranks of the Enemies, and killing many of them, he himself was at last slain. Many also were taken Prisoners, either in the Battle, or as they ran away, among which, of the better sort & who had any command in the Army, were *Giovann Paolo Baglione*, *Malatesta Malatesta*, *Ottone Visconte*, *Battista Savella*, *Pamfilo Bentivoglio*, and *Alessandro Fregoso*. But Commissary *Loredano* who whilst he endeavour'd to stop the Fugitives, had forslow'd his departure, was wounded, and fell into the Power of the Enemy, and met with an end far unworthy such a man; for two Dutch Souldiers striving which of their Prisoner he should be, the one of them by slaying him, ended the contention. By this days Battle it may be known what various and unexpected chances are occasioned by Fortune in War, and what strange turns arise out of slight accidents. Those whose hopes lay first more in their flight, then in their fighting, being of conquered become Conquerours, pursued their routed Enemies with great cheerfulness, and courage; and those who before the Conflict built upon assured Victory, being beaten, overcome, put to flight, and having lost all hope, found no relief to their miserable condition. The nearness of *Vicenza* was thought to be the chief occasion of this our Armies so great calamity, and of so strange a variation; for our Souldiers believing that they should there receive sure refuge, as soon as disorder arose in our first ranks, the rest giving over the Battle, placed all their hopes in their heels. On the contrary part, the Enemies being invironed on every

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ry side in an Enemies Country, were forced to defend themselves, and boldly to encounter all danger. The place was likewise thought to be very much prejudicial to our men; for the Plain being on that part very narrow by the Neighbour-hood of the Vally, our men could not be all of them put in good Order, nor could they make use of all their Forces; for that part of the Army which was, as hath been said, divided together with *Baglione* from the rest, was not of any help, when the Battle began to retreat. *Alviano* was greatly blamed by all men for these things; for that un-inforced by any necessity, he would forsake the very strong situation which he had first chosen to quarter in, and put himself upon the hazard of a Battle, when he might more safely have overcome the Enemy by Counsel then by the Sword. It is most certain that the importunate sollicitousness of the Venetian Commissary, and the immature Counsel of the Commander in chief, made amends for the Enemies unadvisedness, inasmuch as *Cardona* who was the Authour of their inconsiderate departure, won Honour, and advantage, instead of the shame and prejudice which he was threatened with. As soon as this unfortunate News came to *Venice*, the Senators were greatly afflicted, seeing the condition of their Affairs so strangely alter'd in a moment: The blow was the greater, for that by reason of the Generals and of the Commissaries Letters, they had all of them conceived hopes of an undoubted Victory; for they had inform'd the Senate but a little before, that the Enemies Army was by them besieged, and already reduced to such a necessity, as they had no means left, neither of running away, nor of trying their Fortune by Battle; so as the Victory was in a short time to be assured theirs, without loss of blood. Yet the Senators were not hereat so much troubled, as to make them do any thing mis-becoming the Magnanimity, and Dignity of that Order, which may be witnessed by this, that the very same day wherein they received this unfortunate News, the Senate with a joynt consent resolv'd to write thus to *Alviano*.

That they could not deny but that they were somewhat troubled at this so strange an accident, yet were they not therewith affrighted nor cast down; for this adversity should rather awaken them to more diligence, then any whist detract from the constancy of their minds; therefore they desired him to be of good Courage, and not to yield to Fortune; for the News of his safety in whose Valour they had always very much confided, was of great comfort unto them all, amidst this their sore Loss; and that if he would still continue his ancient stoutness of mind, they hoped they might yet be able to stop the Course of their adverse Fortune, to assuage the severity thereof, and perhaps at last to get the better of their Enemies, who were now Conquerours. That therefore he should attend the defence of Padua and Trevisi, that he should employ all his diligence, thoughts, and pains therein; that the Senate would be ready to furnish him with Soldiers, Arms, Victuals, Monies, and of all things that was else needful.

After having written this Letter, the Senators betook themselves carefully to advise of, and provide for all things that were requisite.

Prince

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

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Prince *Loredano*, who was their Duke, speaking gravely in the Senate, exhorted them all to lend what help they could with all possible speed to the afflicted Common-wealth, that they were not at this time to expect help from any but themselves; that therefore in this so great necessity the Country must have recourse to their own Citizens; that every one should endeavour to raise her up again, and to lend her their help and advice in what they were best able. As for himself he would not forbear to do any things which might be serviceable to his Country; to which purpose he had already resolv'd to send his two Sons, *Luigi*, and *Bernardo* presently away, the one to *Padua*, the other to *Trevisi*, and by readily exposing them to all events to dedicate them to his Country.

These words spoken by the Duke, were of great efficacy, but the example greater, by which many other young Gentlemen, the chiefest of the City, who were of great worth and expectation, went to the Custody of those Cities: Moreover many of the common sort of the City were lifted, and many of the Arment, together with many Gally-slaves, and Mariners commanded (for at this time many Gallies were luckily come to the City) to go suddenly to *Trevisi*; to the taking of which City, the Enemy alter their Victory, prepar'd to go. But *Prospero Colonna*, by his Counsel and Authority put off the execution thereof for a while.

Therefore having put off the Enterprize for many days by proposing several difficulties, at last he wrought it so, as before any resolution should be put on, the whole business should be refer'd to that Bishop *Gurghense*; alledging, that nothing could be done more to the prejudice of that Armies Reputation, then to undertake any thing that might prove vain, as the business of *Padua* had done, but a little before. Thus *Cardona* and *Prospero* agreed to go to *Verona*, leaving the Army at *Vicenza*; where having spent some 20 days, *Cardona* agreed with *Maximillian Sforza* to take his pay as General of all his men; and so quitted the Service of the Spaniards. To make amends for which the Vice-roy made some Conductors of *Gens d'Armes* come with their Companies from *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, saying, that as soon as they should be arrived, he would go to the taking in of *Trevisi*, if *Gritti*, the *Cavaliere della Volpe*, *Ugo de Popoli*, *Giovann Paolo Mansfrone*, and other Commanders of great esteem, had the Custody of this City; and at this time when the City was not molested by the Enemy, it was sufficiently garrison'd and victuall'd: So as *Cardona* being adverted thereof, and the Winter coming on, an unfit Season to fall upon such a business, he went with all his Army into the Territories of *Padua*, and quarter'd his men in *Este*, *Montagnana*, and *Moncellese*.

Thus only through the advantage of the Season, which forced the Enemy to lay down their Arms, the Calamities of War which the State of *Venice* was likely to have undergone, did for this year cease, and Affairs were brought to some short condition of quiet.

This likewise was the only remedy for the many afflictions and adversities of *France*; for the King of *England* who had taken *Terruin* and *Tornai*, two great Cities, and who had slighted the Walls of the former, and put a strong Garrison into the other, resolv'd

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to return with all his men to his own Kingdom, to the end that his Army might be retir'd with commodious Winter Quarters. Thus the War was not ended, but deferr'd till another Season, and so many remainders and seeds of Discord continued still in all parts, as it was clearly seen, that Arms must quickly be re-assumed with greater Violence.

The End of the first Book.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.

Selino having possess'd himself of the Ottoman Empire, during the life of his Father Bajazet, renews the Peace with the Venetians. He suppresseth the boldness of his Brother Achamet by death. He begins to plot the destruction of Italy, and of the Venetians. The Plots of Amurath, Son to Achomet, are hindered. Pope Leo, having many things in consideration, cannot accord the Christian Princes. Marano is lost by the means of Frangipane, a Rebel to the Commonwealth; neither can it be re-gotten. He sacks Strafoldo and Monfalcone. Vicenza is sack'd by Rifano's means. Calepino not long after is routed, and taken Prisoner. Udine, not making any resistance, surrenders it self to the Dutch. The Fort Osofo cannot be taken by the Enemy.

Crema is defended by Renzo Ceri. Baglione is taken Prisoner by the Enemy. He is changed for Caravagiale, a Spanish Prisoner. A miserable fire in the Rialto of Venice. Alviano by order from the Senate goes to take in Friulyc. He sacks Porto Guaro. Savorgnano's Victory. Frangipane is taken Prisoner. Gurghen's disturbs the Treaties refer'd by the Senate to the Pope, concerning the differences with the Emperour. The King of England finds faults with the Senates Counsels. They are justified by the Lieger Embassadors. Renzo frees Crema from being besieged. Este is taken by night by Sculad, by Alviano; and is plundered. The Spaniards cut to pieces. Alviano his Victory at Rovigo. Bergamo returns into the Spaniards hand. The Vice-roy of Naples is laugh'd at for Alviano's retreat to Padua. Selino's Victories in Asia makes the Pope treat again with the Venetians of Peace, but in vain; who whilst they make closer Friendship with the French, King Lewis dies.

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AT the same time that these things hapned in *Europe*; in *Asia Selino*, during the life of his Father *Bajazet*, possessed himself of the Ottoman Empire, having overcome his brother *Achomate* in several Battles, who pretended likewise to the succession of the Empire; but though he had got the Victory by much Gallantry in War, he was therein to very severe, as he gave clear and evident signs not only of wonderful Magnanimity of mind, but also of great cruelty. Therefore all Christendome was much afraid, that as soon as *Selino* should be rid of civil Wars, he would turn himself against the Christian Kings, and be the cause of much mischief. Which mischiefs though they were fore-seen by all men, yet not any one appear'd to provide for the common safety. Wherefore the Venetians, though the greatness of the Ottoman Empire did more molest them then others, yet suffering under many adverse Fortunes, and weakened by many Wars, and knowing that they could neither extinguish nor lessen his Power, they thought it their best course to keep him their Friend, and to accommodate themselves to the times. Therefore *Antonio Giustiniano* was cho'en to be sent Embassadour to *Selino*, who was in name of the Common-wealth to congratulate his accession to the Empire, and also to raise their ancient Friendship with the Ottoman House, and to establish Peace. The Venetian Embassadour was received with great Honour and alacrity by *Selino* in the City of *Andrinopol*, where he and his Army winter'd. *Selino* knew he could no ways better secure his Dominions in *Europe*, then by Peace, at this time, when he was to pass armed into *Asia*, to oppose his brother *Achomate*, and by suppressing him to end the War. *Achomate* was fled to *Armenia* the *Leis*, where bewailing his Fortune, and desiring aid of the Neighbouring Kings, he had got together a good number of men, being assisted, and succour'd by many, and especially by *Hysmae Sofi*, King of *Persia*, who had sent many Troops of Persian Horse into *Achomates* Camp; by which Forces being encouraged, he had already taken many Towns in *Capadocia*, and hastened to assault *Selino*, who was not yet very well provided to resist him. Therefore *Selino* finding that offer'd him, which he did so much desire, he willingly embraced the Venetians Friendship, promising to keep it always inviolably.

Thus the Peace was renewed, and established, almost upon the same terms that formerly it was made with *Bajazet*. Herein regard was had to contract such an Amity, and good Intelligence on both sides, as not only the States of both Princes should be free and secure from War to be made by either of them against the other, but that the Venetian and Turkish Subjects, who did traffique much at that time in eithers Jurisdiction, might have free and safe Commerce; and also that safe Harbour might be permitted to the ships of both parties in all their Countries; and that their Navigation by Sea should not be hindered.

The Venetians reape much advantage by the frequency of Merchants, who do bring in, and export great store of Merchandize into *Venice*, where, for this their Interest, they procure that people of all Nations may inhabit safely there, and exercise Commerce.

Giustini-

Giustiniano having agreed thus upon all things, he return'd for *Venice*. And *Selino* sent his Embassadour *Alember* along with him, to the end that what had been concluded by the Embassadour might be confirm'd by the word of the Prince. He also gave credential Letters to *Alember* to present unto the Senate, wherein highly magnifying his own Power (according to the ulance of that Nation) he exhorted the Venetians to keep Friendship with him, which he promised should on his side remain firm, and inviolable for ever. The Turkish Embassadour being come into the Senate House, Duke *Loredano* did before him, in his own Name, and in the Name of the whole Common-wealth, swear to observe whatsoever *Giustiniano* had concluded and agreed upon. *Selino* free from fear of any War in *Europe*, since he had made Peace with the Venetians, and renewed League with the Kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, having speedily musterd as many Horse and Foot as he could, march'd towards *Amasia* to suppress *Achomate* before he grew too strong. Fortune favour'd his Designs, for *Achomate* whilst he made too much haste, and rashly put himself upon the event of Battle with but half his men, was routed in fight, his Army made to run, and he himself by *Selino's* Commandment was slain. After whose death, all *Asia* the less fell without any dispute into *Selino's* hands; who grew so proud by this good success, as he began to promise unto himself already the Government of the whole world. And having ended all civil Dissentions by the death of almost all his kindred of the Ottoman Family, and being become sole lord of all the strength, and riches of that Empire, he thought he should meet with less difficulty in all other things. His mind was chiefly set upon *Italy*, thinking he might easily subjugate it, since it was very weak and much wasted by long Wars. He was hereunto likewise solicited by *Maximillian* the Emperour, who for many years past, had left nothing untry'd whereby to plot the Venetians ruine. He shew'd him how opportune a time it was to make this War, since *Selino* might assault the Venetians in their Maritime parts, whilst he himself molested them by Land, and kept their Forces busied elsewhere. But it does not appear with what Preparations of War, or against what State more particularly the Turks designed this Enterprize. It is most certain that *Maximillian* had sent his Embassadours to this purpose to *Constantinople*, and that his Embassy being heard, many Mariners were lifted, old Gallies were new calked, and new ones built, and Order was taken for all things belonging to a great Maritime War. These things were done in the Winter; but the next Spring News came to *Constantinople* that *Amurate*, son to the late *Achomate*, who was not present at the Battle unfortunately fought by his Father, and who was the only Survivor of *Bajazets* Race, being fled into *Persia*, was unexpectedly entred *Capadocia* with many Horse and Foot, laying the Country waste, and had what by Force, what by fear reduced many Towns of that Province into his Power. At which *Selino* was the more troubled, because he knew the *Sophy*, King of *Persia*, was the chief occasion of this, and of the other troubles which he had formerly received from his brother *Achomate*, whose Fame being very great

great both for extent of Empire, and Glory of War, *Selino* though his own Dignity reproached, and lessened, if he should any longer suffer such Injuries to go unreveng'd. Wherefore quitting all other thoughts, he resolv'd to go for *Asia* with all those men and that Preparation for War, which he had formerly intended for *Europe*: Which, as is confess'd by all, fell out very happily, for the Princes of Christendome; since just then when the War was hottest amongst them, this powerful Prince, whose Enmity threatned great danger to their States, was enforced to forbear those his designs, being busied in other War. By reason of these *Selino's* Prosperities, and for the immoderate desire of rule which was seen to be in him, Pope *Leo* began to be not a little troubled, he thought it became him and his place, to imploy all his power and diligence, to keep these potent and formidable Barbarians from growing more powerful, who were already so much increased both in all things belonging to the War, and in the extent of Empire, through the discords of our Princes, having possess'd themselves of many Christian Kingdoms, almost without any gain-saying. The Cardinals upon this occasion putting the Pope frequently in mind in the Consistory of his duty, and of the imminent dangers, were resolv'd to make him re-assume the Treaty of Peace, nor to be quiet till he had effected it; to the end that Peace being had amongst the Christian Princes, they might all of them with all their joyn't Forces bend themselves against *Selino* the common Enemy. They shewed plainly that nothing appertained more to his charge and degree then this, or which at least might be of greater glory to him: But the Pope, though hee were of the same mind, yet being troubled and perplexed he be-thought himself of many things, for as this Counsel, if it should take good success, promised assured Praise, so divers considerations of Peace and War, and much difficulty which appeared to be in the whole business, made him afraid and with-held him from the Enterprize; for to put an end to so many Wars was of it self thought to be a very difficult Affair, but more difficult to find out such a compofure, as *Leo* thought might prove good for him, and advantageous for the Affairs of the Church; for he could have desired that the French might neither have been kept so low, nor yet have been so exalted: If no remedy were to be found against such great Preparations of War as were preparing against them, it was to be feared that the Affairs of *France* might grow to so low an ebbe, as they could no longer give a just Counterpoise to the Dutch and Spanish Forces, so as they being become Masters of all, they might at last put Fetters upon whole *Italy*; but on the contrary, if the Enemies Forces being weakened, and divided by his Counsels, *France* should be freed from so heavy a War, he knew he had not sufficiently provided for his own safety, nor for the Liberty of *Italy*; for nothing was more sure then that King *Lewis* being an Enemy to peace and quiet, would never give over his ancient and natural desire of War: But that being freed from the fear of the English Forces, and having put his own Affairs into a sure condition, he would soon turn both his thoughts, and his Forces upon *Italy*, for the recovery of the State of *Millean*:

which

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta. 57

which might be evidently seen, since that though he found himself betey by many difficulties, yet he had always refused all conditions of Peace, which might make him quit his pretentions to the State of *Millean*.

The Venetian Affairs were almost upon the same conditions the which the Pope thought could not be reduced to such terms, but that they must bring great difficulties along with them; for he desired that the Dignity of that Common-wealth might not be much diminished, nor yet her Forces much increased. He knew that it imported much for the Honour of all *Italy*, that the Venetian Common-wealth should remain whole and intire; that to this end Pope *Julio* had endeavoured the re-raising of her much abased condition, and that following for the same reasons the last, and wisely taken Counsels of his Predecessour, he had labour'd much to put the Venetians into a peaceable condition. But on the other side, calling to mind their ancient greatness, he thought that if Fortune should smile on them again, they would become no less formidable then the other Potentates. Thus whilst he waver'd in his Resolves, sometimes hoping, sometimes fearing, his proceedings were different and contrary; sometimes he shew'd himself to be but ill satisfied with the Venetians and to be no good Friend of theirs, other times he would appear well disposed towards them. Whilst the Pope was thus doubtfully minded, the War continued still in the same heat, the sharpness of the Winter not having any whit hindred it, for *Prospero Colonna* being past with the Milanefes to *Crema* was joyn'd with the Spaniards, so as that City was the forelier besieged. The Paduan Territories, wherein the Vice-roy had taken up his Quarters, were vexed with continual Inroads; and the War grew sharper in *Friuli*, that Country having been some years before mightily terrified; for not having any City or Cittadel in it strong either by art or situation, nor able to hold an Enemy play long, the Inhabitants were forced to follow his Fortune whosoever was Master of the Field. But the Emperour, nor the Venetians having neither of them any strong Army in that Country, the unfortunate Inhabitants were by the various success of War, continually vexed with Pillage, and Taxes: So as for a long time it had undergone much Calamity, and they who were most affectionate to the Venetians, were by their Enemies worst used. Amongst the rest *Christofolo*, Son to *Barnardino Frangipane* gave a notable Example of Cruelty; for after having burnt a certain Town in the Territories of *Marano*, he commanded that all the Inhabitants should have both their eyes put out, and that their right thumbs should be cut off, because they adhered to the Venetians, and had hindred him from Victuals. *Bernardino Frangipane* was a little before this turn'd Rebel to the Common-wealth, and had sided with *Cesar*, and much vex'd that whole Country. He often solicited the Dutch Commanders, that drawing some Country people out of the next Towns of *Carnia* and *Carinthia*, they should mischief the Territories, and Subjects of the Common-wealth: So as these people entering into *Friuli*, not as Souldiers, nor after the manner of War, but as Theeves and Murderers, they destroy'd the Country

try by plunder and fire, and robb'd the Citizens of all that they had. By which Injuries when the Venetians were at last constrain'd to send better succours into that Country, to keep their Affairs from falling into farther ruine, the Enemies who had no warlike Tackling, and who were come, as hath been said, rather to pillage than to fight; being loaded with Booty, when they heard of our mens coming, hastened homewards. But hardly was this Country reduced to quiet, when our men being to go elsewhere to oppose other designs of the Enemies, who assaulted the State of the Common-wealth, not in one part only but in many at one and the same time, either the same men who were but a little before gone from thence, or others of the same sort, drawn by a desire of prey, return'd with great fury to assault the Territories of *Friuli*, inasmuch as they left not any thing at all to those unfortunate Inhabitants. The Enemies being at this time grown very powerful, so as keeping in that Country, they kept some Towns which they had gotten by fraud, longer then they had used to do, the Senate thought it fit for their safety and reputation, to turn their Forces into those parts, to the end that the Enemy might not grow more bold to their prejudice, and that those people might not totally forego their love and esteem of the Common-wealth. A little before this *Frangipane* had by fraud possess'd himself of the Fort *Marano*, having to this purpose made use of a wicked perfidious Priest, *Bartholomeo*, who being familiarly acquainted with *Alessandro Marcello*, Commissary of *Marano*, prevailed with him that one morning before day a gate of the Town should be opened under pretence of going out early to hunt, by which means *Frangipane*, (having formerly agreed thereupon with the Priest) possess'd himself of the gate, before which he was unexpectedly come with some Dutch Foot Companies, and a Troop of Horse, wherewith he entered the Town. For which wickedness the Traytor was justly punished; for being taken Prisoner by *Nicola Pisaro*, *Podestà* of *Porto Gruaro*, he was sent to *Venice*, where he was hung up by one foot, and stoned to death by the common people.

This Town, as it was very convenient for the Venetians, by reason of the situation thereof, being placed in the innermost part of the Gulph, and wash'd by salt water on the one side, so it being at one and the same time to be assaulted both by Sea and Land, it promised speedy and good success to any one that should fall upon it. Wherefore the Venetians resolv'd to make the taking thereof their first business, to the end that if they should find easie success therein, they might go to the recovery of *Gorizia*, which being taken by the like fraud by *Frangipane*, held for the Emperour. *Baldissera Scipione*, one of *Luca*, went by order from the Senate to this Enterprize of *Marano*, together with four other Conductors of *Gens d'Armes*, each of which commanded 50 Horse men; besides all the light Horse, in number 500 under the Conduct of *Ulatico Cosazza*, and of *Nicola da Pesaro*, who were likewise to be accompanied by *Barnardino da Parma*, with 400 Foot. To these Forces were added about 2000 Country people, whom *Gierolamo Savorgnano* (who was at this time of great Authority with the people, and not less affec-

tionate

tionate to his Common-wealth) had gathered up from all the parts thereabout. *Scipione* commanded the whole Army, who had the charge of all that was done by Land; but *Bartholomeo da Masse* had the charge of the Maritime Affairs, who was then *Savio di Terra firma*, a man famous for his experience by Sea; he was followed by order from the Senate, by the *Podestà's* of *Murano*, *Torcelle*, *Chioggia*, and by those of *Caurle* and *Pirano*, and of other Towns of *Hispria*, who were all commanded to rig out as many Barks as they could for this Enterprize, who being all met at the time appointed, the whole Fleet past into the *Washes* of *Marano*, where when they were come, our men sent Heralds to the Citizens, and Dutch Souldiers of the Garrison, to demand restitution of that Town in the name of the Common-wealth; exhorting them not to force them to use violence, but rather that they should lay aside all hopes and thoughts of being able to defend themselves. But discovering thoughts much of another nature in the Defendants, who returned injurious words, our men much incensed, and being greatly desirous to re-gain the Town, they resolv'd not to stay for the Arrival of some Gallies which were to come up unto them, but to advance, and assault the Walls. But as soon as our armed Barks began to be divided, and disordered by their Cannon shot, and many that were therein slain, the Marriners and Gally-slaves who being unexperienced in War, and not acquainted with danger, had earnestly desired to be led on to the Assault, were strangely terrified, and falling to their Oars every one as fast as they might, they endeavour'd to carry the Barks out of the reach of the Artillery, being more indamaged in their flight by the fear and confusion which they were in. Our men being thus taught their danger by experience, durst make no farther Attempts till more aid was come up unto them; but four lesser Gallies being afterwards come up unto the Fleet, whereby they were made the stronger, and the better encouraged, they resolv'd to assault the Town again. The Walls were lower, and the Towers much batter'd by the Artillery on the side which was towards the Haven, wherefore our men thought they might land the easilier on that side; and to the end that the Enemy being kept busied in divers parts, might be the less able to resist, they thought their Enterprize might prove the more successful, since the Town was set upon at the same time by the Fleet by Sea, and by *Scipione* and *Savorgnano* by Land. The business began now to have good success, when those Land-men that were with *Scipione*, and some others that were got out of the Gallies, and had landed some Artillery, were kept from coming nearer the Walls, by a great deluge of water which fell from the Skies, which fill'd all the Plain and Marriish Grounds which were round about the Town. The Defendants being therefore safe on that side, ran all to the other side where they were assaulted by the Fleet, and repuls'd our men, who began already to scale the Walls. At the same time that these things were a doing, the Souldiers which were sent by *Scipione* to possess themselves of the Passes, and to keep the besieged from being relieved by any succours which might come from *Gorizia*, which is not above 30 miles from thence, sent *Savorgnano*

Savorgnano word, that *Frangipane* was drawing near with a great many men; so as it they had not more help sent speedily to them, they should be forced to quit those places, not being able with a few men long to resist a far greater number. *Savorgnano* hearing this, and despairing now to take the Town by Assault, marched suddenly with his men thitherward; and was hardly advanc'd one mile when he met those very men, who had but a little before sent to him for succour; for being terrified at the fame and great opinion which was had of the Enemies Forces, they durst not tarry till they came: Wherefore joyning them with his own men, he went to find out the Horie, who were within their own quarters, in somewhat a higher place, not far from the rest of the Army, that they might be ready upon any occasion to wait upon the enemy, according as they should see them move. *Savorgnano* strove by entreaties, and all other means to perswade the Horie-men to come nearer *Marano*, and joyn with the rest of the Army, shewing them what had been done, and what was to be done; which as not concern'd any ways in point of shame, they refused to do: Some of them being frighted by what was commonly noised in the Camp touching the great Power of the Enemy, other mutinying for not receiving their pay in due time; so as many began to forsake their Colours, and dissolve their Companies. Wherefore *Savorgnano* fearing that the strongest part of the Army might be weakened, and that the Common-wealths Forces might be thereby diminished, endeavour'd to perswade the *Gens d'Armes* to retire towards *Udine*, into a place of safety, promising to go along with them, and to secure the way. In this Interim, *Frangipane*, meeting with no obstacle, advanced, and entred safe with all his men into the Town of *Marano*; and without any delay, taking along with him the Dutch Foot that were of the Garrison, he unexpectedly went out of the Town, and assaulted our men before they were aware of his being come; wherefore posselt with fear, they began to run, thinking on nothing but how they might every one of them save themselves. The Enemy pursuing our affrighted and scatter'd men, some of which endeavour'd to pass over the Washes, others to get unto the Fleet, cut them in pieces, and made themselves Masters of their Quarters, and of some pieces of Artillery: Moreover one of our Gallies, which was too late in putting forth, and could not get free by reason of the Ebbe, fell into the power of the Enemy. *Scipione* being struck on the head with a stone, recover'd the Fleet by swimming, though he were almost half dead. *Bobizza* was this day slain, a gallant man, and who in several Battles had given great Testimony of his Valour: Those who saved themselves by flight, got into *Udine*. In this so great fear and confusion, one of ours only, *Francisco Trono*, Captain of a Gally, wonne some praise; for being mindful of the Venetian Dignity, he with a few of his Souldiers, did valiantly withstand the first Encounter of the Enemy, nor did he forsake his station, till all his men were either slain or sorely wounded. *Frangipane*, making use of his victorious Fortune, went forthwith to *Strafolds*, and to *Monfalcone*, two Towns in *Friuli*, and finding little or no Garrisons in them, took them at his very first appearance,

pearance, and pitifully plundered them. At the same time, some other Dutch Foot Companies, fell unexpectedly upon the Territories of *Vicenza*, these being got together from the neighbouring parts of *Carnia* by the two Captains, *Risano*, and *Calepino*, sack'd many Towns of that Country, and even *Vicenza* it self. Then dividing their Army, they went to plunder the neighbouring places; *Calepino* went towards *Feltre*, and on the sudden posselt himself thereof; but hardly was he three days Master of it, when he was driven out by *Giovan Bradolino*, who being sent by Commissary *Girolino Pefaro* to relieve that City, did behave himself very valiantly; for having assembled a great number of Country people in the Vally of *Marino*, he past speedily with them and with his light Horie into those parts, and forced the Enemy, who were affrighted at his unexpected coming, to abandon the City, and save themselves by flight. But *Calepino* being driven out of *Feltre*, retired into the confines of *Bassano*, intending to sack that Town: whereof *Francisco Duedo*, Major of that Town being advertised, he assembled together many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, and calling *Bernardino Antignola* with his Troop of light Horie into his aid, he went to meet the Enemy, who being by him assaulted at the Town of *Carpenedo*, amidst the strait passages of the Mountains, were routed, and dispers'd. It made much for our men, that they were acquainted with the places, which made the Victory the greater and the more easie. Many of the Enemies were slain, and many taken Prisoners, amongst which their chief Commander *Calepino*, very few came off safe. But *Risano* who had taken his way towards *Gorizia* with 800 Foot and 300 Horie, meeting with *Frangipane* by the way, who was come from thence, he joyn'd his Forces to his, which amounting in all to about 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horie, they joyntly resolved to go to the taking in of *Udine*. When this News came to *Venice*, *Malatesta* and *Giovan Gitturi* were speedily sent towards *Udine*; the one as Commissary General of the Militia of *Friuli*, the other Commissary of the Camp; these when they came to *Udine*, where they found *Girolamo Sourgano*, began to consult with him, and with the Governours of the City, how they were to govern the War. Many things were variously propounded: Some were of opinion that they should chiefly endeavour the safety and defence of *Udine*, others were of another opinion, that they should quit the City, and remove with their Army into some safer place: Those that were thus minded, pleaded that they understood by the Spies, that *Frangipane* was marching thitherward with his men, and that he would suddenly sit down before the City, the defence whereof would be very doubtful and difficult for many reasons: Their small number of Souldiers, no train of Artillery at all, and generally a want of all things necessary for War; and notwithstanding the City was very large, begirt but with a very weak Wall, which would require many valiant men to defend it. But many good reasons being alledged to the contrary, they were doubtful what to resolve upon: Their hopes were somewhat bettered, when they considered that the Enemies Army consisted altogether of Country people, unex-
perience d

perienced in War, that their Commanders had neither experience nor reputation, that they had but few Guns, and that they had not men enough to besiege the City. At last, after mature advice, they all agreed, that they would defend the City, provided that the Citizens should promise they would take up Arms, as well as the Souldiers, and do all the duties of the Militia; for besides the Horse and some few Country people there was but 400 Foot in the City, which were no ways sufficient to guard the Walls, and sustain the Assault of the Enemy. *Savorgnano* was therefore enjoin'd to try how the Citizens stood affected, and what might be expected from them. He therefore calling before him many of the best and valiantest men of the City;

He exhorted them to take up Arms for the safety of their Country, and Honour of the Common-wealth, and that being moved by the desire of praise, and by their own danger, they would strive to keep the cruel Enemy far from their own homes. He shew'd them what they were to do for their own defence, and how an idle fear of the Enemy might turn to their real ruine; that if things were rightly cast up, they needed nothing but Courage, and a stout resolution to defend themselves; that if they would shew themselves willing to do this, though but for a short while, making at least but an appearance to fight, and to stand the Assault, the Enemy who had undertaken this business, not out of any desire of Glory, but out of Booty, confiding more in the small numbers of our Souldiers then in their own Worth, would doubtlesly soon quit the Enterprize: So as within a few days they might free their City from the great danger it was in: what could they hope for of any truth from the Enemy? And how bitter was were they accustomed to make of their Victories, was known sufficiently by woful experience to that whole Country; that if they should resolve to submit themselves to the will of the Enemy without making any resistance, they could not notwithstanding have any hopes of saving the City, for it was almost impossible to keep the Dutch Souldiers from committing Insolencies, who were usually greedy of Booty, but now almost necessitated therewith for want of pay: So as they were to expect nothing but plunder.

Thus did *Savorgnano* endeavour to encourage the Citizens, partly out of a desire of praise, partly out of fear of having their City sack'd. But they differ'd in their opinions: Some of them moved by *Savorgnano's* Authority, promised willingness to be assistant in all things, and to obey the Commanders will; others though they seem'd to be of the same mind, yet laying the fault upon others, said that all they could do would be to no purpose; for that they were more then jealous that the Souldiers of the Garrison would betray them, since some of them had said publicly, that if the Enemy should draw any nearer, they would quit the City: Moreover they excus'd themselves as being unacquainted with what belong'd to War, so as let them do what they could they should do no good, nor could they long undergo Military Duties. Those who at the beginning seem'd to be somewhat moved by *Savorgnano's* Speeches beginning now to be irresolute and fearful, the Commanders upon fresh debate resolv'd not rashly to expose all the Chivalry that was in the City to danger: Thus both Horse and Foot went out of the City,

City, and march'd towards the *Livenza* that they might pass over it, and get into some safe place: fearing lest the Enemy might prevent them, and hinder their passage: and *Savorgnano* went to *Osofo*, a Castle in his Jurisdiction, to put a Garrison into it, to defend it, when the Enemy should be farther advanced. Thus *Udine* being quite bereft of all defence, yielded quickly to the Dutch, upon condition that the Citizens lives and goods should be preserved, and upon payment of a thousand Duckets to the Army, to keep the City from being sack'd. *Cividale*, *Porto Gruaro*, and other Towns, compounded with the Enemies upon like terms; and the Enemy not finding wherewith to feed their Army any longer in that Region, which they had wholly over-run and pillaged, went towards *Trevigi*, to joyn with the Spanish Foot, who winter'd in the Territories of *Vicenza* and *Padua*; that so being become stronger they might fall upon any Town or City, that should hold for the Common-wealth; there was only one thing that did obviate this result, to wit, the leaving of the Fort *Osofo* behind them, which might be a hindrance to the *Vicuals* and men which were to come to them out of *Germany*. This business and the occasion seem to require that the nature and situation of this place be particularly shewn, and described as if it were in a Map.

The Mountain *Lauro*, is as it were cut off in many parts on that side which divides Italy from the Dutch, affording sometimes by Valleys, sometimes by no very high Mountains, an easie passage from the one Region to the other; but the readiest and best is that which leads from *Vilacco* to *Venzone*, which is commonly called the Imperial Way. When coming from *Germany* into Italy by this way, you arrive at a certain place called *L' Ospitale*, the Mountains extending themselves into two several arms, do divide; the one of which turns Westward towards *Trent*, the other to the contrary side towards *Goritia*, the former are called *Carnician Alps*, the other the *Giulian*. All that Country which lyes in the midst between these two Mountains, and turns towards the Eastern Sea, is now called *Friuli*; as soon as you come out of this row of Mountains, you see the Castle *Osofo*, which is not above two miles from the bottom of these Mountains; the Castle is placed upon a little rock of stone, which riseth up in that Plain, as if it were placed there by Nature its self to preserve Italy from the Forces of such Foreign Nations as have the easier passage on that side to us. And consequently it is fortified and secured by Nature, just as such strong Holds are used to be by humane Art. The Mountain hath three sides; that which looks towards the East is water'd by the River *Tagliamento*, and on each of the sides some little heaps of Stones are raised up, like so many little Towers, so as they afford commodiety for the defence of themselves, and of the space that lyes between them. Upon one corner of the Mountain there stands a little Rock, which is sever'd from the Mountain by a little Vally, the Rock being about 20 paces long, and but 8 or 9 wide; a high and strong Wall is raised hereupon, whereupon stands a work, whereby all that space being a little more heightned, is made a safe Fort. The Mountain is naturally sterile, unmanured, and very steep on all sides, save only upon one, on which side the rise is less difficult.

Frangipane having brought almost all his Army to this place, resolved to attempt the taking of *Osofo*, being thereunto the more encouraged, for that having at the same time that he drew near to it, sent some of his men to take in the Castle *Chiusa*, he suddenly effected it, and put a good Garrison thereto; for our men did shamefully surrender it to the Enemy at their very first appearance, not so much as waiting for the approach of cannon. This place is by its natural situation very strong, being placed in the very jaws of the Mountains, so as it became as it were a Gate which shut up the way to those who would on that side enter into the state of the Commonwealth, from whence it was called *Chiusa*. When therefore the castle *Osofo* should be taken, the Enemy had nothing else to hinder them, for being abundantly furnished with men and provisions from *Germany*, they might easily make themselves Masters of all *Friuli*, and make a longer abode there than they had yet done. But *Savorgnano* trusting upon the strength of the situation, and upon the valour of his men, though he had not above one hundred Foot, and four score cross-bow men on Horse-back, to boot with some Country people, hoped to be able to defend the Castle against all that the Enemy could do, and to this purpose had chosen *Theodore Burgio* Captain of his Horse, whose Loyalty and Valour was very well known to him, and who did very good service in this Siege. The Enemy pitched their Camp on that side which looks towards the South, and began to play upon the Castle with ten piece of Cannon, wherewith having thrown down part of the Wall, they had made some other works, like unto a Pent-house, whereby being shelter'd, the Souldiers prepared for another Assault. But *Savorgnano* to provide against this imminent danger, went from the Castle into another work, where sparing for no labour, he diligently provided for all things, and did much encourage the Souldiers by his example. The Enemy strove to open their way by a continual Battery, that they might bring on their Souldiers to an Assault; but all in vain, for the lower part of the work, being made of soft stone, received all the shot without any prejudice, and the upper part of the Wall being built of Brick, though it were beaten down by the Cannon, yet falling inwards, it served the Defendants for a Rampiere. Wherefore the Enemy despairing to get the Victory that way, resolved to try another, and to open their way into that work by new Engines. They put some rafters together at the foot of the Mountain, in somewhat an eminent place made like Towers about some ten foot high of earth, by standing wherein they hoped they should be the better able, and with less disadvantage to fight those that did defend the work. But *Savorgnano* planting his Artillery on the opposite part of the Mountain before these rafters were raised any higher, began to trouble them, and finally by many shot beat it down to the ground. All the hopes the Enemy had lay now in their Souldiers Valour. Wherefore *Frangipane* having chosen out the valiantest of all his Army, prepared for the Assault, drawing near the Walls by those very steps which were formerly made by *Savorgnano*, and cut out of the hard Rock, that they might be of use for the Castle.

the. But herein their many Attempts did likewise prove vain, for they were always stoutly repuls'd by *Savorgnano's* Souldiers, who did not only make use of their Weapons against them, but tumbled down great stones upon them, which precipitating from those steep crags, and falling upon them that were underneath, proved very mortal to them: So the Enemy were forced to fall from assaulting the Castle to besieging it. Those within had Victuals and Wine enough to serve them for a long time, but so great scarcity of water, as the greatest part of their Horses being already dead for want thereof, there was hardly enough left to make bread with. The Senate did this mean while encourage *Savorgnano* with many Letters, and did invite him to a greater desire of praise; they said they did all of them very much confide upon his Worth and Loyalty, for which he might promise himself an answerable reward from the Commonwealth, which was always very grateful to her well deserving Subjects; that when his Glory and the like of his Souldiers should be considered by all men, it would be immortal; but that the Senate in particular would be always mindful of his deserts. It is hard to be said how much joy and good hopes these praises and encouragements did infuse into the Besieged: And it so fell out as they were also befriended by divine Providence; for there fell such store of rain as did suffice a long while for all their occasions: Wherefore it was thought that the supply which was long before treated of in the Senate, might safely be deferred unto another time.

Whilst these things past thus in *Friuli*, the Venetians Affairs went prosperously on in *Lombardy*, though all things were not quiet there; for the Spaniards and Sforzeses being encamped (as hath been said) before *Crema*, *Renzo da Ceri* had very valiantly defended that City, rendering all the Enemies endeavours vain, who had gone about the taking of it both by Assault and Siege: Nay the Souldiers of the Garrison had much indamaged the Enemy by many bold Sallies, and returned safe into the City. *Renzo* being advertised by his Spies that *Cesare Feramosca*, one of the Spanish Commanders was come with 50 *Gens d'Armes*, and 50 light Horse, to take up his Winter Quarters at *Calcinato*, a Town in the *Bergamasco* Territories, about 20 miles from *Crema*, thought he had a fair occasion offer'd him, of doing a notable Act, if he should assault at unawares the Enemy, whilst they lay lazying, not apprehending any danger, but thinking themselves safe by reason of the season of the year. He chose out three valiant men, in whose Worth he thought he might very much confide, to wit, *Silvestro Nerni*, *Baldissera da Rastano*, and *Marcello Astolde*, the first two being Foot Captains, the last a Commander of Curassiers; he acquainted them with what they had to do, and told them that the chief hope of dispatching the Enterprize lay in expedition; they with all diligence and courage strove to do what was committed to their trust. They went in the dark of night out of the City, and got to *Calcinato* before day, where they entered the Town by Scalado, not meeting with any resistance, and possessing themselves suddenly of the Gates, they let in the Horse, and the remainder of the Foot, and having guarded the Gates, they fell to pillage

the Country (the Enemy being astonish'd at the unexpected chance) and made themselves Masters both of the Goods, and persons of the Inhabitants, not receiving any the least harm themselves. Which being done, our men returned to *Crema* loaded with prey, and much commended for so noble an Action, *Renzo's* diligence and vigilancy was highly commended; for that with a constant and undaunted courage, being long oppos'd by the Enemy both with Sword and Famine, he had not only withstood them, but had much indamaged them. But the more he was cry'd up, the more desirous was he of Glory. He was very careful in observing the Enemies removals and abodes; he considered both place and time, when any occasion might be offer'd of doing some other handsome Action: and being advertised that Count *Santa Severina* was in the Territories of *Brescia* with 50 *Gens d'Armes* at *Quinzano*, he suddenly bethought himself how to be Master of them; the which that he might the more safely do, he intended to deceive the Enemy with a piece of Military cunning. Hearing that many of the Enemy were got to the Town of *Trigoli*, and fearing lest his men might receive some prejudice by these either as they went to *Quinzano* or in their return from thence, he sent 20 Horse with ten Drums into the Territories of *Cremona*, who were to pass by all the Towns beating an Alarm, and making a great noise, to affright the Inhabitants, and make them believe that the Enemy was at hand, so as they should (as they did) retreat speedily into *Trigoli*, where shutting to the Gates, they endeavour'd to secure the Town, expecting every moment to be assaulted. In the interim those that were sent by *Renzo* about this business, came speedily to *Quinzano*, and falling at unawares upon the *Gens d'Armes* that were in the Town, took them all, and their Commanders Prisoners, and took much corn, cattle, and other things from those Territories which were of great use to the Besieged in *Crema*. The readiness of the Citizens and Country people to serve the Commonwealth to the utmost of their Power was a great furtherance to *Renzo* in doing these things; for they did not only shew themselves willing to do what was commanded them, but when money was wanting to pay the Souldiers, (for all the Avenues were shut up, so as monies could not be safely sent from *Venice*) the Citizens maintain'd the Army at their own charge: No News was ever heard of yielding, no complaining upon the times, no weariness of being besieged, nor of so many burthens and toyl; all things were govern'd with great concord and good order, as if the City had been in great quiet, and far from any danger or trouble of War; and yet another great mischief was added to all their sufferings, for the Plague began to grow hot amongst them.

For which the Senate charged the Magistrates to thank the Citizens in the Name of the Commonwealth, promising them that these their good Services should be kept in perpetual Memory, and that their Deserts should be acknowledged, and rewarded even to posterity: That they knew their singular Worth and Loyalty: That therefore they might promise unto themselves all things which could be expected from a grateful Commonwealth, which did always willingly embrace and very much cherish all such as were faithful and valiant.

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The Senate did likewise commend *Renzo da Ceri*; as they had done many times before, striving to confirm him in the loyalty and worth which he had hitherto shewn; and herein they used many gracious expressions, exalting his deserts, so to honour that man with praise, (which is the reward of Virtue) who was so desirous of Glory, and to invite him to the undertaking of other worthy Enterprizes.

They said, *That the Venetian Souldiers had learnt to overcome under the Conduct of such a Commander, who by the greatness of his Courage had overcome even the greatest difficulties, and made them appear easie; that they expected yet greater things from his Gallantry.*

And having occasion soon after to shew themselves thankful to so well deserving a man, he was by general consent chosen to succeed *Giovanni Paolo Baglione* in his Office, who having ended his Conduct, had taken his leave of the Venetian Army. *Baglione* being taken Prisoner, as you have heard, in the unfortunate Battle at *Vicenza*, had got leave of the Spanish Commanders to go to *Venice*, upon exchange for *Caravagiale*, a Spanish Commander, which if he could effect he was to have his liberty, but if otherwise he was to return Prisoner to the Enemy. *Baglione* got leave of the Senate for the exchange, and Captain *Caravagiale* was carried from *Venice* to *Padua*; but *Garghenese*, without whole knowledg this exchange was made, oppos'd it, saying it was not to be observed, the quality of the persons not being alike, nor the good which might redound to the several Princes by the Exchange. Wherefore *Baglione* thinking he was free from his *Parole*, since the fault proceeded not from him, refused to return any more Prisoner to the Enemy, and having obtain'd leave of the Venetians, went to *Rome*, whither he was sent for by the Pope. *Baglione* held the next place in Dignity after *Alviano*, who was the Venetians General; his pay was 30000 Duckets a year, and he was bound to have in his Troop 200 *Gens d'Armes*, and 100 light Horse. His place was granted to *Renzo* upon the same conditions, but he refused it;

Rendering notwithstanding many acknowledgments to the Senate, who of their own free wills had conferr'd that Honour upon him who was absent, and had no ways sought it, though it was wont to be much put for by others; he told them that his abode in Crema at this time of many eminent dangers, was of much concernment to his own Honour, and to the service of the Commonwealth; that he desired nothing more then to preserve that City to the Commonwealth; that he knew very well the Senate had offer'd him that preferment, not to invite him to serve them well and faithfully, but to witness the love they bore him; for nothing could now add to his ancient affection, which he knew he could not more apparently manifest, then in defending that City.

There were some who thought *Renzo* the more to be commended for having prefer'd Worth it self before the badge of Worth; but many suspected what did afterwards appear by many signs more clearly: to wit, that *Renzo* would not be obliged to go unto the Army, because he bore a secret enmity to *Alviano*, and thinn'd to be under the command of another, especially of one who was of so severe a nature, and who was no very good friend of his.

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Whilst

Whilst these things went thus, the year of our Lord 1514 began, and began unfortunately; for on the 10th of January, the first hour after midnight, some shops fell on fire in the *Rialto* (which is seated in the midst of the City, a place much frequented, and held in great esteem for the happy Auspice of the Cities first rise, which began first to be built there, and wherein all things are usually sold) which fire taking hold of the neighbouring houses, did soon mightily increase, and in a moment burnt many publique Buildings, and great store of Merchandise of all sorts; and for the greater misfortune, the wind blew very furiously then from the North, which carried the fire into the most remote parts of the City; and the houses that were nearer hand were soon irreparably consumed; there was not any one who either by Council or Action could suppress the violence of the fire, in this sad and sudden chance, and in this confusion, which fill'd the whole City with fear, though the Nobles and common people flock'd presently thither from all places. The fire dilating it self on all sides got to the *Pescheria* on the one side, and on the other side to the Temple of *Santo Apollinare*, (places which stood far asunder) miserably consuming, and throwing all things down to the ground. Many gallant Ornaments of the City, and much wealth of private people, which was long in gathering, perish'd almost in a moment, which caused great lamentation, and outcries throughout the whole City: The Citizens and Merchants bemoaned themselves that their so long labours should be so soon lost; others were more troubled at this misfortune, as if it foreboded greater mischiefs; they began now to fear the greatest: Some in these common afflictions shew'd some more moderation; for being inured to so many afflictions, they were not easily sensible of new sorrows. It was never clearly known whether this hapned by chance, or by the Enemies abominable wickedness; yet by many tokens it was thought that the fire was fraudulently and by cunning convey'd into those shops where it first brake forth. Thus at this time nothing was free from the treachery of the Enemy. The Senate though perplex'd with so many adversities, managed the War with their wonted constancy, and did not slacken in providing for all things which might either maintain their Honour, or obviate the Enemy. But the Affairs of *Friuli* did chiefly trouble them; for *Françipane*, having (as you have heard) possess'd himself of many places of the Country, did still besiege *Osefo*. Many of the Senate were of opinion, that they should gather all the Forces they could together, and endeavour to relieve *Savorgnano*: Others were of a contrary opinion, affirming,

That they had already sufficiently try'd the fortune of War, and that the many damages which they had suffer'd, might teach them and others, to how many various and uncertain chances Battles are subject, and how often it falls out that men come to a day of Battle even against the determinate will of the Commanders. That after so many losses the best course would be to endeavour the keeping of Treviso and Padua, and so reduce all their Garrisons thither, knowing that upon the event of these two Towns the end of the whole War would finally depend. Wherefore they were not

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now without necessity to alter their managing of the War, nor suffer those Cities for want of better Garrisons to be exposed to the will of the Enemy: That they should consider their men were much diminished, become less loyal, and less ready for Military Actions, by reason of their slow pay: But that they were chiefly cast down by reason of the last rout; so as it was hardly to be known whether their worth or fidelity were left to be trusted to; that therefore they should not proceed contrary to their ancient custom, and contrary to their last resolution: who could be sure that a powerful Army of the Enemy being so near, and succour so far off, some tumult might not be raised in those very Cities, either out of fear or desire of Novelty, especially when the whole War, nay the total of all things, was committed to a few, and those not ever valiant?

Others on the contrary, amongst which were *Antonio Grimani*, who then held the place of *Savio del Consiglio*, and *Luca Trono*, one of the Council of six, who endeavour'd by all the means they could that succour should be sent to *Savorgnano*, and that the recovery of the Towns in *Friuli* should be put for.

*These shewed how that the Common-wealth was much concern'd in the preservation of Osefo, not only out of hopes that by the means thereof, other places in Friuli might be preserved or recovered, but for the preservation even of those very Cities which by common consent were to have a high esteem put upon them. Assuredly (said Trono) nothing hath retarded *Françipane* from not arriving safe at the Spanish Army, but his fear of leaving this strong Hold behind him; which if it should fall into the hands of the Enemy, there was no other thing which could hinder them from coming with all their Forces quickly into the Territories of Padua, by whose assistance the Spaniards being become the stronger, they would suddenly attempt the taking of Padua or Treviso, which we know is the thing they chiefly desire, and that their not having done it hitherto, hath only been, because they dare not venture upon it with so few men, as do not exceed 4000 Foot, and 600 Horses; therefore when mention is made of sending relief to Osefo, it must be granted that the preservation of those Cities is treated of; so as though we cannot promise our selves easily to rout *Françipanes* Forces, yet the advantage is not small which we shall receive by sending our Army into that Country, since the Enemy will be thereby necessitated not to make any longer abode in those parts, and to forbear plotting our farther ruine: Our late experience may teach us how dangerous a thing in War it is to suffer the Enemies to joyn together, meet, and increase their Forces, when they must fight though they be but weak and divided; for if the French Commanders had been better advised at Novara, and had endeavour'd either to fight the Spaniard, who expected the coming of the Swissers, or had else encountered the Swissers who came to relieve the Besieged, all things would have succeeded more prosperously with them, since one only Enemy would have been the more easily overcome, and the others would have been made afraid: If we shall abandon the Towns, Lands, Men, and the Goods of our Subjects of Friuli, leaving all things in the power of bitter, but weak Enemies, without endeavouring any revenge, I am (brevely afraid) we may fall into such contempt both of our Enemies, and of our own men, as that the Honour of our Common-wealth will fall too low to be ever raised up again, all men being already*

already of opinion, that the Common-wealth of Venice is reduced to so low a condition, as she is either not able, or else not willing to secure them from injuries, who live under her Jurisdiction, and who have always been faithful to her. But if by shewing courage we shall strive to repair the losses we have received, our men will be incouraged again, and the Enemy will be more humble: and we may hope to enjoy the Country more quietly hereafter: No man is ignorant of what importance and convenience the Castle of Osoto is; and the stronger it is by natural situation, the more carefully it ought to be kept; for if it should fall once into the hands of the Enemy, we cannot hope easily to recover it, as we have done other Towns; for the Enemy having taken, as we are inform'd they have, the Castle Chiufa, they will always have the way open whereby to be abundantly furnish'd with Artillery, Vittuals, and all things necessary for War.

The Senate being perswaded by these reasons, resolv'd to draw out as many men as they could out of Padua and Trevisi, and send them to Friuli, leaving Theodoro Trulcio the mean while in Padua, with charge of all the Militia, and with him Dominico Contarini, who being Captain of Padua, was made Commissary. The business of Friuli was committed to Alviano, the Senate having formerly given him charge to proceed with much safety, and not to pass with his Army over the Livenza, unless he had certain knowledge which way the Enemy went, and were sure to return quickly; for it was thought very dangerous, lest the Dutch, when our men should be gone far off, might pitch in some strong seat to hinder their passage, till such time as the Spaniards hearing of Alviano's departure might come in unto their aid, and so our Camp might be at the same time beset with two Enemies Armies. Alviano took 700 commanded men with him out of Padua and 400 Horse, the one half whereof were Albanese, and came in two days march to Sacile, whither it was said that the Horse and Foot which were come out of Udine, were retired to save themselves. Alviano understanding here that 500 of the Enemies Horse were in Porto Gruaro, from whence they were often wont to go out and skirmish with our Horse in the Plain which lyes between Sacile and Porto Gruaro, he suddenly drew forth into the field, and sent the light Horse before, with commission that when they should come within sight of the Enemy, they should provoke them to fight. The Enemy according to their custome, were easily perswaded to come out of the Town, and began to skirmish with our men, who according to their directions retreated; the Enemy pursued them, and not knowing that the rest of our men were come, drew at unawares near our Army; then Malatesta Baglione, who was sent with a hundred Curassiers to succour the former who had begun to give way, seeing that the Enemy could not well retreat, fell furiously upon them, and amongst the rest, charg'd Captain Risano, who was easily known by his Armes and by his corpulency of body; whom he hurt dangerously, unhors'd him, and took him Prisoner; the rest having lost their Captain, after a whiles fight, began to run, and got into Porto Gruaro, but Alviano, though night drew on, pursuing the flying Enemy immediately clapp'd ladders to the Town Walls, and his Souldiers being gotten upon the Walls,

Walls, fought with those that were upon the Guard, and after long dispute, drove the Guard from the Walls and entered the Town, and sack'd the whole Town, as well what belonged to the Townsmen, as to the Souldiers, and took a hundred Curassiers that were in the Town, Prisoners.

After this fortunate success, Alviano resolv'd to march towards the relief of Savoragnano, who having valiantly repuls'd the Enemy, did still maintain the Castle of Osoto: Frangipane hearing of the coming of our men, set fire presently upon all the works which he had made about the Castle, and raised his Camp, marching with his Army towards Germany; but being come into the Town of Venzona, and fearing that he was pursued by Alviano's Forces, as indeed he was, he resolv'd to make all his Chivalry stay there, to retard the Enemy, that thereby the Foot might have the more time to get into some place of safety. But Alviano, hearing that the Enemy were gone, sent Nicolo Vendramino soon after them, with the Albanese Horse, and Bernardino Antignolo with the remainder of the light Horse, hoping that if they made haste they might reach Frangipane. But he was past a little forward, and having gotten over the Tagliamento, had taken up his Quarters in the Castle of St. Daniele. Vendramino and Antignolo, were so diligent in their March, as finding the Enemies Horse at Venzona, they fell upon them, cut most of them in pieces, and took the rest Prisoners; but the Foot which were marched forwards with the carriages, escaped; our Horse not being able to follow them by those steep and craggy Rocks. Yet could they not well save themselves; for the Siege being raised, Savoragnano issued out of the Castle, and having assembled together 200 Horse, and a good company of Country people, pursued the Enemy by way of the Carnisen Alpes, and his Forces increasing where so ere he went, (for the Country people were very much affectionate to the Venetians, who led him by secret and shorter ways) he was got before Alviano's Horse, and assauling the Dutch Foot had so routed them, as they were forced to leave their Baggage behind them, and seven pieces of great Artillery, which rendered the Victory more clear and remarkable. They say that Frangipane pleaded for excuse, that he was at this time much indisposed by reason of a blow which he had received on the head by a stone, whilst he lay before Osoto, which disabled him for providing for such things as were fitting for the safety of his Army. Yet he could provide for his own safety; for as soon as the Enemy fell upon his men, he, with 30 of his Horse fled, and got into a safe place; but this was but for a short time; for being soon after cured of his hurt, as he was riding amongst the neighbouring Mountains, to raise new tumults, and gather more men to renew the War, he fell into an ambush which was laid for him by Giovan Vitturi, and was by him taken Prisoner, and sent to Venice. He was certainly a fierce and haughty man, but grievously faulty, and a mighty Enemy to the Venetians, whom he had long troubled by his incursions, and rapines committed in Friuli. Savoragnano grew now very famous for these prosperous successes, for which he was by the Senate created Count of Belgrado and Osoto; and to leave a testi-

testimony of his Worth to his posterity, he had 400 Duckets a year assign'd unto him out of the publick Exchequer, to descend to him and his Heirs for ever. The Enemies Army being routed, as you have heard, *Udine*, *Belgrado*, *Monfalcone*, and all the other Castles which were formerly taken by the Enemy, return'd into the power of the Venetians, and were by them received into favour; for it was evident that the people had done their duties, and had not quitted their Loyalty to the Venetians, otherwise then necessitated by Fortune, and by the power of the prevailing Enemy. *Alviano* hoped by means of this Victory to re-gain *Gorizia* and *Gradisca*, if the Army should march thitherward; and he did this the rather, for that he understood there were but small Garrisons in these Towns, and that they were in great want of all things, especially of Gun-powder, which was all spent in the Siege of *Ossola*; yet being unwilling to fall rashly upon this Enterprize, he sent a Band of men to discover the condition of the places, who having diligently observed all things, brought word, that the taking of those places would require much time and pains; wherefore *Alviano* having ended what he went for into *Friuli*, and knowing that by tarrying longer in those parts, his return into the Territories of *Padua* might be hindered by the Spaniards, whose numbers increased, he resolv'd to return with his Army into the City of *Padua*.

At the same time that these things were done in *Friuli*, many Treaties had been in *Rome* concerning Peace with the Emperour; for the Pope having at last overcome all doubts and difficulties, had taken this business in hand, and was very diligent in the negotiation thereof, to the end that peace might be effected, he used all possible means by his Nuntios both with the Emperour and the Venetians, exhorting them to concord.

He shewed them that both of them had made sufficient triall of their fortune, and that things were already reduced to such a pass through the length of War, as though they should refuse to come to any accommodation, they would both of them be forced shortly to lay down Arms out of very weariness; but that then the Issue would be this, that Forces being broken on both sides, yet Enmity would still remain to the common ruine; for it was to be feared that by means of these discords, and the weakness occasioned by so long Wars, both the Conquerours, and conquered would fall into the power of *Selinus Ottaman* (a bitter and powerful Enemy) if the Fortune of War favouring his designs, now that he was upon difficult, but glorious Attempts, he should turn his victorious Forces into Europe. He moreover told the Venetians, that France was so weakened, both by the last received rout, and by the greater dangers which did yet ever-hang them, as it was in vain for them to think to be able to maintain the War by assistance from France. But that whilst peace was on treaty between England and France, the event whereof was yet uncertain, and whilst the Common-wealth was yet in good esteem, both by reason of her own strength, and the like of her Confederates, they might accommodate their Affairs upon honourable conditions; which being afterwards reduced to disadvantage, they would not be able to do. He laid before the Emperour, the length of the war, the various and doubtful successes of Enterprizes, the

the faithfulness of Confederates, the certain advantages of peace, together with the enlarging of his Empires Confines. But because the Pope had many times endeavour'd this in vain, from which he might ground what now he was to trust unto. *Cesar* and the Venetians having never been able to be made friends, he knew it was necessary a third person should take upon him the conditions of Peace. Wherefore he made known to them both, that if it might stand with their consent, he had resolv'd to take upon himself his whole Treaty of Peace, and to judge and determine what was fitting to be done therein, and what each of them should be content with; that though he was not ignorant of what a burthen he was herein to take upon him, yet laying aside all other respects he would mind only the peace of Christendom, and the duty of his charge and office. And that the mean while, whilst Affairs might be brought to some composition, and friendship might be renew'd, they would lay down Arms, to the end that when his determination should be heard, War might the more be easily appeased, and all things might remain quiet.

The Venetian Senate, mov'd thereunto out of the hopes of peace, and by the Popes Authority, resolv'd to referre to him whatsoever had been long in dispute between them and the Emperour, thinking they should do well and worthily to acquaint the Pope and all Christendome with their pretences and injuries; that all men might know how great reverence and respect the Venetians bore to the Pope, and that all their designs aimed at agreement. The chiefest difficulty lay in whether the City of *Verona* did belong to the Emperour, or to the Venetians, and in what monies the Venetians should pay unto the Emperour, and what time they should have for the payment thereof. The reason of paying these Monies was, as well for the expences of the War, as also that *Cesar* should cancell all his pretensions, if he had any, either by claim of the Empire, or of the House of *Austria*, to those Cities and Towns which were by agreement to remain unto the Common-wealth. The Venetians made *Leo* the Arbitrator of these things, leaving the Arbitrement thereof in him by publick Authority. *Leo* not content herewith, desired that this might be drawn up in another manner; to wit, so as without mentioning any particular Controversie, the Senate should referre the whole business to him, as the Compounder of all differences: saying that he desired this for the taking away of all occasions of difference, and that he might bring all things the sooner to the desired end; wherefore he pawn'd his faith, not to use any farther freedom, nor to pronounce any sentence, then what he should have first communicated to the Embassadour of the Common-wealth, and by the will and consent of the Senate; adding that for the future he would use no less diligence, to have *Verona*, and all the other Towns which were possess'd by the Common-wealth before the War, restored unto her, then he now used to make peace. Thus he obtain'd free leave and power from the Senate to put an end unto the War upon what conditions pleased him: He having promised that when this should be done by the Embassadour of the Common-wealth then resident with him, that he, the Pope, would be sure not to propound any thing for reconciling the differences; which might prove the beginning of

new difficulties, or which might disturbe the whole business, for it was much to be feared, that the Common-wealths Enemies (whose request whether they did agree with what was just and honest he himself might very well know) knowing that all things were now left to his free disposal, would egge him on, as it were against his will, to propound such conditions as might be too prejudicial to the Common-wealth, and which he himself should not be very well pleased withal. When the Pope began to negotiate this Affair, he met with many things which gave him reason to be doubtful and jealous; the rather because he desired both *Cesar* and the Venetians satisfaction. The Emperour demanded that *Verona*, which was then in his possession, should still continue in his power; to which though it had been always heretofore deny'd, the Venetians did at this time condescend upon condition that *Ganze* and *Valegio*, two Towns of the Territories of *Verona*, should be yielded up to them; alledging that without these their State being as it were cut off by anothers Jurisdiction, it was evident that all that part of their Dominiun which lay beyond the River *Adige*, would be of no use at all to the Common-wealth. On the contrary, the Emperour, who seemed at the first to be contented with *Verona*, demanded *Crema* likewise; and somewhat to honest his desire, he said that this City ought to be put into the Popes hands, since he was content to put *Vicenza* thereto. But it was apparent to every one how unequal this proposition was; for *Crema* was a very strong and safe City, long in the Venetians possession, and lately defended with much cost and labour against the Enemy; whereas *Vicenza* being neither strongly walled, nor well garrison'd, had often changed Fortune and Masters, and was now in these latter times possess'd by *Cesars* men, only because it was never strove for: So as it could hardly be said that he possess'd the City; for if the Venetians would send their Forces thither, they might easily drive the Emperours weak Garrison out, and recover it.

Whilst these things were in treaty Cardinal *Gurghense*, who had ever been an utter Enemy to peace, came in an unhappy hour to *Rome*. He began (as he had done formerly) to trouble the business, finding many occasions to draw it out in length, and bending all his Might against what was just and honest. The Pope had obtain'd that the Spanish Foot should abstain from doing any new prejudice, since the business of right was to be treated of: yet the Viceroy staining sometimes not to understand this Treaty, sometimes blaming such advice, proceeded in hostile manner against the State of *Venice*, and the Affairs thereof; nay taking occasion by reason of the truce to pillage more securely, he entred the Territories of *Padua*, and plundered the whole Country, nourishing his needy Souldiers with what they got from miserable Inhabitants, in a time when they thought themselves free from such Injuries. By which proceedings it might be conceived that the Pope and the Venetians were much deluded; that the Common-wealths Enemies had no mind to peace, but that they play'd the Counterfeits, as well not utterly to lose the Pope, as also to make the Venetians through their hopes of peace less careful in providing for things appertaining to War, and they the

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mean while might have opportunity to recrute their Army, which was much diminished.

Wherefore the Venetians discovering their Enemies cheats and deceitful Proceedings, entreated *Leo*, That he would penetrate into the secret Counsels of the Emperour, and of King *Ferdinando*; for then he would clearly find that *Ferdinando* did not only aspire to the States Dominiuns, but to the Government of all Italy. So as if he would keep up his Dignity, and Authority amongst Princes, which he might perceive began now to grow less, he should not suffer them so to abuse the reverend name of Pope. That therefore quitting his first Counsels, he should betake himself to new and safer cogitations, and should resolve upon things becoming the safety of Italy, and his own Dignity, and that he should forthwith recall his Troops of Horse from the Spanish Army; for that the Enemies having placed much hopes in his friendship and assistance, they would proceed with more sincerity when they should see themselves deprived thereof, that they would abstain from injurious proceedings, and treat less arrogantly hereafter. That he on his part had abundantly satisfied the tie of confederacy which he had with them; that it became an Italian, especially him who was plac'd in so high a degree of Dignity, and who was endow'd with so much wisdom, by the present troublesome state of things, to foresee the beginnings of greater evils, and to provide such remedies for them, as became their importancy, and which might as yet be used; that if these Princes, whilst their Affairs were in so bad a case, by reason of the few Spanish and Dutch Foot which were then in Italy, had notwithstanding arrogated so much Authority, and would make such use of bare reputation, without Forces, it was much to be feared, that when their power should be increased, they would endeavour to diminish over all Italy.

The Venetians used reasons to exhort the Pope to keep up his greatness and authority: They told him he could by no other way better effect it then by entering into League with the King of *France*, and their Common-wealth. But finding that these endeavours did no good, they went to work with him the same way that they knew their Enemies had done. It was generally thought that *Leo* favour'd the Emperours Affairs; for he thought that thereby he promoted his own designs: He had set his whole mind upon the aggrandizing of his own House, hoping that he might be much farthered therein by *Cesars* favour, whereby he might be enabled to alienate the Cities of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, from the Church, and pass them over in fee by the Emperours help and consent to his Brother *Juliano*.

Wherefore the Venetians labour'd to persuade him, that he might better advance his Family by this new confederacy; the Venetians being very willing to grant the Kingdom of *Naples* in fee to his Brother *Juliano*, when it should be won by their common Forces, upon the same conditions that he had desired those other Cities; and to defend, and maintain him in the possession thereof by all their forces and endeavors: And that he should not need to doubt their promise, nor suspect the Common-wealths faith, as well in commemoration of the benefit, which would be esteem'd the greater in these unfortunate times, as also for the States peculiar Interest, for whose advantage and safety it would make very much that an Italian

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Italian Prince, a Friend of hers, and obliged unto her for so great a favour, should be Master of so noble and rich a part of Italy. That doubtless he might promise himself the like from the King of France, who setting his heart upon the reputation and keeping of Milan, it did much import him that more potent Lords should be kept far from the Confines of Italy, the parts whereof which should belong to the French, would be the better confirmed unto them by the Popes Friendship. That this was the only way to make the House of Medici truly glorious and splendid, which was famous enough already of her self: And the best way likewise for the quiet and security of the Church and of all Italy. That the Senate did recommend these things to his consideration in pursuance of their ancient custom, and out of their particular observance of his own Person, and their affection to his Family. That he should not argue out of these their persuasions that they were so weakened by adverse Fortune, or that they were so cast down, but that they were able to renew and maintain the War of themselves, though he should not be advised by them.

The Common-wealth had above 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse in pay at this time, divided between Padua and Treviso; and Souldiers were continually raised for the service of the Common-wealth in several parts; so as he hoped to have 10000 Souldiers on Foot within a short time. Moreover new ships were a building to increase the Fleet, and to furnish it with all things fitting, that she might be ready and able for any Enterprize. That on the contrary, though the Enemies men were very few, and impotent, in great want and scarcity of all things, and that it was rather reputation, then true strength that made them subject, yet were they so encouraged by their past prosperous successes, as they thought all things easie, and promised themselves success in all their undertakings. Wherefore Leo fearing more the audacity of the Spaniards and Dutch, then he trusted or hoped in the French and Venetians, could not resolve to accept of these new conditions, but falling into his ancient irresolution, was the occasion why both War and Peace grew daily more difficult. But it was certainly known that Leo was more addicted to Cesar, and did too much covet his favour; for though he was not ignorant that the Emperours whole drift was to oppress all Italy, and that he himself did confels as much, yet he still spun out time, as if he durst not pronounce; nor did he limit any means, or time wherein to do it. Henry King of England had formerly undertaken to reconcile the Venetians with the Emperour, behaving himself so therein, as it appeared evidently to all men that he was well inclined to wish well to the Affairs of Venice; but his affection seemed now to be quite altered, out of jealousy that the Venetians had aided the French in the War which he made with their King the year before.

He complained particularly that the Common-wealth had sent her Albanese Horse into France. Which suspicions were conceived to be purposely taken to the end that he might afterwards have the better colour to favour the Emperour in his proceedings, whose good will he endeavour'd by all means to win, out of a desire to draw him from the Truce which he had begun to treat of with the French. Therefore whereas Henry was formerly wont to exhort the Venetians to peace, and to comfort them, and assist them

them in their greatest necessities; he now proceeded clean otherwise, accusing them by his Letters to the Senate for having persevered too much in breaking of the hopes of peace when things went well with them, and deprived Christendom of much good; saying that they ought to behave themselves according as the times went, and not carry themselves higher then their present Fortune required; wherefore he was very earnest with them to lay down their Arms, and not to trouble Maximilian any longer with that unreasonable War.

These Letters being read in the Senate, they resolved to justify the Common-wealth by their Embassadour, who was then resident in the Court of England; and to free the King from such false suspitions.

The Senate seemed to wonder very much why Henry, towards whom the Common-wealth had shewed such affection as became them well to do to a great Prince who was their Friend and Confederate, a well Wisser and Amplifier of their Dignity, should believe that the Venetians would injure him, or should have endeavour'd to disturb his Victory whereat they had much rejoiced; to witness which, they had at this time sent Francisco Capello, Embassadour into England, who dyed in his journey thitherward. But that as for those things whereof he particularly complained, he was to know that all the Albanese were not Subjects to the Common-wealth, nor were the Venetians able to inhibit them the Service of other Princes: That their Fleet was prepared not to assist others, but only to withstand the so great Forces which the Enemy had prepared against their State; that they had long before been Confederates with the French, as the condition of those times required, which was the reason why they had not satisfied Maximilian in his first request: Which had made him wage War with that Common-wealth, not having been any ways injured by them; nor had the Venetians taken up Arms against him otherwise then in their own defence; that after these first successes, and Truce being made, it was violated by Cesar, who entred in an hostile manner into their Dominion; wherefore they were forced to take up Arms again to drive him out of their Confines: whereby Henry might conceive, that they had not been the first Authors of War against the Emperour, having only endeavour'd to keep themselves from being injured, according to the wont of their Ancestors; who were always accustomed neither to do nor suffer wrong. And that notwithstanding they forbear not all this while endeavours by Letters, by Embassadours, and by all other means which they thought might do any good, that the occasion of controversies being removed, they might come to some Agreement with Cesar; that many might witness this, but especially the Arch-Bishop of York, an honourable and worthy Gentleman; who had often interceded in this Treaty of Peace, and who knew very well what their intentions were, and what the Enemies were minded to do; that men would think that Cesar, who was a great Prince, should offer as nothing which was not honourable and becoming him; yet it could not be denyed, but that many of his Advisers did corrupt this his good Will, endeavouring their own advantage by drawing out the War as length, though they seemed to be concern'd in Cesars Interests only. That therefore it became Henry, who was a great and excellent King, to be so just and moderate, as not to suffer himself to be diverted by any conjunction

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which he had with the Emperour, from what was fair and right; but as a just and upright Arbitrator to interpose his Authority for the laying down of Arms on all sides, upon such reasonable conditions, as might not be injurious to any one: So as the people of Christendom long molested with so many Wars, might now enjoy some rest and safety: and as for them they would the more willingly make peace with Maximillian in respect of Henry's being the Author of it.

But all these endeavours were of little avail with a Prince who minded more the composing of his own Wars than those of others; wherefore the Venetians finding no hopes of Agreement, began to bethink themselves of War. All people whom it became to speak their minds were enjoin'd by the Senate, to propound such things as they thought fittest for the raising of Monies upon such occasions. Many things were propos'd and argued in the Senate with diversity of Opinions: New Taxes were laid upon the City, and several ways were found whereby to bring in Monies into the publick Treasury. There was a new Magistracy instituted consisting but of three, who had Authority given them to impose what sum they should please upon every Citizen or Inhabitant of Venice, according to every mans condition and ability, provided that it should not exceed 300 Duckets for any one Family or Person. Moreover power was given to *Alviano* and two *Savij* of the Council, who upon occasion of some other employment were then in *Padua*, to free such from exile as had been banished for no very grievous offences, enjoining them to pay such sums of Money as they should think fit for payment of the Army; whereunto if any one should be backward, their Goods were to be distrain'd. So as in a short time the scarcity of the Exchequer was provided for, and some hopes were had of being able to maintain War for a while.

Alviano being this mean while gone out of *Friuli*, as hath been said, the Senate, being thereunto chiefly moved by the persuasions of *Ferolimo Savoragnano*, resolved to re-assume the Enterprize of *Marano*, the chief care whereof was given to him; who cheerfully taking the employment upon him, and having got together about 2000 Country men, and drawn 400 of the best Foot out of *Udine*, went about this. And that he might do it with the more safety and Honour, *Jovan Vitturi* who commanded all the light Horse, and *Jovan Paolo Manfrone* Captain of the Curassiers, were ordered to pass with all their Horse over the *Tagliamento*, and to be aiding to *Savoragnano* in his Enterprize, by over-running the Country, and by securing it from any new commotions of the Enemy; moreover the Fleet was sent to the Marishes of *Marano* that it might be beset both by Sea and Land.

As soon as *Savoragnano* came to *Marano*, he possess'd himself of a strong situation not far from the Walls, where he took up his Quarters: He then began to make Ditches, by which the Souldiers being shelter'd, might get to the Walls. The Town was situated much to our mens disadvantage; for it was environ'd all about with low Moorish Grounds, wherefore *Savoragnano* to overcome the badness of the Seat by Indultry, made certain rises of several materials, like so

to many little Towers, and did munite them excellently well; where-by he got two great advantages; the one that they might be a greater safety for his men, if the Enemy should fall out of the Town at unawares; the other, that for matter of fight, his men and the Enemy might be upon equal terms, the one standing upon the Walls, the other upon the made Rises. Thus all things being prepared for an Assault, towards which the Souldiers had already made some advancement, some Captains who did differ in opinion from *Savoragnano* before, meeting with some let, by reason of deeper waters, were occasion why what was before resolved upon, was not put in execution. And in the Interim Letters came to *Savoragnano*; and the chiefest of the Army from the Senate, wherein they signified their opinion, that it was better to take the Town by Siege, then by Assault; moreover *Manfrone* had still been of that opinion, and had given particular account thereof to the Senate, being moved thereunto either out of Envy that he bore to *Savoragnano*, or by *Alviano's* Authority, who also advised to the not taking of *Marano* by Force. All things were then handled in order to a Siege: But there were many things also which made against this opinion; for the people that were assembled together being nigh at hand, the Country people (of which the Army did for the most part consist) could not be kept together any longer in those parts, for they were come thither out of hopes of a sudden Victory and of some booty without any pay: Moreover it was to be feared that these men being wearied by long labour, and a tedious Siege, were likely to abandon the Camp; but say they would have tarried, they could not have done so by reason of the condition of the place, and unwholesomeness of the Air, whereof many fell grievously sick daily. The Commanders adhering to the safest counsel, and to that which pleased the Senate best, altering their way of warfaring, fell from Assault to Siege, and placed their Camp in many several Quarters, that they might the more streighten the Besieged, and keep them from Victuals. Thus whilst time was spent in vain, the Enemy had means afforded them of increasing their numbers, and of advancing to relieve those that were within. But our men understanding that the Dutch had muster'd many Foot and Horse about *Villacco*, and that many Country Mountainers were come from the Neighbouring Villages to *Gradisca*, and that great preparation was made both of men and Arms wherewith to assault our Camp, the Captains fearing lest they might be taken in the midst by two adverse Armies, resolved hastily to raise the Siege, and to march with all their men towards *Udine* and *Cividale*: and at the same time the Fleet parting from the Wakes of *Marano*, went to *Istria*, to secure the Towns of that Country which were much molested by *Bernardino Frangipane*. As soon as the Siege was raised from before *Marano*, the Enemy hastened to victual the Town, and to recruit the Garrison; so as growing more powerful, and more bold, they sallied out often, fell upon the Neighbouring Villages, wasting the Country, and laying heavy Taxes upon the miserable Inhabitants, from whom they injuriously, and oftentimes by torments did exact Monies. The Senate being much troubled hereat, and fear-

ing left greater dangers might issue unless some speedy remedy were taken, they ordered *il Cavaliere dalla Volpe*, who commanded all the light Horse, to march speedily into *Friuli* with 200 Horse, and *Pietro Marcello* was commanded to do so likewise, who was at this time sent Commissary into the Field, to succeed *Ferdinando Pefaro* in that place, who was chosen one of the six Counsellours which sit next unto the Prince, a chief Dignity of the Common-wealth. But before these could come, our men being sorely weakened, were much indamaged. Commissary *Vitturi*, who wanted more assistance, was retreated into a place of greater strength with only one hundred Albanese Horse, where being unexpectedly set upon by a great many Dutch Foot, after having resisted long and valiantly, his Horse being wounded under him, and all his men forsaking him, he was taken by the Enemy, and led Prisoner into *Gradisca*, and afterward farther into *Germany*. Of those Horse which were with him, some were cut in pieces, some taken Prisoners, and but few of them got safe into *Udine*.

At the same time *Renzo da Ceri*, who had stay'd long idle within the Walls of the City, whilst agreement was in Treaty; all hopes of peace being vanish'd, and a way being opened unto him to indamage the Enemy, he diligently observed their ways and their counsels that he might find some fit occasion of happy success. Having received advertisement that *Silvio Savello* was lately come out of *Millan*, with light Horse and 50 Curassiers, and 400 Foot, and that being sent towards *Crema*, they marched in some disorder, he resolved to send *Mariano Ascoli* and *Alessandro Donato* with two Troops of Horse, and *Andrea*, and *Silvestro da Perugia* with 400 Foot, to assault him at unawares upon his March, as they did *Silvio* running away at the unexpected coming of our men, was enforced to give over his first design, and to retreat into the Town of *Pandino*, where fighting our men who pursued him, to keep them from approaching the Walls, he was at the first On-set put to the retreat, his men being so routed, as many of them were slain, others taken Prisoners, and he betaking himself betimes to Flight, with much ado escaped. But *Renzo* not content with these prosperous successes, was resolved utterly to defeat the Enemy, who were routed, and dissipated in many places; and to do his utmost to free the City from Siege; things being therein reduced to such straits, all the Citizens wealth being consumed by the length of War, and the City full of many great wants, chiefly of corn, as meer necessity forced them often to hazard themselves, and make trial of their Arms and Fortune. *Savelli* retreated with those that had escaped out of the Fight at *Ombriano* into those parts where *Prospero Colonna* was (as hath been said) with the Duke of *Millans* men, and had made two camps, about a mile and a half one from the other: which *Renzo* hearing of, he thought he had an occasion given him of deluding the Enemy, by assaulting them with all his Forces, whilst they were divided. Therefore the day preceding the night wherein he was to assault the Enemy, he began with them on that part where *Savelli* commanded, thinking that the Souldiers, wearied with their day's March, might sleep the longer: But

as soon as night came on, he sent his light Horse to the other Camp where *Colonna* was, to make him keep within his Quarters. He with a thousand Foot, and all the *Gens d'Armes* that were in the City, marching through Marshy places, and by obscure ways, when the night was well nigh past, assaulted the Souldiers who were upon the Guard of the Quarters, and before the Enemy were well aware, he fired the Ammunition. The Italian Foot were the first that resisted him; and having endured the brunt for a short while, the business being more tumultuous, and more dreadful as coming at unawares, they ran away: The Switzers made somewhat longer resistance, making good their station for a good while, and endeavouring to repulse our men, but *Renzo's* Souldiers throwing many artificial Fireworks amongst them, whereby their Ranks were disordered, they gave way likewise: The Curassiers, who not apprehending any such thing had put off their Armour, and were laid to sleep, and not having leisure to put them on again, strove to save themselves by flight: Many whereof whilst they endeavour'd to get over the River *Ada*, were therein drowned: But *Savelli* according to his custom, saved himself by flight. This was a great blow to the Enemy, for of 500 Horse, which were in the Camp, scarce 50 escaped free away; and but few of 1800 Foot. *Renzo* won much Honour by this Action; for though he had tarried long in those parts to ruin the Town of *Ombriano*, sacking the Neighbouring Territories, to bring all the Booty that he could get into the City, yet *Prospero Colonna* suffer'd these things to be done before his eyes, and his Army looking on, not daring so much as once to get out of his Quarters; nay hearing some days after that *Renzo* was coming with 300 Horse to relieve the Town, fearing lest he might fall into some greater mishap, he raised the Camp, and freed *Crema* from Siege, quartering his Souldiers in several Towns of *Geradada*. The Spaniards, though they treated of Peace yet had they not all this while forbore injurious Proceedings; wherefore the Senate, though they had resolved not to suffer their men to go out of *Padua*, after what you have heard was done in *Friuli*, yet not willing that the Enemy should daily grow more insolent, gave way that *Alviano* (who had often desired permission so to do) should take men out of the City, putting them in mind that they were not now to revenge themselves upon the Enemy, but should think they had done enough, if they could keep them from committing rapine and plunder: But desirous notwithstanding that the Army might be stronger, so as it might be ready upon all occasions, they commanded *Jovan Paolo Mansfrone*, who remained in *Friuli* with a hundred Curassiers, that he should forthwith go with his Horse to *Alviano's* Camp: Who before he took the field, sent *Bernardino Antignola* and *Hanibale Lencio* with 300 light Horse towards *Cittadella* to keep *Bassano* and *Marostica* in Loyalty, and to preserve them from being injured; having understood that the Enemy were drawing near those Castles. He went the next day out of *Padua* with the rest of the Army, consisting of 600 Curassiers, 600 cross-bow men, 400 Albanese Horse, and about 8000 Foot, and marching towards the Euganean Mountains, when he was

got four miles off to *Braslegana*, he there divided all his men into two bodies, and resolved to tarry there till he might better understand what the Enemy did. But the Senate, when they heard of this, writ him word that he should joyn all his men together presently, to the end that if peradventure the Enemy should come to assault him, he might not be necessitated shamefully to abandon one part, or by assisting it, to engage himself again in a Battle, which they wished him by all means possible to avoid. These proceedings, and resolutions of our men were very well known to the Vice-roy; wherefore tarrying at the *Torre* in the Territories of *Vicenza*, he commanded the Marquels of *Pescara* to march speedily to *Cittadella* with 300 light Horse, 500 Foot, and some pieces of Artillery, wherein *Antignola* was with the Chivalry: So as the Enemy being got thither before our men thought they would have done, they furiously assaulted the Castle, which *Antignola* did valiantly defend. But *Pescara* understanding that that part of the Town which was opposite to where they fought, was left without any men to defend it, he sent a Band of his men thither, without the knowledge of them that were within; to the end that scaling the Walls whilst the Defendants were fighting on the other side, they might the more easily overcome them, and fall on upon the backs of our men; which falling out just as it was designed, *Antignola's* Souldiers being busied in several fights, and astonished at so unexpected an accident, some of them were slain, some taken Prisoners; amongst which *Antignola's* self was one, and *Francisco Cico* the chief Magistrate of the Town another, and the Castle was sack'd by the Souldiers. As soon as this was known at *Venice*, the Senators being greatly moved, both for the present loss, and much more for the scorn thereof, and the remembrance of their late calamities, they commanded *Alviano* that he should suddenly pass his Army back again over the River *Bachillione*; but he thinking that this might be a dishonour to him, and to his Army, before this order was obeyed, let the Senate know, that he was in a very safe place, where he could not fear to be indamaged by the Enemy, that he was absolutely resolved to abstain from battle, whereunto he could not be by the Enemy enforced. But some of the Senate continuing in their opinion that he was to remove his quarters, it was resolved that *Dominico Trevisano*, and *Lunardo Mocenico*, who were then Savvy of the Council, should be sent to view his Quarters, that they might the better know the Captains Opinion and the reason of this advice. These brought word back that the situation was indeed such as *Alviano* had represented it to be, for the Quarters were in the midst between two Rivers, *Brenta* and *Bachilone*, and the Fortifications such, as there was no fear to be had of the Enemy; for *Alviano* had been very careful in drawing a Trench and a Ditch, and had very well fortified all besetting places; so as there was no more speech had of changing Quarters. Yet the Spaniards, though the Army which was in *Padua* was drawn out into the field, did by continual Inrodes daily vex the Inhabitants of those parts. Having heard that a great many Country people had with-drawn themselves and their cattle to *Cavarzere*, that they might be there the freer from Injuries, that place being ever

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ry where environed with Fens, they betook themselves in great numbers towards that part in many Barks which were got together upon the Banks of *Adice*; whereof when *Andrea Bondelmiro*, the Podesta, or chief Governour of *Pioggia*, heard, he caused many Barks to be armed, and sent them towards *Cavarzere*, whether also *Jovan di Naldo* went with the light Horse out of *Padua*. Wherefore the Enemy altering their resolution, went to *Carigiola* and *Candiana*, two very rich Towns by reason of the fruitfulness of the ground; from whence they carried away much Booty. And as they had sack'd all the Banks of *Bachillione* on the left hand, the year before, so doing now the like on the other side, they leit nothing but bare ground in that Country. All this while *Alviano* kept within his Quarters, observing the Enemies Actions, and hearing that they had carried great store of corn to the Town of *Este*, and that there was 300 of their Foot, and 100 light Horse there, he sent *Antonio da Castello* thither with a good number of Foot, and a Troop of light Horse, who clapping their Ladders to the Walls by night, and entering the Town, took all the Enemies that were there Prisoners, carrying away as much corn as they could, and burning the rest. This was of more praise to our Souldiers; for that it was done almost in sight of the enemy. And soon after *Mercurio Bua* and *Malatesta Baglione*, as they were marching through the Territories of *Padua* and *Vicenza*, to secure those parts from being ransack'd by the enemy, they met with two companies of Spanish Foot at *Camisano*, whom they cut all in pieces, and put some others to flight who came to relieve them. This mean while *Nicolo Vendramino* came to the same place with 500 valiant Albanese Horse, who joyning with those of *Bua* and *Malatesta*, and growing thereby more powerful and more strong, they began to enlarge themselves, and to pursue the Enemy, destroying the country with fire and sword even to *Trent*. And having sufficiently vindicated their Injuries, they returned safe to *Alviano's* camp, without the loss of any one Souldier. The Common-wealths Souldiers were much inheartned by these happy successes; and so much was the reputation of *Alviano's* Army already increased, as a Troop of our men being com very near the Vice-roys camp, not any one durst come forth to skirmish with them; nay, not thinking themselves safe in those Quarters, they soon after quitted their Quarters at *Montagnana*, and went to *Polesin*: By which departure of the Vice-roys, *Alviano* thinking that he had now opportunity to oppress those of the Enemies party, who tarried in the Territories of *Verona*, commanded *Malatesta Baglione* and *Mercurio Bua*, to march presently with the Chivalry towards *Verona*, saying that he himself would follow them the same way with the rest of his Army. *Baglione* and *Bua* found the Enemy at the Town of *Zevio*, where they lay secure, not apprehending any thing from our Army: So as being set upon at unawares by night, they were very much damnified by our men, wherefore the Vice-roy tearing some worse business, removed his camp presently into the Territories of *Verona*, leaving part thereof at *Rovigo* and *Lendenara*, that they might live the more commodiously in that fruitful Country: As he pass'd forward, chiefly to secure *Verona*, he began to be more

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apprehensive, because he heard *Alviano* came on with his whole Army, wherefore he sent 800 Foot and 500 Horse to succour the Town. The Veroneſes began already to mutiny in that Town; for growing very weary of the Dutch Government, they deſired to return under the Dominion of the Common-wealth: and being at this time chiefly given to rebel, they expected *Alviano's* coming; and the rather, for that they hoped when his Army ſhould approach near the Walls, the Souldiers who were diſtreſſ'd for want of many things, might out of danger, be the more eaſily brought to yield: The Enemy therefore were timorous in all their Proceedings, and our men the more hardy; which made our men the more ſucceſſful, and theirs the contrary. *Alviano* knowing that by the Vice-roys departure the Souldiers that were at *Polifine* were much decreaſed, beſought himſelf ſuddenly of that place; thinking that he had now a ſecure occaſion of Booty offer'd him. He at the preſent diſcovered his mind only to *Baldęſara Scipione*, becauſe the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs lay in aſſaulting the Enemy before they could be aware of it, or provide for defence. He ſent *Scipione* to thoſe Conſines, to diſcover the condition of the Sea, the number of the Enemy, and their works; but he himſelf, to tree the Enemy from ſuſpicion, march'd another way, towards the Territories of *Vicenza*, and hearing by *Scipione* that the buſineſs might eaſily be effected, if all the Army were ſuddenly brought to *Rovigio*, he departed from the Town of *Malo*, whither he was firſt bent, and march'd thitherward; and came with ſuch ſpeed to within a mile of *Rovigio*, as the Enemy were not as yet aware of his coming, nor had they diſcovered any thing. Wherefore *Alviano* ſent *Scipione* with ſome few before, that he might enter the Town at unawares to the Inhabitants, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Gates, to make them ſure for him who followed after with the reſt of the Army. The Gates being ſeized on, all *Alviano's* Souldiers got into the Town, and quickly advanced even to the *Piazza*; for as good luck would have it, the Country people according to their cuſtom, were come in great numbers to *Rovigio*, where there was a ſolemn market held, and the Spaniſh Souldiers mixing with the Country people and Tradeſ-men, went promiſcuouſly through the Market-place, ſome to buy things, ſome for paſtime; ſo as being unexpectedly ſet upon by our men, they being diſpers'd here and there could neither ſuſtain the violence of the Aſſailants, nor aſſemble themſelves together for their better defence: Some drew their ſwords to defend themſelves, but were either ſoon cut in pieces or taken Priſoners. This Victory was the more remarkable, as being gotten without ſo much as any of our mens being wounded; for the Enemy without any fighting, loſt almoſt all their Horſe, and many of them of all forts were led away Priſoners; whereof 200 of the chiefſt of them, and *Maurice's* ſelf, a Spaniſh Captain, who had the command of all thoſe men, were ſent by *Alviano* to *Venice*, where they were put into ſafe cuſtody. The other Spaniſh Souldiers who were in the neighbouring parts, hearing of *Alviano's* being come, and what had befallen their Fellows, leaving their Baggage, and throwing their Victuals into the River, ſaved themſelves by flight, wherein many of

of them were notwithstanding taken Priſoners, and *Piſcara* retreated with the reſt of his Army to *Perona*.

The News of this happy ſucceſs did very much rejoyce all the Venetians, not ſo much for the thing it ſelf, as that the Fortune of the Common-wealth being altered, they thought they might hope for better things for the future.

The Senate ſent Letters of great acknowledgments to *Alviano*; ſaying he had truly ſhew'd how great his worth and experience was in Military Affairs, wherein he had manifeſted his love to the Common-wealth, and a great deſire to recover what ſhe had loſt, and had much increaſed his own Glory, and his merits towards the Common-wealth.

But *Alviano*, though he had chaſed the Enemy, reſolv'd ſtill to proceed with the ſame diligence and circumspection: So without delay he march'd with his Army towards the Territories of *Perona*; where poſſeſſing himſelf of all the Avenues, and placing men of War in all fitting places upon the Shore ſide of the River *Adice*, he endeavour'd to keep Victuals from being brought into *Perona*. But being advertiſed that *Piſcara* was come with his men out of *Perona* to encounter him, and fearing leſt his Army might run the danger of being caught in the miſt between the City, and the Enemies camp, he reſolv'd to go farther from the City, and finding ſafer Quarters, to keep there, and to inform himſelf diligently of the Enemies intentions, and of whatſoever they ſhould do, as well in the camp as in the City; that ſo he might reſolve upon better grounds what he had to do. *Renzo da Ciri* hoping for better things by theſe the Venetians happy ſucceſſes, began to think upon matters of greater moment. Wherefore hearing that the City of *Bergamo* was but weakly gariſoned, and imagining it might eaſily be taken, he committed the buſineſs to *Maffio Cagnuolo Bergamaſco*, one who was thought very expert at Military Affairs, and very well affection'd to the Venetians. This man, taking along with him 500 light Horſe, with each of them a Foot man behind them, made what haſte he could to *Bergamo*, and aſſaulting the Souldiers that were upon the Guard unexpectedly, he put them to flight, and took the City at the firſt Aſſault. Which when *Renzo* heard of, he took with him 1200 Foot and went preſently himſelf in perſon to *Bergamo*, to munite the City, and make good the acquiſition. Whiſt he was in *Bergamo* he ſent ſome of his men toward *Breſcia*, under the conduct of *Bartholomeo Marſinigo* to confirm the minds of thoſe Citizens in their good affection towards the Common-wealth, and to encourage them to make ſome Attempt againſt *Ceſars* Souldiers; intending that if any tumult ſhould upon this occaſion ariſe in the City, to lead the whole Army thither with hopes to gain it. Whereat *Cardona* being much troubled, he cauſed *Colonna's* men to come unto him, reſolving to go into thoſe parts, to ſecure the City of *Breſcia*, and to endeavour the recovery of *Bergamo*. And having brought all the Spaniſh Foot, as alſo thoſe that appertained to *Sforza*, he went to ſit down before *Bergamo*, and began to play furiously upon the Walls; which being very weak on the ſide towards the Suburbs of *Santo Antonio*, were thrown down by the Artillery, and there being no earth within to make Rampiers, *Renzo* could not hope

hope to defend the City against so great a force; he bethought himself of providing by times for the safety of the Citizens and Souldiers. He therefore artuclcd with *Cardona*, that in case no succour came in 8 days (pace from *Alviano's* camp, he would yield the City up to him; upon condition that all the Citizens Goods should remain safe and untouched, and that the Souldiers might have leave to return to *Crema*: But no succour coming within the prefix'd time, the City according to agreement fell into the Spaniards hands, and *Renzo* returned to *Crema*; where finding great want of all things, he made Truce for six Moneths (but he did this of himself, without the authority of the Common-wealth) betwixt the state of *Millan*, and City of *Crema*.

The Truce being made, *Renzo* leaving *Giovann Antonio Ursino* commander of the Militia in *Crema* with 500 Foot and as many Horse, he went with the rest of his men to *Padua*, and from thence to *Venice*, to give an account unto the Senate of what had past at *Bergamo*, and in *Crema*, as also to advise upon what was farther to be done. He was very welcome to *Venice*, and very honourably received; he had refused, as you have heard, the place of Governour General of the Militia, and there being no other place now vacant for him, whereby to exalt him to higher Dignity, the Senate did much increase his pay, and gave him the Castle of *Martinengo*, with all the Revenues and Rights belonging thereunto. *Cardona* having gotten *Bergamo*, turn'd towards *Alviano*, who (as you have heard) was quarter'd in the confines of *Verona*: And at the same time *Pescara*, whose Forces were much increased by the Foot that were come from *Germany*, prepared to assault our camp: Wherefore *Alviano* resolv'd to retreat with his Army into *Padua*, which he did so readily and so well advisedly, as couzening the Enemy, he got safe thither with all his men and carriages. He sent first the light Horse towards *Montagnana* to entertain *Pescara*, till such time as the Curassiers might, together with the Commillary *Dominico Contarini*, get into some place of safety. But he himself having at the same time got together many Boats, whereinto he put his Foot and Artillery, falling down the River *Adice* till he came to *Cavarzere*, he landed his men there, and marching in by wally ways, he brought his Army at last safe into *Padua*. The Vice-roy finding that he had come too late to where our men were formerly quarter'd, and that he had failed in his designs by *Alviano's* diligence, he quartered his Souldiers some in the Territories of *Verona*, and some in *Polesine*, and went himself into *Germany* to negotiate the renewing of the War the next Spring.

Whilst these things passed thus and that Fortune appeared various and inconstant to the Venetians, the City of *Vicenza*, which was come under their Dominions, kept always true and faithful to the Common-wealth, though it had but a small Garrison within, and so many Enemies Armies about it, which was chiefly attributed to the diligence of some Citizens, the chiefest of which were, *Gioralmo dalla Volpe*, *Dominico Almenico*, *Leonardo da Porto*, *Bartolomeo da Nieuvo*, and many others, who having gotten great store of men out of the Territories thereabouts, kept the City excellently well munited.

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ted. Inasmuch as *Nicolo Pasqualigo* who was the *Podesta* thereof, and was resolv'd to abandon the City by reason of the few Defendants that were in it, conceiving better hopes, exhorted the Citizens to defend themselves, and ordered all things so as the Enemies minds misgave them, and they made no Attempts upon the City. The Summer was spent in these slight skirmishes, and with uncertain hopes of peace for what belonged to the Affairs of *Italy*. But much greater things were done in *Asia*; for *Selino* having led (as you have heard) many men into *Persia*, met with *Ismaels* Army, and got a glorious Victory of him in Battle, which was chiefly occasioned by his Artillery; the use whereof was unknown to the Persians. It was hereby evidently seen that great mischiefs were threaten'd to other Kingdomes and Provinces by *Selino*, who through these prosperous successes grew every day more haughty and insolent: His thoughts in this point was easily discerned, for that at the same time when he made so great Preparations for War with the Persians, his Son *Solim* by his Fathers directions, enter'd the confines of *Hungary* in hostile manner with great store of Horse, kept the Inhabitants of those parts continually molested, and took some Towns, which he annexed to his Empire. Pope *Leo*, to put bounds to this audacious power, wrought it so, as that a certain order of Militia should be raised in *Hungary*, consisting of a multitude of men, who being thereunto bound by Oath, should promise to defend the cause of Christian Religion against the Infidels, who had for their Badg a red cross, and were called *Cruciferi*. But it so fell out that what was intended for the good of that King, proved almost his utter ruine; for Arms being rashly put into the hands of the Country people, who did greatly hate the Nobility, they had means afforded them of committing much wickedness, and of putting that Kingdom into farther dangers. At which *Leo* being very much troubled (as he himself affirm'd) he turn'd his thoughts and endeavours to peace; to which end, he resolv'd to send *Pietro Bembo*, a noble Venetian, and who was then one of his Secretaries, to *Venice*. But many did suspect, that *Leo*, who was used to put on resolutions relating more to the present Affairs, then to the future, and to value only such as might make for his particular Interest, and increase the greatness of his Family, not caring for any thing else, as but little relating to him, had an eye likewise in this business, to the honour and advantage of his House, though he sought to cloak these drifts over with the appearing zeal of the common good; for when he should have reduced *Italy* to peace, and that by his means the Emperour should have gotten any state therein, he hoped to obtain from him in lieu of such a benefit, things which might mightily increase the Dignity, and Revenue of the House of *Medici*. There were great signs shewn of this his intention; for that having dispaired a little before of making an accommodation between the Venetians and *Cesar*, he had turned to the French party, promising to assist King *Lewis*, and exhorting him to come into *Italy*, yet now being of another mind, and returning to wish well again to *Cesar*, he endeavour'd to dissuade the King of *France* from that, to the which he had advis'd him but a little before, objecting many difficulties, and

and sometime plainly denying to help and assist him, as he had promised, since he had so long defer'd to wage War; alledging that many new accidents had hapn'd, which required that the War which was then made by the French in Italy, should be now drawn out into a much greater length; and moreover that the present dangers did require, that all Christian Princes laying aside all their home Hatreds and Wars, should direct their Forces and Power against the powerful and formidable Enemy *Selino*, before that having ended the Wars in *Perfia*, he might bend his Forces against *Europe*. *Bembo* having this mean while taking upon him his place of Legate, and being come to *Venice*, spoke thus unto the Senate.

That Pope Leo had been always very well affected towards the Venetian Common-wealth, and had much desired the greatness thereof; that he had been much afflicted at what had befallen her of ill, and had taken her very much into his care, as his Actions had clearly manifested: That it did likewise clearly appear, that all his endeavours tended to peace, and that he had not taken up Arms but inforced by necessity; that he had always embraced the Common-wealth with a fatherly Charity; that he had continually exhorted, admonished, and intreated her to accommodate her self to the present condition of times, and to her present Fortune. By which endeavours he thought he had abundantly done what belonged to him; that seeing he could do no good neither by his Authority, nor by his Favour, he had resolved with himself to be quiet for the time to come, without meddling any more in the Treaty of peace, which he had so often endeavoured in vain: Yet he had since alter'd this his resolution, by reason of the present condition of times, and of his ancient affection to the Common-wealth: That he had sent him therefore as his Legate to exhort the Senate in his name, that they would have an sitting respect both to their particular Liberty, and to the safety of all Italy, and finally to desire them that they would be better advised: That the Venetians might serve to instruct others, what the Proceedings of the French were, and how great a desire they had, what cruelties they us'd towards the Conquered, how soon they forgot benefits received, and that King Lewis his so eager desire to recover the State of Milan, tended to nothing else but to make himself Master of all Italy; for when he should have overcome Maximilian Storza, and driven him out of his paternal State, he thought he should be easily able to get the Empire of all Italy, and to bereave the Venetian Common-wealth, together with all the other Italians, of their Liberty. That whereas formerly the Venetian Senate had in the height of all their misfortunes, and compell'd by necessity, apply'd themselves to the Friendship of the French, it might peradventure be thought to be so far well done, as it related to the condition of Times and Affairs: But that if they would continue to do so any longer, let them take heed lest whilst they went about to work more safety to themselves, they did not accelerate their ruine; for such was the nature and custom of the French, as their Friendship could not be long useful, which ought rather to be kept at a distance than near at hand. That many late examples might shew, what constancy and faith was to be expected from those people, who had abandoned the King of Navar, being driven out of his State for their Service, and for not having refused their Friendship; and that they had us'd the like ingratitude and inconstancy towards them,

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who had deserved so well of the Kingdom of France: That therefore they were not to hope that those who had abandoned their nearest Allies, would be more loving or faithful to the Venetians, who were Strangers; and that this was the more unlikely, for that the French had plotted the final ruine of the Common-wealth, at the very time when they had been much beholden to her, and had not been by her injured in the last War, wherein there had been many bitter proceedings which might upon better grounds have alienated their minds. That therefore it became the Venetian Senate to gather that good from the friendship of the French, which occasion offer'd them, to wit, to treat upon agreement with Cesar more honourably, and to conclude it upon more rational conditions: But that they should endeavour above all things to keep the French Forces far from Italy, there being nothing less credible then that when the French should have got en the Dukedom of Milan, they would limite themselves, and not strive to make themselves Masters of the other Dominions. That the Venetians being wearied with the length of War, ought now greedily to embrace peace and quiet, to the which nothing could be more averse then the coming of the French into Italy, from whence a cruel War might easily be freshen, wherewith whole Italy might be long molested. But on the contrary if the Common-wealth would joyn with the Dutch, Spaniards, and Potentates of Italy to drive out the French, when they should but hear of this confederacy, it would be enough to make them lay aside the thought of renewing the War, which they were now preparing to do; and so the Affairs of Italy might be reduced to a peaceable condition. That if this his counsel should be condemn'd, the Pope took God and man to witness that he had never been wanting to the common good of Christendom, nor to the particular welfare of the Common-wealth of Venice. That it was to be imagined he had hitherto done as he was perswaded by reason and experience: That he might peradventure give way hereafter to his own affections, siding with Cesar and the Spaniards, and joyn with them to the prejudice of those, of whose safety he had so long been in vain careful; nor ought they to be the more confident of him, for that the Interests of the Apostolique See and of the Common-wealth were the same, so as they were both to run the same Fortune, being both of almost alike subject to the same chances: That they should remember that they also being govern'd once, more by their own peculiar affections then by reason, and to revenge the injuries done by Lodowick Storza, had not such consideration as they ought to have had, to the danger whereinto they put the Common-wealth, by calling in for their Companion of War a powerful foreign King, who was to neighbour upon their Dominions, in stead of a weak Italian Prince. That therefore they should be well advised and learn how to reap some advantage by the Popes favour, which they had ever till now endeavour'd to preserve.

Thus did Bembo deliver his Embassie in such manner as he was commanded; but the Senate were much otherwise minded, esteeming it neither a safe nor a real thing to have recourse to Cesar's favour and the Spaniards. So as the Popes request being reported to the Senate by the Savij of the council, according to custome, they were not accepted of, but by frequent Votes they resolv'd to continue in the favour of the French, and to give this Answer to the Popes Legate.

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That his Embassy was very well received by the Senate, as well in respect of his own person, whose worth and singular love to his Country was very well known to them all, as also in regard of that Prince who had sent him; for great had the observancy always been which the Common-wealth had born to the Popes of Rome, but that their inclination bore them more particularly to reverence, and observe Leo; wherefore the Senate had always highly esteemed his wife Counsils and friendly Admonishments. But that it had fallen out by a certain Fatality, that the more they had desired his Friendship and Association above that of all others in so great variety of Affairs, the less could they get to joyn in confederacy with him; so as though their good wills were never sever'd from him, yet it behoved that their Forces should be always divided. That therefore as they returned many thanks unto his Holiness, and did confess the great obligations which the Common-wealth had to him, for his having by many endeavours readily embraced and favoured their cause, so were they very much troubled that they could not follow his advice, since the ancient custom of the Common-wealth would not permit, that leaving ancient Confederacies, they should make new ones, or unprovoked by any injury, forbear to do that which was convenient for them, and which by Articles and Conventions they were bound to do. That they had always been taught by their Fore-fathers that what was honest was useful; that therefore they could not without great Infamy to the Common-wealth, break that League which they had a little before made with the French. Moreover that if the Pope would call to mind the ancient merits of the Kings of France as well towards the Church, as towards the State of Venice, as also the Wealth and Power of so great a King, he would commend this their advice, and think that he himself ought to follow their example, for the safety of the Ecclesiastical State, and the greatness of his Family would be better founded, by his adhering to the Forces of the French, and to the Venetians Friendship.

Moreover they acquainted Bembo with their Jealousies, which made them believe that such a Treaty of Peace would not be very safe: Since the Pope was perswaded thereunto by the Emperour, and by Ferdinand, who, as it did plainly appear, did under a pretence of agreement, plot as they formerly had done, a pernicious War against the Common-wealth; for at the same time when the Embassador of Spain treated with the King of France touching the Affairs of Italy, Ferdinando had begun to renew these Treaties of Peace, out of no other end certainly but to make the King of France jealous of the Venetians, whereby he might make more advantageous conditions with him. Which when he should have done, and that the Venetians were dis-affiliated from the French, what could keep him from making himself Master of whole Italy, which he had long endeavoured? Bembo returned to the Pope with this answer to his Embassy. The Venetians calling to mind what Leo had often affirmed, that he would never give way, no not though the Senate had assented thereunto, that any part of the Common-wealth should remain in the power of any other, knowing that by her the Liberty of Italy was chiefly maintain'd, and that it behoved the Greatness of the House of Medici to have her for their leaning stock, they certainly thought they ought not to believe much in his exhortations; for at the same time that

that he divulged these things under pretence of Friendship, he treated with them of peace after such a manner as that if it had been granted, the Common-wealth would be bereft of the richest and noblest part of her Dominions; by consenting that *Cesar* should keep *Verona*, a gallant City, and the Gate of *Italy*, whereby he might always enter at his pleasure to ruine her. But the Venetians did build their chiefest hopes upon the coming of the French into *Italy*, which made them care so little for Peace; for *Lewis* not being able to fall upon the Enterprize of *Millan* the year before, by reason of the War with *England*, and yet longing very much to put an end to the War in *Italy*, the differences being now accorded between him and *Henry King of England*; he had promised to send over a great and powerful Army very speedily to *Italy*; to which when the Venetian Forces should be added, they thought they might be able to drive their Enemies from the confines of the Common-wealth. Who as they were more incited by reason of the late troubles of the French, so the force of the League being strengthened by their return into *Italy*, and they themselves wanting many things, especially Monies, they would lay aside their audaciousness, and for their own safeties sake put on new resolutions. To increase these their hopes, and to confirm such Princes as were their Friends, still in Friendship with them, they chose two Embassadors, to send to the two Kings, the one of *France*, the other of *England*, to wit, *Francisco Donato*, and *Pietro Pasqualina*; but *Donato* falling soon after desperately sick, they chose *Sebastiano Giustiniano* in his place.

They were first to congratulate with both these Kings for the Peace; and Marriage which had ensued between them, (for *Lewis* had married *Mary*, Sister to *Henry*) and that they should render them many thanks, for that the one and the other of these Princes, had in the Articles of Peace made between them, named the Venetians as their Friends and Confederates. That they should also assure the King of France, that the Senate had the same intentions as he had, and the like desire of renewing the War, and to increase the strength of the League; that therefore he should not doubt of the Venetians good will towards him, since they were not only most ready to continue the Friendship of the French, and to prefer it at all times, and upon whatsoever events before any other Friendship which might be propounded to them, but also, if occasion should require, be as ready for their service to undertake new enmities; that the condition of times had often caused an interruption of their offices of good will, which was notwithstanding irradicated out of their minds. And that though the Embassadors should find a ready willingness in the King, concerning the Affairs of Italy, and of the Common-wealths Interests, they would not notwithstanding forbear to make use of publick authority to exhort him to come as soon as might be into Italy, promising him that the Venetian assistance should be such and so ready, as it was not to be doubted but that being joyn'd with his Forces, they might break the Forces of the common Enemies, and taking from them that which they had injuriously possessed, reduce such things under the Dominion of the King of France, and of the Venetian Common-wealth, as did belong to each of them. The Embassadors were enjoyn'd to perform the like offices with the King of England; that there had always many good offices been

mutually observed between the Kings of England and the Common-wealth; that they were confident that Henry would carry himself so as they should not need to desire any farther demonstration of Love from him; but that he would of himself do whatsoever he knew might make for the good of the Common-wealth. But that they should chiefly entreat him, to endeavour the increase of the King of France his affection towards the Common-wealth, and by his exhortations incite him to send his Forces away immediately into Italy to their succour; whereby great glory would redound unto his name.

This was that which was given in charge to the Embassadors. But whilst they were upon their way, King *Lewis* fell sick and dyed. It was thought that his death would have caused great alteration of Affairs. The Embassadors were not recalled, but commanded to go on; and for what concern'd their Embassie, they were to expect new commissions from the Senate. King *Lewis* afforded the Common-wealth of Venice occasion of proving various successes of Fortune. His Friendship was useful to them at the beginning; for they made good advantage of his assistance to revenge the Injuries done them by *Lodowick Sforza*; so as she got *Cremona*, a great and rich City, and for a while the favour and friendship of so great a King, seemed to win the Common-wealth no small credit with other Princes; but afterwards, when not to part from the Friendship of the French, the Venetians took up Arms against the Emperour *Maximilian*, they fell into great troubles and dangers. Moreover *Lewis* was the first Authour and Driver on of the League of *Cambrai*, which was cause of great ruine to the Common-wealth; as may be partly known by what you have already heard. Lastly he who had plotted so great mischiefs against the Common-wealth, re-assuming his first affection towards her, began to desire and to endeavour her exaltation, and did at this time use all the means he could to make her return to her former Power and Honour. And certainly the Common-wealths recovery of her State in *Terra firma* afterwards by the assistance of the French, must be chiefly attributed to *Lewis*, who did use the same various and uncertain Proceedings all his life time; so as he made others, by reason of his inconstancy, make trial of Fortune several times, so did not he neither continue steadfast either in prosperous or adverse fortune; nor did he long make trial of the same luck. All humane Affairs are for the most govern'd by such mutual alterations;

The End of the Second Book.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK III.

THE CONTENTS.

FRANCIS Duke of Angouleme is declared King of France. He is well minded towards the Common-wealth, which send Embassadors to him; their Proposals to the King. They go from thence to England; Pasqualio sent to the Duke of Burgony; Martin Georgio Embassador at Rome; The Pope cannot be reduced from his obstinacy by the new Venetian Embassadors. The King of France prepares for War; he goes to Lyons. The Switzers differences are adjusted by the Emperour and Ferdinand; the Pope enters into League with Cesar; Embassadors sent by the King of Poland to the Senate. The French enter Italy. Alviano recovers Lodi. The Armies are described. Sedunense his Oration to encourage his men to Battle. Colonna taken Prisoner. A bickering between the French and Switzers before Millan. The business succeeds well at last on the French behalf, by Alviano's succour. The number of the dead, and the Victory uncertain; Millan is in the French mens hands. Sforza surrenders the Castle, and himself. The Kings Entry into Millan. Alviano attempts the taking of Brescia, and dyes there. Giovan Giacomo Trivulcio succeeds Alviano. The Spaniards defend Brescia stoutly. The Venetians recover Peschiera; and other Towns. The Bastard of Savoy joyns with the Venetian Army; departs from the Camp. Pietro Navarro serves the Venetians; he endeavours to take Brescia; but in vain. The Pope and King of France speak together at Bologna. Brescia is relieved by Roncadolfo. Wherefore the Venetians retreat from thence. Trivulcio being distressed leaves the Army. Theodoro Trivulcio succeeds him. The King returns to France. Andrea Trevisano near Barbone. The Pope endeavours to alienate the Venetians from the French; but fails therein. New Wars made by Cesar

far, by the King of England, and by the Pope. Cesar prepares to enter Italy. The Venetians recall the French, and take 8000 Switzers into pay. Cesar attempts to take Afula; but fails therein; the French being afraid to retreat to Milan: and are encouraged by Gruti. Cesar's Army is dissolved. Brescia returns under the Venetian Government. Lotreco betakes himself slowly to the Enterprize of Verona. He retreats at last, and is disasted by the Senate, who are jealous of his Actions. The King of France and Duke of Burgony meet at Brussels. Divers difficulties which arise there; an agreement is made at last; by which Verona returns to be under the Venetians.

THEIR time of rejoycing for the death of King Lewis, who were troubled at the power of the French in Italy, lasted but a little; but the Venetians hopes began quickly to revive, who desired the return of that Nation into Italy to reduce their Affairs to a better condition, who were likely to have suffer'd longer by the late Kings death; for Prince Francis, Duke of Angouleme, to whom by their ancient rights of that Kingdom, he being descended of the House of the Capets, and the nearest a Kin to the late King, the succession did belong, was declared King of France. He being young, and of an eager Spirit, of a lively and ready wit, greatly desirous of War, and all things fitting for War being ready and prepared by King Lewis, every one thought that the new King, who suddenly had his eye upon Milan, and wanted not Forces to assault it, would forthwith send a powerful army to that purpose beyond the Mountains; and he was the more fervent herein, for that he thought he had just cause to undertake this War, since new reasons were added to the ancient pretences which the Kingdom of France had to that State; for he had married Claudia, eldest daughter to King Lewis, to whom the State of Milan might seem to belong; her Father being son to a daughter of Joſeph Gallazzo Visconti. But the desire of redeeming the ancient reputation of the French Militia, which he knew was much lessened by the unfortunate success of the battle before Novara, by the dishonourable conventions made with the Switzers at Dijonne, and by the loss of two noble cities, Terrasana and Tornai, which were taken by the English, prevailed most with this young King, who was desirous of Military Glory. Which mischiefs King Lewis could not remedy; for just when Fortune began to smile upon him, and that the honour of France began to revive, he dyed. Francis therefore thought he had a fair occasion offer'd him of doing what he so much desired, if by his Forces he should win a noble Dukedom, which did of right belong unto him, by which Enterprize the Glory of his name would be much increased, and the Power of France, and whereby way would be made for greater achievements. He therefore together with the Government of the Kingdom, took upon him the same thoughts of renewing the War in Italy, wherein his Father in Law, Lewis, had been much vers'd. And knowing that Friendship with the State of Venice, might make much towards his getting the Victory, as soon as he had taken the Crown upon him, he writ kind and affectionate Letters to the Senate, wherein he

he acquainted them with his being King, and shewing a ready and good affection towards the Common-wealth, he seemed to desire to know their opinion touching their renewing of their League with the Kingdom of France; and that if he should find them disposed like himself, the League and ancient Friendship might easily be renewed to the common good. He made the Bishop of Aste signify as much unto them, who was then in Venice, having been sent Embassadour thither by King Lewis. Wherefore the Venetians who at the same time coveted friendship with the French, and desired that they would come into Italy; and who as soon as they had heard of Lewis his death, had charged their Embassadour Marco Dandolo that he should endeavour to pry into the secret counsels and intentions of the new King, and should begin to treat of renewing the confederacy; when they had received these Letters, and Embassies from the King, seeming to put an high esteem upon his Friendship, they humbly thanked him for his affection to the Commonwealth, and for his desire to assist them. They promised to correspond with him in love and affection; saying they knew very well how much it imported both of them to keep the Forces of France and their joynd together by reciprocal obligations of League: That they were therefore ready to renew the present League, and would always be ready to assist him in getting some footing in Italy, and in aggrandizing his Power, so as he might be a terror to his Enemies, and a friend and sure help to the Common-wealth. Moreover the Embassadours who were sent, as you have heard, to the Kings of France and England, and who being upon their journey, had tarried at Lyons after Lewis his death, were ordered to go on, and had commissions sent them to renew the League with the King of France. These when they were come to Court, did easily renew the League upon the former Articles: To which the King was already so much inclined, and treated with such fervency of the Affairs of Italy, as he labour'd in all his discourses with the Venetian Embassadours, to shew them what reasons had moved him to undertake this War; affirming that he would never lay down Arms, till he had gotten the state of Milan, and till the Common-wealth had recovered all the Cities which he had lost, and were returned to her former Dignity. The Venetians were very glad of this the Kings resolutions: and fearing lest this so great fervency, might (as it often falls out) be by some new accident abated, they shewed him how that the chiefest hopes of Victory lay in expedition, to the end that the Enemy whose Forces were now much diminished, and their resolutions doubtful and uncertain, might not have time to recruit and re-assume courage: and that the City of Crema this mean while, which was known by experience, might be a great help towards the recovery of Milan, might not run any farther hazard, which having for so many years undergone the inconveniences of War, was now brought to great extremity; and that the Truce made with their Enemies being now near an end, stood them in no stead; for they had heard it credibly reported, that Prospero Colonna had assembled his Forces together from all parts, and prepared to besiege that City. That the Senate would not be wanting in any thing that was in them

to do, who had already begun to raise new Souldiers, and to provide Arms, Money, and Ammunition. Moreover, that though the War were chiefly to be made by Land-men, yet thinking it not fit to lay aside the thought of ordering their Fleet, that they might upon occasion therewith molest the Enemy, they had resolved to rig out many Gallies, entreating his Majesty that he would do the like. The Embassadors having thus done all they had in command with the King at *Paris*, they went into *England* to fulfill the other part of their Embassie; where being graciously received, they shewed in their first Audience.

The Venetians great sorrow for the death of King Lewis, husband to King Henry's Sister, a great Friend to the Common-wealth. They then told the King how highly the Common-wealth was bound unto him, for that in the Agreement made formerly with King Lewis, and lately with King Francis, he desired that she, as a Friend, and shewer with him in all his Fortunes might be particularly named and included in the League. But afterwards at a more private Audience, they earnestly desired him, that he would by his Authority, and by his exhortations, confirm the King of France in the mind he seemed to be in, of intending the Affairs of Italy, and of sending assistance speedily to the Venetians; and that in the mean time peace and friendship should be held inviolably between them, from which great safety was to arise to both their States, and much advantage to all Christendom; that the Senate of Venice for their parts would never be wanting in any thing which might make for the good of the Crown of France, or that of England; and did very much desire that these present Kings, as their Predecessors had done, might know that the Common-wealth was much bound and tyed unto them.

This Embassie being done, *Giustiniano* stay'd behind with *Henry* to treat of the Common-wealths affairs, but *Paſquillio* return'd to *France*, and being come to *Paris*, he met with Letters and Commissions from the Senate, commanding him to go immediately to *Charles* Duke of *Burgony*, and to congratulate the Marriage, and Peace with him. From which as the Common-wealth knew that great honour and safety was to redound to her, so was she very much pleased with her love and obsequence towards them both. And that to make known this her good will, they had sent this Embassie to make faith thereof unto him. By these complemental ceremonies the Venetians strove to preserve themselves in the favour and good will of other Princes, as the condition of times did require; but they were desirous above all things to draw over the Pope unto them, and to make him joyn with the French in Friendship: whereof they had the greater hopes, for that *Julian*, the Popes Brother, who was of great power with the Pope, having married *Filiberta* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was ally'd to King *Francis*, it was believed that he would favour the Affairs of *France*. Moreover, that the Pope would hereafter be better inclined to friendship with the French, for that they having by the late confederacy and alliance secured the King of *France* from the King of *England*, and Duke of *Burgony's* Forces, it was known their power in *Italy* would be much increased, and might become so formidable, as that the proudest of Potentates might be injur'd by them.

Yes

Yet the Pope, continuing still doubtful, and never fixing upon any one resolution, was sometimes one ways minded, sometimes another: Sometimes his hatred being overcome by fear, he thought upon friendship with the French; but he held discourse oftner, and more willingly, with *Cesars* and *Ferdinando's* Embassadors, touching agreeing with them. And he answered the Venetians, who desired to learn somewhat of his Intentions, that for the present he would be a Spectator of the Wars; and that when either side should have the Victory, he would then declare himself and side with them that should have the better of the business. Yet men thought otherwise, and that the Pope had many thoughts in his head, but that he would keep them secret, to spin out the business in length, hoping that in the interim, the King of *France* wanting his assistance, and by his authority the like of the Venetians, would fore go all thoughts of *Italy*.

But it was hardly credited that the Pope would have no hand in the War, but that he would adhere with his Forces to some one side, when King *Francis* should have past over the Mountains with a powerful Army; for he might clearly see then, that things were brought to such a pass, as there was little security to be hoped for from standing idle, and but little praise; and that he must either fear others, or make others fear. So as when he should see the War resolutely made by the French, and knowing the uncertainty of relying upon the Switzers, how weak the Emperour was, and how cunning *Ferdinand*, so as he could not hope for good by making League with them, he would be forced to provide better for his Affairs, by Friendship with the Venetians. Wherefore the Venetians thinking it better to send *Marino Georgio* Embassador to *Rome*, then *Pietro Lando*, they wished him to treat otherwise with the Pope, then had hitherto been done, to try whether he could make him alter his resolution; by acquainting him with what danger he was in.

That therefore he should heighten the Forces of the King of France, which since France was now free from War, might soon be sent into Italy; that then he should let him know the King of France was so bent upon the getting of Milan, as there was nothing how hard or difficult soever which could divert him from this his constant resolution. That the Venetians had the same desire of renewing the War, and of adhering to the French: That they had always greatly desired to joyn with the Common-wealth of Rome both in time of Peace and War, running the same Fortune, which they had always very much endeavoured to do. But that not being able to persuade Leo therunto, and finding that the hopes of Victory did not only not go left, but was not in any part diminished, the Venetians saw no reason why they should forego the friendship of the French, knowing that they had thereby very well provided for themselves; that therefore his Holiness might put on such results as best became his Wisdom and the weight of the Affair; that he might do well to think what hopes or what helps he could have recourse unto, to hinder or to retard the King of France his resolutions; and that if he could find none, that he should keep from resolving upon any thing which did no ways stand with his Dignity, and which he himself knew, and thought to be such. And that if the French should succeed well in their Attempts, who would be able to defend the State of the Church, or the Pope from

from their victorious Forces? That he might learn by what had already past, what the strength of his Confederates would be, what their intentions, and what reason they would have to wage War. That there was but one way to prevent all these eminent dangers, by which the disorders of so many years might receive a period, and Italy be freed from fear; to wit, the Popes joining in League with the French and Venetians; for it was certainly believed that the Switzers being abandoned by his authority, and deprived by his assistance, would no longer defend Maximilian Sforza, but would lay down their arms which they had taken up against the French: So as the Confederates being bereft of their aid, would be inforced to change their counsels: and Celsar quitting any farther thoughts of Italy, and Ferdinando resting satisfied with his Kingdom of Naples, others might recover what was theirs; the French the Dutchy of Milan, and the Venetians such Cities as were injuriously detain'd from them: and all things might be reduced to perfect Peace and Tranquillity; but that if this business should be otherwise handled, the War would without all doubt be prolonged, and the Miseries of Italy would be renewed. Which things as they made much for the universal good, and for the quiet of Christendom, so would they bring glory to Leo, and to the House of Medici; for what could there be more glorious to him, than by his Wisdom to have put an end to so long a War, which had been so unfortunate for Italy? Or what could occasion greater safety to his Brother, and to his Nephew, than this universal quiet, wherein their greatness might be confirm'd, and their riches and dignity increased; that no account was to be had of Maximilian Sforza, a new and weak Prince, where the Interests of so great Princes were in question, who had always deserved so well of the Apostolick See. That the Kings of France, and Common-wealth of Venice, had so often undertaken fore Wars, not without great danger to defend the Pontifical Dignity, as if Leo would have respect either to ancient or more modern Affairs, he might easily know that these Princes ought to be upheld by Pontifical Authority, and to be thereby assisted.

For all these well grounded reasons, Leo could not be perswaded to agree with the French and Venetians, but being constant to his first resolution, thought he might more easily draw the Venetians to condescend to his will; and finding he could not compass his mind by fair means, he resolved to proceed more rigorously with them. He published an Edict, whereby he prohibited all the Subjects of the Church upon grievous penalties, to take any pay of the Venetians, though at this time many Captains of that State had taken monies of them; moreover he commanded all his Captains of Horse, who were gone a little before to *Perona*, under pretence of guarding that City, to go with all their Horse into the Spanish camp; and in fine left nothing undone which he thought might lessen the Venetians strength or reputation; to the end that being environed with so many evils, they might be at last inforced to accommodate themselves to his pleasure and to the times. But on the contrary, the Venetians keeping firm to the French, hoped by that means to be able to sustain themselves, and to defend their State, affirming that they thought themselves safe enough in their Friendship. And thinking that this might be much witnessed by keeping a French Embassadour in their camp,

camp, they prevailed with the King Francis that *Theodoro Trivulzio*, (who having been sent by the King to Venice, as you have heard, had kept still in the Army) should be still kept Embassadour, and not have leave, according to his desire, to return into France. Francis this mean while provided with all possible diligence for all things necessary for War: He knew that great endeavours were made by the Enemy, especially by the Switzers, and that he must have powerful Forces to suppress them. He therefore resolved to go himself in person to Lyons, to the end that greater conceits being had of the preparations for War, and more haste being had, the Enemy might be terrified, and their inconveniences might be augmented, by a sudden and continued War. The French resolved to send part of their men before into *Piemont*, to force the Switzers, when they should hear of their approach, to quit their own homes the sooner, and block up their way: From whence they thought they might get this good, that falling sooner into want of Victuals and Money, and consequently beginning to dislike that Militia, which they had adhered to only out of a desire of Novelty, and great hopes of prey conceived by reason of their last Victory; and that being troubled likewise, as they oft times were, by domestick disorders, they would give over the business at the first, and return home leaving the passage open for the French Army. And the fear of the Switzers being taken away, they needed not fear any of the other confederates; for if they would keep sufficient Garrisons in the Cities which they had taken from the Venetians, their numbers would be so lessened, as they would not have Forces sufficient to make up the body of an Army, able to oppose the French, when they should be entered Italy.

The King gave the charge of this whole business to *Charles Barbore* Grand Esquier de France, to whom he gave the chief authority of ordering the War, in case he himself should not go along with his Army out of the Kingdom, whereof he was not yet positively resolved. *Barbore* was at this time in great esteem and authority at Court; for his Mother, who was daughter to *Frederick* Marquels of Mantua, a woman of a man-like Spirit, and indowed with many noble qualities, had purchased much favour and authority both to her self and son from all the chief Personages about the Court. Whilst these things were doing in France, the Vice-roy to debar the Venetians from any quiet, when the Popes Chivalry was come, as hath been said, to the Spanish Forces, and many Troops of Horse being according to order come to the Cities of *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, he marched with his Army towards the Banks of *Adice*, with a resolution of coming to *Vicenza*, hoping to win that City easily and in a fitting time, to seize upon the revenue of silk, wherein that Country did much abound, and to turn it into pay for the Souldiery. But *Alviano* having notice thereof, resolved to march out of *Padua*, where he then was, and to go with all possible speed to the Territories of *Vicenza*, taking along with him so many of his men, as were sufficient to muttise the City of *Vicenza*, to disturb their intentions, and to break their designs; and many being of a contrary opinion, *Alviano* gave them reasons for this his resolution, shewing chiefly of what importance it was to him and to his Ar-

my which was beaten in the last rout, to get some reputation for the inheartning of the people, who seemed to be very affectionate to the Venetians, and to keep them in their Loyalty and Duties, he therefore kept upon those confines till such time as the Inhabitants had time to gather in their silk, and to carry it into more safe places; the Enemy having this mean while endeavoured in vain by often change of Quarters, to force our men to forego those Territories, and to retreat to where the other Army remained. But the cause of his coming thither being ceased, and knowing that he could not tarry longer there without some danger; for the Enemy being gotten very near, were encamped at *Barbarano*, where people flocking to their camp from elsewhere their Forces did daily increase, *Alviano* retreated with all his men towards *Padua*, where *Renzo Ceri* was with the rest of the Army, and resolved to take up his Quarters at the Town *Brentelle*, two miles distant from *Padua*, where he tarried a long time; for the Senate taking the safest way, ordered *Alviano* not to stir with the Army from thence, unless he were so sure of the Enemies ways, as that he might not be compell'd to fight; from which the Senate being always averse, it was now thought he ought chiefly to abstain; for if he should receive any the least prejudice, whereby he might suffer either in his Forces or reputation, the King of *France* would cool very much in his thoughts concerning *Italy*; since he himself had often affirmed that he relied very much upon the Venetians assistance; to which purpose he had often let them know by his Embassadour that he wish'd them not to hazard a Battle, nor put themselves upon any the least danger, before he should be come into *Italy*; for it would not be wisely done, to hazard the whole success of that War, upon a part of their Forces. The Venetian Army being therefore come to the castle of *Este*, after the Spaniards were removed from the parts about *Fidenza* to those of *Verona*; the Senate out of the same consideration would not listen to *Alviano* touching the leading of his men into the confines of *Rovigo*; for the French drawing near to *Italy*, by whose coming the Spaniards would be soon forced to keep aloof from their confines, they thought it became them to wait for such an opportunity, to the end that they might both keep their forces farther from their own State, & assault the others with better hopes: Yet at this time the Souldiers of the Common-wealth made many incursions, whereby the light Horse did chiefly disturb and trouble the Enemy. This business was committed to *Mercurio Bua*, and to *Giovani di Naldo*, who behaved themselves very gallantly. *Naldo*, passing into the Territories of *Rovigo*, took many Curassiers Prisoners; and *Bua* entering into the confines of *Verona*, brought away good store of prey, and came so near the Walls of *Verona*, as meeting by chance with the Count *di Caretto*, who was a little before come out of one of the Gates of the City, he had taken him Prisoner, had he not saved himself from the Enemy who pursued him, by throwing himself into the Ditch without the Wall. Thus did both the Venetian and Spanish Army pass away many days without making any Attempts, each of them governing themselves according to the approach of the French. Yet the Senate resolved at the same time to send *Renzo da Ceri* with most of the Infantry, to *Crema*, to witness

unto

unto the King how much they desired to infuse terrour into the Enemy. This mean while the French were very buie in preparing Arms, Horse, warlike Instruments, in raising Souldiers in all parts of their own Country, in taking in Forreigners upon great stipend, and Commanders of best esteem, and in making haste to put all things in order for a great and powerful Army, wherewith it was generally said that the King would go himself in person to recover the State of *Millan*. The King would often say in his discourse with the Venetian Embassadour, that he had a great desire to see the City of *Venice*, and that now, that he was to be so near, he would not slip the occasion, which he desired several times to acquaint the Senate with. The like was confirmed by all the chief of the Court, who spake very honourably of the Venetians. There was so great a desire seen in them all of coming for *Italy*, and so general a consent to undertake this War, as that there was not any considerable man in *France*, who did not mind this business with all his might; every one strove to wait upon the King in this journey, and all places sounded of Preparations for War. The Pope being much troubled hereat, seeing himself to be endangered by this War, began to lean a little to friendship with the French: Yet he was on the other side incited to keep his confederacy with *Cesar* out of hope of very great matters which were offer'd him, in reward for his pains, and danger by the Emperour, and the other Confederates; for at this time the League which had been treated of with the Switzers was finally concluded, in which *Maximilian Sforza*, *Cesar*, the King of *Spain*, and the Switzers did joyn for the defence of the State of *Millan*, with a resolution not only to oppose the French with all their might, if they should make War in *Italy*, but to assault the confines of *France* in several places; in which confederacy the Pope being named, they used all the means they could to have his company in this War. Inasmuch as certain difficulties arising upon the confirming of the agreement, by reason of the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which the Pope would keep to himself, and the Switzers professing on the contrary, to defend *Maximilian Sforza* and his Dignity, they could not be brought to consent that he should be deprived of these two noble Cities; to accommodate which difference, the Confederates promised, that instead of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Cities of *Brescia*, *Crema* and *Bergamo*, should be joyn'd to the Dukedom of *Millan*, when they should be taken by the common Forces: In which case not only *Modena* and *Reggio*, but *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which were then in the possession of *Fuliano* the Popes brother, Feudatory of the Church, should be left to the Apostolique Sec. *Cesar* and *Ferdinand* were perswaded to yield to these agreements, for fear lest the Switzers, when they should see the Pope depart with his authority and Forces from the League, they might also forego the agreement made with them, and joyn with the French, to which they were by many Embassies continually sollicitated. Then which nothing could be more pernicious to the Confederates, nor was more to be feared. The Pope being long assail'd by two powerful affections, Fear and Ambition, at last thinking that he had certain hopes offer'd him of his brothers greatness, covetousness overcame, and forced him to yield to what he propounded; and trust-

trusting that those things might easily fall out which he so much desired, he changed his former fear into confidence, thinking that assuredly when the French should understand this conclusion of a League made against them by so many Potentates, they would give over the design they had for *Italy*. The agreement being thus made, the Pope forthwith sent the Florentine Forces, under the Government of his Brother *Fuliano* into *Lombardy*. *Cesar* at the same time being according to his custom, greedy of Money, but very poor, did continually solicit the Towns and Princes of *Germany* to assist him both with men and monies: Nor did he leave any thing undone which might make for the muniting of *Verona*, and the increasing of his Army in *Friuli*, to the end that growing stronger, it might advance and fall upon other of the Venetian Territories. From whence he expected this advantage for the Confederates, that the Venetians being busied in defending themselves, should not be able to assist the French at their first coming into *Italy*. He assembled many Dyets in divers parts of *Germany*, he desired, intreated, commanded them, not to abandon him now, when he was endeavouring things which would be so advantageous for himself and for the German Nation. He moreover chose several principal men to send them with the Army into *Italy*; to wit, *Casimire*, the Marquis of *Brandebourg*, and *Bartholomeo* a Commander of *Slesia*; *Casimire* had the charge of keeping *Verona* given him, and the Marquis was to enter *Friuli* with a new Army to ransack the Country, but *Bartholomeo* as he was going into *Bohemia* to raise men was drowned in the *Danube*; notwithstanding all these Preparations, *Maximilian* did not trust to much in his own Forces, nor in those of his Confederates, as to hope to overcome the French and the Venetians, wherefore he began to incite other Princes against the Common-wealth. To this purpose he called an assembly in *Hungary*, in the City of *Pozsonia*, where he endeavour'd to have *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*, and *Udissius* King of *Hungary* present, with whom giving out that he had to treat of many important things, his chief drift was to move those Princes to take up Arms against the Venetians; but he, handling all things with a certain natural negligence, when the rest were met at the Assembly, he came not thither himself; but being busied about slighter Affairs, sent the Cardinal *Gurgeuse* thither in his name, giving him in charge to propound such things as were to be treated of in that Dyer. But nothing was concluded in what *Cesar* chiefly desired; and particularly touching the proposal made, against the Venetians, answer was made by both the Kings.

*That they had no reason to take up Arms against the Venetians, with whom they had had long friendship, and which had been confirm'd by many good Offices: Moreover that the present condition of times were such as the weakening of that Common-wealth could not but turn to the great prejudice of all Christian Princes; and that the power and reputation thereof, ought rather to be maintain'd, that they might be the better able to resist the Turks, who were grown so insolent and bold by the late Victory which they had gotten in Persia; and had at the same time enlarg'd their Confines by their having overcome John King of *Dacia*, as all Christendom had reason to dread their Forces: That therefore it would be much better done to endeavour the* reconcil-

Part I.

Written by Paulo Paruta.

reconciling of such Christian Princes as were at odds and enmity by reason of so long and heavy Wars, that so they might with joynt consent oppose the formidable power of the Ottoman Lords; lest whilst Christian Princes out of greediness strove to make themselves Masters of one anothers States, they might not all of them be enslaved by barbarous people.

Both these Kings did therefore promise to use their best means and authority with the other Princes, and chiefly with the Common-wealth of *Venice*, to perswade them to lay down Arms; which *Udissius* did immediately endeavour by his Embassadour, who lay Leiger at *Venice*. And *Sigismund* chose *Mathew* Bishop of *Udissavia*, and *Rafaele di Lincio*, Commander of *Scodovia* for his Embassadours, whom he sent to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate in his name,

That it was the King of Polands desire, that the Common-wealth after so long and tedious Wars, would at last be reconciled with Maximilian, with whom as he had often formerly treated of Peace, so he did now the like with the Venetian Senate, in desiring them to lay aside the memory of past Injuries, and embrace peace and concord; and if any thing of hatred or prejudice remained in them by the late Wars, that they should pass it over for his sake, and for the sake of all Christendom. The Senate thought fit to give the same Answer to these Embassadours, as they had formerly done to the like propositions.

That the Venetians did not first make War with Cesar, but had taken up Arms in their own defence; that they did not desire to possess themselves of any thing that belonged to another, but to recover, what of right belonged to themselves, and that they would willingly lay down Arms, when they might do it upon honourable terms.

Thus, and by these means did *Cesar* endeavour to renew the War, but *Ferdinando*, though he were bound by Articles of agreement to wage War from the *Perenean Mountains*, yet not thinking that to do so would make any thing for their advantage, he neither prepared any men for that Enterprize, nor did he hasten to send Foot into *Italy* to increase his Army, being resolved, as it appeared, not to keep any Souldiers as then in pay, save such as were under *Cardena's* command, which he kept upon very small expence, upon design, that keeping his Forces intire, he might take the Empire of the States of *Italy* from out of the hands of others, when they should be weary and wasted, but the *Switzers* made open profession of maintaining that War, saying that they prefer'd the Honour of *Maximilian Sforza*, and the liberty of *saure Italy*, before their own particular good; for they were so incouraged by the good success which they had had in many Battles, as they believed they were able of themselves alone to free all *Italy* from the foot of the French. Wherefore as soon as the League was made, they began to chuse out their best Souldiers, and to order many Companies, and having received two moneths pay, they came in great numbers into *Piemont*, and quartering themselves in three places, *Susa*, *Pignerolo*, and *Saluzzo*, they block'd up all the ways on that side. The French prepared this mean while to make War more secretly, and upon better advice, then did the Confederates; for that their Affairs were govern'd with a joynt consent, and for that they did cheerfully hasten to pass into *Italy*; their Army being the greater by

by reason that the Kingdom of *France* was on all sides free from Enemies; for though *Ferdinand* was ty'd by the articles of the League to enter with an Army into the confines of *Guirone*, and the Switzers into the Dukedom of *Burgony*, to perplex the French, yet neither of them had made any Preparations to do so. Wherefore the French having prepared all things ready for their departure, began on the 15th of *July* to march towards the *Alpes*; and being come to *Grenoble* they quartered their Army in the neighbouring parts; for they were necessitated to stay there awhile to resolve upon what way they would go. There were great difficulties on all sides; for all the passages were so block'd up either by the nature of the places, or by the Enemies, as they could not make their way without much labour and danger. If they would go by the right and ordinary way, and enter *Italy* by the Confines of *Piemont*, the Switzers had possess'd the narrowest passes, so as they must cut their way through with their Swords, and fight the Enemy upon great disadvantage: and if leaving the *Cotian Alpes* on the left hand, they would pass lower with their Army, they were to overcome the tops of steep craggy Mountains, and to pass through large Valleys, with great inconvenience and difficulty, which would be the greater by reason of the numbers of men, and cattle, and the train of Artillery which they brought with them. Yet the King could not be pacified with these considerations, who resolved to pass upon whatsoever conditions, and not to leave any thing unattempted which might be done either by labour or industry; hoping by power and constancy to overcome the natural asperity of the places. So taking their way by the right side of the *Alpes*, which looks towards the South, and terminates upon the Tuscan Sea, the French came in three days to the Mountain *Argenta*; and going from thence on the left hand by divers unaccustomed paths, they overcame all difficulties on the fourth day, and to the great joy of the Soldier, brought their whole Army into the Confines of the Marquisate of *Salazze*; they pass'd from thence unto *Percelles*, where they tarried to advise how they were to manage their War. About 2000 Switzers kept all the ways at the Foot of the *Pennimen*, and *Cotian Alpes*, called *Monticinese*, guarded and block'd up, that they might oppose the French on that side, by which they thought they were to come and hinder their passage: and when they heard that the powerful Enemy had deluded their Forces, by taking another way, and that they were already got out of the hardest and most difficult passages, they admired the worth, and Fortune of the French; and chiefly the constancy of the Kings resolution, to which it seem'd even nature herself had yielded obedience; and then they began to abate much of their former forwardness, and to despair of Victory. So laying aside all thoughts of joyning Battle without the advantage of place, they retreated to *Novara*; which made the French hope they might soon end the War, and get the State of *Millan* without the loss of blood. They were well acquainted with the nature and customs of the Switzers; how that they were fickle, seditious, easie to fall at odds, desirous of Novelties, but chiefly greedy of money; they therefore began quickly to bethink themselves to overcome them with this engine of gifts, and fair promises.

mises. Many of them being hereby tempted, laid aside their first desire of glory in War; and preferring the certain reward which by agreement was promised them, before the uncertain hopes of Arms, minded presently to return home; they with much arrogancy demanded pay, left their Colours, refused to obey *Sedunense*, and the rest of their Commanders; and all things went tumultuously on. They gave these reasons chiefly for this their so great change, that things had succeeded prosperously, nay with great glory to the French at their first entrance into *Italy*, and on the contrary, whatsoever the Switzers had attempted, had proved vain and ignominious; that therefore having lost all hopes of Victory, and more certain gain being offer'd them, it was in vain to spin out the War any longer. The Duke of *Burbonne*, who commanded the first Squadrons of the French Army, pass'd first on the left hand not far from *Ville Franche*, where *Prospero Colonna* by chance was, who hearing of the arrival of the French, came thither to muster the Switzers Army, which till then was divided in several parts; to the end that being all in one body, they might oppose the Enemy in their passage into *Lombardy*, and fight them whilst they were tyred and weary with their journey. But the French prevented *Prospero* in his designs; for *Palissa* and *Obegny* went with a good number of Foot towards the Town, where *Colonna* with his men thought himself to be safe; and having sent some few Soldiers before clad like Peddlers, who made as if they would lodge in the Town, the Guards at the Gates, who suspected no such thing, were by them slain, and the Gates being possess'd, the French Commanders and those that followed them entred, and took *Colonna* Prisoner together with all his Horse. At which all the rest being discouraged, as well for the loss of so gallant a Commander, as for shame of the thing, fell into such disorder, as the Collegues Forces were of several opinions, and divided in all things. The Vice-roy, who had stay'd long in the Territories of *Verona*, and taken up his Quarters about the Banks of *Poe*, durst not advance any farther; and *Lorenço di Medici* stay'd to little purpose, with the Popes men at *Parma*, not undertaking any thing. So as no succour coming to the Switzers, *Maximilian Sforza's* difficulties grew daily greater, and his hopes of defending his State, which was set upon at one and the same time in several parts, grew less; for King *Francis*, thinking it made much for the Victory to keep the Enemies Forces divided in several parts, whilst the affairs of *Italy* were in great commotion, by reason of the unexpected arrival of his Army, had sent *Emat de Pria*, with a good Band of choise Foot, and with 400 Horse to *Genova*, to find out *Ottaviano Fregoso*. This man had then the Principality of that City, and had begun long before to adhere unto the French Party; and having gathered together 4000 Foot, and received the French Forces, he joy'n'd with them, and at unawares fell upon *Lombardy* beyond the *Poe*, and laid all that Country waste. Moreover the King did much sollicite the Venetians (who were ready enough of themselves) to move speedily with their Forces: So as *Renzo da Ceri* being return'd, as hath been said, to *Crema*, the Senate commanded him to enter in hostile manner into the State of *Millan*, and to endeavour the recovery of some of those Towns, as occasion should

servé, in the name of the King of France. And though the Truce was not yet ended which was formerly made between the Cities of *Crema* and *Millan*, it was thought that no private agreement could hinder this order, because the men that were drawn out then against the Enemy, were not taken out of the Garrison of *Crema*; but were newly come to the Army from *Padua*; and moreover they fought not at the entreaties of the Venetians, but for the King of France his service. The Venetians had likewise ordered their Captain General, that as soon as he should know the Spanish Army was gone from the Territories of *Verrina*, he should go with all his men into *Lombardy*, and take with him those others that were sent to *Crema*, that so he might fall upon greater undertakings. He therefore understanding that the Enemy were gone, went from *Polisino di Rovigo*, where he had staid awhile, and past over the River *Adice*, with his Camp, at *Abbadia*, and came near *Cremona*, exciting all the people as he past by, to Rebellion. The French Army was in another part, which proceeded forcibly, and made great progress against the State; so as *Sforza's* Dominion, being set upon on so many sides was shortly to fall; the King of France being already with all his men within his Confines, and finding that the Treaty handled by the Duke of *Savoy*, was spun out at length, and proved vain, he prepared to lay Siege to *Millan*. The disagreement was occasioned by the coming of many new companies of Switzers to the Camp, who unacquainted with the troubles of War, were more hot in the prosecution thereof; said that *Sforza's* reputation, which they had undertaken to defend, was to be maintain'd by the Sword, not by Treaty; so as the face of War was various and doubtful, both Peace and War being at the same time in discourse with the Switzers, and there being many Armies in the same State; some to oppugne it, some to defend it, but all of them so divided, as the Forces of neither party could be increased by the assistance of their companions; none of them having the means allowed them of meeting together, but were by the nearness of the Enemy, forced to take uncertain and dubious counsels; wherefore the King did desire the more to have *Alviano's* Forces joyn with his: To which purpose he was gone to the Town of *Marignano*, where he took up his Quarters. From hence he wrote to the Venetian Senate, acquainting them with his safe arrival in *Italy*, and with his prosperous successes, and moreover made his hopes and his counsels known to them. Thus the affairs of the French and Venetians went on with great union both of mind and Forces. The others being this mean while doubtful what to do, *Renzo da Ceri* being entered the confines of *Millan* with 2000 Foot, 500 light Horse, and 200 Curassiers, had taken the Castle of *Leone* by force, and had received many other Towns into the Kings Loyalty, carrying away such Souldiers Prisoners as did guard them: Wherefore he was more honour'd and respected than the rest; and had wonne so great a conceit of Worth, as mighty things were expected from him; but certain secret enmity, increasing daily between him and *Alviano*, *Renzo* could not suffer that the supreme degree of the Militia should rest in *Alviano*. Wherefore foreseeing that when the Armies should be joyned together he should be compell'd to obey him; at a time of great importance, he asked leave,

to give over serving the Venetians. They were both of them certainly very gallant men, but very proud and haughty minded. *Alviano* would not see any equal to him in Dignity, and *Renzo* could not be commanded by another: and both of them were highly esteemed by the Venetians, who had been very diligent in composing the differences between them: To which purpose the Senate had sent *Dominico Trevisano* and *Giorgio Corsaro*, two Senators of great authority, to *Padua*; but finding them both to be strangely high minded, and full of envy and hatred, they could not appease them, nor make them friends; wherefore they return'd to *Vence* without having done any thing. *Renzo's* transcendent Worth, accompanied with like Fortune, had raised his name to that height, as by consent of all men, he was equalled for fame and glory to the most cry'd up Commanders of *Italy*: But either his Worth or his Fortune beginning to decline, he did not any thing from that time forwards worthy of his former fame. Having obtain'd leave of the Senate, he went to *Rome*, under pretence of negotiating his private affairs, but in effect, to be entertain'd in the Popes service, wherein he had but ill success, so as the things which he had attempted, but failed in, did in a great part obscure his formerly wonne fame. *Renzo* being gone from *Lodi*, the Switzers finding the City without a Garrison, possess'd themselves of it; but hearing soon after that the French Army drew near, and thinking that they were not able to defend it, they quickly quit the City; which was soon possess'd by *Alviano's* people who were formerly gone into those parts. From thence *Alviano* went with some few of his men to *Marignano*, to advise with the French how they were to manage the War.

Whilst these things were done, *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara* was only a quiet Spectator of the success of War; and though he had often promised to adhere unto the French, yet he had not as yet sent in any assistance; but minding his own interest, solicited and entreated the Venetians to assault *Modena* and *Reggio*, whilst their Army was in the Territories of *Rovigo*; affirming that those Cities were so weakly garrison'd, as if their Army would but draw near them, they might easily be taken; which when they should be, the Pope would be so much troubled thereat, as apprehending his own affairs, he would easily be persuaded to alter his resolution. But the Venetians, though the Pope adhered to their Enemies, did notwithstanding abhorre making War upon the Ecclesiastical State; and this the more, because they did not as yet well know the Kings mind herein; for *Leo* using his accustomed cunning, had not as yet discovered his alienation from the King. Wherefore the Venetians not listening to *Alphonso's* advice, prest him to send his men unto the Camp, where the Common-wealths Forces were, and to lend his assistance to the War; affirming that nothing was to be done, but to lay a good foundation for the French; for if they should prove prosperous, those Cities would certainly be restored to him, as a reward of his pains and fidelity; it not being to be doubted but that the Pope would follow the Victors fortune, and accept of such conditions of agreement as they should impose upon him, who being victorious, were become arbitrators of the affairs of *Italy*: That therefore, since the condition of affairs were such now, as

there was no peace to be hoped for, it behooved him by all means to adde unto the forces of the League, against the common Enemies; for it was clear that those who had most men, would at last be Masters of the Field and Towns. These reasons did not notwithstanding prevail with *Alphonso* to make him quit his Neutrality, till he saw what would become of the War. Hardly was *Alviano* gone from the confines of *Rovigo*, when *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who had the keeping of *Ferona*, issuing unexpectedly out of the City with 3000 Foot, and about 700 Horse, entered the Confines of *Vicenza*, plundering and ruining the Country. At which though the Venetians were very much troubled, yet could not the grief thereof make them forget their promises made to the King of *France*, nor change their resolution, of pursuing the War in the places, and manner already begun. *Alviano* gave order therefore that not any whatsoever accident should make his men alter the way they had taken, but that they should march on, and chiefly minde the good and greatness of the King of *France*; it being their chief design to oblige him; for they knew if the King should prosper in his attempts, the state of the affairs of *Italy* must change, and the fortune of the Common-wealth must chiefly be raised up. Out of these reasons, all other respects being laid aside, the Venetian Army past into *Lombardy*; but the nearness of the Enemy kept them from joyning with the French, so as all things concerning the War proceeded yet but uncertainly; for there were four Armies in the same Country, encamp'd not far from one another. There were in the French Camp above 40000 men, of which 1500 Curassiers, the choice Noble men of *France*, who being excellently well armed and hors'd, were of great beauty and strength unto the Army. The French men hoping that by these men chiefly they might be able to keep the Country open every where, past on, and having got the Cities of *Pavia* and *Novara*, they stay'd, as hath been said, in the Town of *Marignano*. The Venetians were not far from this place, who having taken the Town of *Lodi*, kept still in those parts, and this Army consisted of 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse; and both these Armies had great store of Artillery, and of all warlike Preparations. To oppose these there were two other Armies ready of the Enemies, which were likewise forc'd for the same reasons to keep asunder. In one of these Armies were the Popes Militia, the Florentines and the Spanish Foot, of more esteem for the worth of their veterane Souldiers, then for their numbers: and these lay near *Piacenza* upon the Banks of *Poe*. The other Army was the Switzers, wherein 'twas said there was 40000 men, who being entred at this time into *Millan*, at *Sedunense*'s entreaties, kept the City excellently well munited: and though they had neither Horse nor Artillery, yet were they full of courage and confidence, as well in respect of their valour and military discipline, as for the many Victories which they had wonne; so as the business seemed to be so evenly ballanced, as it was not easily to be discerned which party was likeliest to be worsted, nor what the event of the War would be. But whilst all labour alike, though upon several hopes and reasons, to weary the Enemy, and to reduce them into straits, and that therefore it was thought by all men, that the War would be spun out into the length, the Cardinal *Sedunense*

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se put an end to these doubts and delays. He being return'd to the Camp, from whence he was gone for fear of the rising of the multitude, re-assuming courage, because many Bands of Souldiers, who adhered to his party, were come unto the Army, breaking all Treaties of agreement, which till then had been negotiated by the Duke of *Savoy*, he returned all things to the first coveted War: Unto which it was not hard to persuade the Switzers, who were fierce, and desirous of money; for *Sedunense* magnifying the Triumphs, Rapines, and other things which wait upon Victory, as great and assured rewards of their labours, shew'd them how that by getting the State of *Millan*, they might with much glory to their Nation, get much wealth, far beyond whatsoever was promised them by the King of *France* in guiderdon of an ignominious Peace. The Souldiers believed this the rather, remembering the great Booty which they bore away in the last Wars, wherefore not valuing any faith plighted, a choice Band of Switzers were immediately sent to Castle *Busefelo* to detain the Monies which were brought thither by the Kings agents to confirm peace with them. Thus all former conventions being broken, *Sedunense*, to keep the King from any opportunity of making those people who are subject to change, give over the thought of War, knew he must come to blows with the Enemy as soon as he could, and try the event of Battle; saying it stood not with the Switzers fame and reputation to shun conflict. The French men in this interim, drawing near *Millan*, had taken up their Quarters at *San Donato*, which Town they fortified without much labour, because it was already ironed by many Ditches, made by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof the Commanders, thinking that they had found a very opportune place, had in encamping themselves taken up such a space of ground, as that all their Troops were so ordered and disposed of, as though the whole Army was divided into three parts, the first Squadrons might easily succour the last; and likewise that in the midst, those of either side. Which things being known in the City, where they were advising touching the going forth of the Army; some of the Switzer Commanders thought it a rash and dangerous advice to assault the Enemy, who were ready and prepared for Battle; especially since it was likely that within a short time they might find a fitter occasion to fight them: It being said that the French Camp would rise, and go meet the Venetians who came to joyn with them. But *Sedunense*, thinking that any delay, how short soever, would thwart his counsel, (for as the desire of Battle was easily kindled in them, so might it be easily extinguished) and fearing likewise lest the Souldiers incited by their factious Commanders, might either listen again to an accommodation, and refuse to go out of the City, or else might manage the War otherwise, made it be falsely reported by frequent Messengers, that the French had gather'd up their Baggage, and made ready their Arms and Horses, and that the first Files were already on their march to go meet the Venetians; and that they intended when they should be met, to return, and fight the City jointly. From hence he took occasion to excite them to make haste, and shun all delay that they might fall upon the Enemy whilst they were raising their Camp; and were in some disorder, not suspect-

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ing to be set upon: That they might make use of that opportunity which they had so much desired, and which now did offer it self: Which if they should let slip, or be slow therein, they would hereafter seek for help from Fortune in vain, when they should through sluggishness have basely shewed that they valued not her favours, nor the hopes that she had laid before them of Victory. Upon this the Souldiers ran to take up Arms almost in a tumultuous manner, and many companies went one after another out of the City; and at last the whole Army moved thereunto out of shame, and by their Commanders exhortations went out: So as orders being suddenly given for all things, they prepared for Battle. Then *Sedunense*, lest they should be discouraged when they should find the error, riding up and down amongst them every where, spoke thus unto them.

That News was lately brought that the French did keep still within their Quarters; that it was to be believed that this was out of fear, they having heard of the Switzers being march'd out, strong and able men, whose violence they knew they were not able to resist; and therefore desired to defend themselves by their works: But that if the bare News of their coming, and the formidable name of the Helvetian Nation, had caused such fear in the Enemy, as it had made them alter their intended March, and forced them to change the whole course of their War, how would they suffer the presence, or withstand the violence of so great an array? And certainly, said he, the changing of the Enemies intentions, ought not to frighten you, nor make you give over what you have begun to do; nay rather you ought to be the more encouraged, since you find the contrary in your Enemies. If you march'd out of the City with such joy and such hopes of Victory, how can your generous purpose be retarded, by knowing that the Enemy, for fear of your approach dare not look out of their Quarters? Wherefore think you is it that they trust more in their Rampiers then in their Arms? Is it not an apparent sign that they trust little to themselves, or to their own Valour? If they made any account of themselves, they would have come out into the field already, to make trial both of their Worth and yours. But certainly as there is no fence strong enough for fear, so stout and valiant men, safe enough in their own Worth, place their hopes of welfare not where but in their own right hands. You are not new to fight with a new, or an unknown Enemy; who know the nature of the cowardly French, and their unexperience in matter of Militia, better then you? You have fought so often both for them and against them, as you may easily conceive the French are no ways to be compared to you, neither for experience in Military Affairs, nor for fortitude of mind. These are the very men, who having taken up Arms against Charles Duke of Burgony, received so great a rout at Nanli, and afterwards were overcome by you in Battle near Novara, so their so great slaughter, as that action added glory to the illustrious name of Switzerland. What reason therefore have you to fear an Enemy, whom you have so often beaten? Their retreat into their Quarters shews plainly, that they yield the field unto you, and esteem themselves already overcome; so as if you will be but minded like Conquerours, I already see all danger secure, and foretell that you may this day get a great and glorious Victory, with very little labour; that desire of Glory, which seems to be naturally infused into the Souls of all men, hath

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always so fervently, and so particularly inflamed those of our Nation, as nothing hath ever been so difficult or dreadful, which when the hope of praise hath been at stake, hath not been willingly embraced by you: and you your selves, calling to mind your Domestique Valour, and spur'd on by glory, have now left your houses, and expos'd your selves to so great labour and danger: Therefore if any of you shall think the business may prove sharp and difficult, let him think what noble and rich Booty this Victory will bring along with it, when so great an Army of the French shall be overcome, wherein the Person of the King himself is. The hope of so great Glory and Triumph, will free your hearts from fear, and make you dispise danger.

Many other Commanders who were of *Sedunense's* faction, seconded him, praising his advice, and encouraging the Souldiers to Battle. Wherefore going into every several company, they conjured them to be mindful of their ancient Worth, and of the late Victory: They shewed them what it became them to do; they amplified the great rewards, which was to be expected from the victory; they told them that it they would undertake this business courageously, one onely battle would put an end to their so many labours, & crown all their past victories. The Souldiers being set on fire by these speeches, did greatly desire combat; and the sign being given, march'd speedily towards the Enemy to assault them in their Camp. The French when they understood of the Switzers approach, were at first greatly troubled (as usually falls out when things come unexpected) they betook themselves hastily unto their Arms, and in some disorder made ready their Horics and other necessities for Battle; afterwards taking courage, they went to their colours, took their several places, and drew out into the open fields: The whole Army was divided into three parts; the first was assigned to the Duke of *Bourbone*, with whom were *Monsieur de Talamone*, Son to *Monsieur della Tremouglie*, *Giovann Giacomo Taurulcio*, *Pietro Navaro*, *Gabeano*, and other Commanders, famous either for glory of War, or for their Birth. All the Dutch, *Galkonne*, and French Foot were in this first Squadron; the King himself took care of that in the middle; about whom were placed the greatest part of the Chivalry, and a select Band of German Souldiers; in this Squadron were many chief Personages, the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Albany*, *Lewis Lord of Tremouglia*, *Francis Bourbone Count of St. Paul*, *Odesto di Foh*, sur-named *Monsieur di Lotreco*, and some others: These were followed by *Alanson*, *Paliss*, and *Obigni*, who commanded the last Squadron; wherein were the remainder of the Foot. The Switzers leaving some of their companies in the rear for a reserve, made but one strong body of their whole Army, wherewith they marched apace in a close order, towards the French Camp, to the end that by coming up close unto them, they might keep the Enemy from making use of their Cannon, wherein they knew they did chiefly confide: Both Armies being come so near as that they might give Battle, the Dutch Foot, who were placed in the Front of the French Army, growing jealous, by reason of some News that was given out; that the French and Switzers were agreed, and that the Switzers out of a certain hatred and emulation in War, which is between those two Nations, meant to fight only with them, began at the first On-set to give way, and permitted the En-
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my to advance, and to come to where the Artillery was placed; which *Navar* being aware of, he called some of his companies of Foot, and made them immediately advance, and possesst the Station which was appointed for the Dutch, so as the Enemy, who came in good order upon them, were made stay. In the Interim Monsieur *di Bourbonne* comes in with his Gasconne and French Souldiers, and renews the fight; the combat was very hot on all sides; but the French had much ado to withstand the Switzers violence, who minding only to repulse the Enemy, had not yet possesst'd themselves of any one piece of Artillery; the King going then from the middle Squadron into the foremost ranks, brought the Chivalry along with him, which enlarging themselves, assaulted the Enemies Squadrons on several sides, they might the better do, for that (as hath been said) their Quarters were very large. Wherefore the Switzers, after having in very close Files, kept off the Enemies Horse a good while with their Pikes, at last their Ranks being a little opened, began to separate, yet still fought though upon great disadvantage, being scattered here and there: Many of them were slain every where; others being forc'd from their places, and disordered; directly yielded; others charging fiercely in among the Enemies, were more solicitous to kill others, than to save themselves, every one being his own commander and encourager. The King not being at all afraid in this so sharp and dangerous Battle, that he might the more encourage his Souldiers, by sharing in their danger, made himself be seen amongst the foremost, and most forward of them, and did at the same time both encourage the Souldiers, and fight the Enemy, playing the part both of a good Commander, and of a good Souldier. And having wearied several Horses, he himself to all mens wonder, remaining still unwearied, he shew'd himself every where, and both by his presence, words, and actions, egg'd on the Souldiers against the Enemy, and incited them to fight: The night came on already (for a good part of the day was over, before the battle began) and yet the conflict continued. Souldiers fell down dead on all sides, as well French as Switzers; for they were mingled together in every place in great confusion: They fought, not distinguishing their Colours, nor hearing their Captains commands: So as the heat of the Battle was comprehended more by the clashing of Arms, by dreadful voices, and by the miserable Out-cries of dying men, than by the eye, which was hindred by the obscurity of night. All places were full of tumult, death, and flight. One of the stoutest Bands of the Switzers being mix'd amongst the French, cry'd out *France, France*, to the end that couzening the Enemy, they might have way made them to get into their thickest Ranks, and make the greater slaughter. But the French soon after perceiving their deceit, environ'd the Switzers round, who being got so far from their Fellows, as that they could not be relieved, were all put to the sword: No end was put to the slaughter till the Souldiers of both Armies were so very weary as they could wield their Weapons no longer. The French and Switzers rested that night in the same place, so as two Enemy Camps appeared to be but one Quarter: They kept on their Arms all night: The King shewing always an invincible spirit amidst such confusion and danger, call'd

call'd a Council of War, to resolve upon what was to be done the next day, and with great generosity comforted his Commanders, and bad them hope well. The whole Army was divided, as the day before, into three great Squadrons, but otherwise ordered; for all the most valiantest Souldiers were pick'd out, and placed in the Front, to the end that keeping close together they might stand the first assault of the Enemy, who being pick'd just over against them, were ready to give an assault; they disposed of all the Artillery in the most convenient places, the chief care whereof was given to the Dutch Foot, who promised to witness their Valour and Loyalty that day. And these men were ordered, that keeping quiet at first, they should assist those who were first to enter Battle, if they should see them give back. The Switzers at the first appearing of the sun, having allowed almost no time for dressing their wounds, re-assumed their Arms, and, as they had done the day before, marched towards the French Artillery; for they knew that the greatest hope of Victory on the Switzers side, lay in possessting themselves thereon, and on the French behalf in defending them, the business was therefore long and stoutly disputed about them, the Souldiers on both sides shewing great courage. The Dutch, to cancel the fault they had committed the day before, and to remove the jealousy which was had of their truth, fought so stoutly, as the Switzers despairing to win the Artillery, were forced to alter their way of fight, they divided all their men into two Squadrons, whereof one stay'd over against the first Squadron of the Enemy, the other passing over a Fen, near which the French Camp lay, assaulted the Rear at unawares. Monsieur *d'Alanson*, who had the charge thereof, was gone from thence a little before, to assist the Dutch Foot, who were sorely put to it by the Enemy; whereby the French did with greater disadvantage sustain the assault, and being set upon on the Flank, they were compell'd to disorder their Ranks very much by facing about; and the condition of the place was such, as they could receive no help from the Horse. The French being by these reasons in great danger and disorder, *Alviano* came in in a lucky time, to succour the hindmost Ranks, who had much ado to withstand the Enemy. The Venetian Army had stay'd at *Lodi*; for first they could not march safely, the Enemy being so very near, and next the King, thinking that he had accommodated affairs with the Switzers, and that therefore he should not need their assistance, had agreed with the Venetian Commanders, that they should keep their Army at *Lodi*, and expect the final end of the business; for the Armies had this advantage by their being sever'd, that they might be the easilier victuall'd, and might pass to wheresoever it was most behoveful for the War. But the King, upon occasion of this Battle, had dispatch'd Messengers speedily away to *Alviano*, to acquaint him with the condition of affairs, and that they required speedy help, wherefore he desired him to make all the haste he could to the French Camp. Which when *Alviano* understood, he immediately sent for 200 of his best Curassiers, such as were known to be of great birth, and worth, and went his way with these immediately: Leaving order for the rest of the Army to follow after, and made what haste he could to the French Camp. *Alviano* knew he could do nothing which

which would be more acceptable to the Venetians, nor whereby he himself might purchase more honour, then by helping a puissant King, and Friend to the Common-wealth in time of so great need. Therefore finding at his first coming that the Battle was already begun; having briefly said such things to his men as the time would allow of, persuading them to shew their courage and generosity, and to hasten the getting assured glory; he at his very first arrival assaulted the Switzers on the back, and falling furiously upon the Enemy where they were thickest, he broke, and dissipated their orders; then they who were first intent only upon one Battle, must now turn both their thoughts, and hand against the Venetians, and leave the French; and not knowing what to do either by way of offence, or defence, by reason of this unexpected accident, they began to slacken that courage wherewith they fought at first. On the contrary, the French encouraged with greater hopes of Victory, gave more furiously upon the Enemy, the effects whereof were the greater, for that both sides believed the whole Venetian Army was come. The Switzers, finding themselves fought withal on all sides, began by little and little to draw out the Battle, and to wheel about, endeavouring to joyn with all those who fought the Enemy on the Front. And thus having made one strong body of all their Forces, they all of them retreated in miraculous good order, and safety into *Millan*: and the French, being wearied with long fighting, (for they had fought from the Sun-rising till after twelve a clock) suffer'd the Switzers to retreat safely, without pursuing them. But *Alviano's* Curassiers following some of the Enemy who retreated later then the rest, drove them into a Village not far off, where by *Alviano's* command they were all destroy'd by fire and sword. This Battle which hapned on the 17th of *September*, was very great and bloody, and for a while uncertain; for it was valiantly fought on all sides, and lasted so long, as many were slain on both sides, and the field was every way covered with dead bodies. There is not any one who mentions the number of the dead positively, yet all agree in this, that the loss was much greater on the Switzers side: But many illustrious men were missing of the French, as *Francis* Lord of *Tremuglia*, *Imbercasto*, *Sanferio*, *Monsieur Ambayse*, the Count de *Guise*; and to boot with these, a son of Count *Prigilian*, a youth of excellent Parts, who fought under the Venetians. Therefore though the French got the Victory, yet was it very sad and bloody to them, and a long time uncertain. The French accounted themselves victorious, because they were not driven from their Quarters, which was the Enemies design to have done, and because they had forced the Enemy to retreat to within the Walls of *Millan*. But on the other side, since the Switzers had retreated in good order, and gotten in such numbers into the chiefeft City of that State, as that they were able to defend it, it cannot be said that this was a real Victory, the War not being thereby ended, nor the Enemy routed. And certainly, as by the Switzers admirable Valour the French bought all dearly which they got by fighting, so by their natural sickleness the French got greater advantage by this Victory; for the very next day to the day of Battle, the Switzers giving over the thought of defending *Millan*, leaving only a Foot Garrison in the Castle

Castle whither *Maximilian Sforza* was forc'd to retire, return'd to their own homes: and Cardinal *Sedunense*, knowing that by the bad success of his counsels he had lost his former authority with the Souldiery, so as all that he could say was not able to make them stay one minute longer, left *Millan* likewise, and went by the way of *Trent* to find out the Emperour. This may teach Princes upon how weak foundations the safety of that State is grounded, which wanting a Militia of its own, is forc'd to have recourse to mercenary Forreigners. After this Victory the French were every where Masters of the field; and easily reduced all the Towns in the Dukedom of *Millan* into their power. The Vice-roy, who had not stirr'd all this while from about *Piacenza*, despairing to defend the State of *Millan* any longer, and suspecting also that the Pope had quitted the League, went into *Romagnia*, and by little and little brought all his Army from thence to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And at the same time the Popes men went to *Reggio* in *Lombardy*; so as *Sforza's* State being bereft of all hope of help, or of returning to its pristine condition, *Millan*, and all the other Cities, yielded of themselves to the French, and sent Embassadors to the King to beg pardon for all that was past, and to promise obedience for the time to come; the Embassadors were received, and a great sum of money was imposed upon the *Millanese*s, to be paid according to every mans abilities. But the King would not as yet enter into *Millan*; for *Sforza* keeping the Castle still, he thought it stood not with his honour to enter armed into that City, which he had not totally reduced under his Dominion. But for the present the Duke of *Burbon* entered the City, who received it in the Kings name, and committed the reducing of the Castle to *Pietro Navarro's* charge, who having play'd upon it a good while with his great Guns, began according to his custom to fall a mining. He was excellent good herat, and by applying fire to the Gunpowder, wherewith he fill'd his works under ground, he was wont to blow up Walls and Towers which were otherwise impregnable. Wherefore *Sforza* being much terrified, and being a little besides himself by reason of a long sickness contracted by so many adversities; being also advised by such as were none of his best friends, he resolved a moneth after the Siege began, to receive *Antonio Brutano*, a Doctor of Law, into the Castle to treat of surrender, and concluded at last that he would put both the Castle and himself into the hands of the French, though it were so well victuall'd and mann'd, as it might have held out a long while. He was upon these conditions received by the French.

That he should be forthwith carried into France, from whence he was never to depart; that he should for ever quit all claim and right which he had to the State of Millan, to King Francis; being to receive such a revenue from him, as whereby he might live commodiously and with honour.

The King having by agreement received the Castle, he entered *Millan* in great Military Pomp, and almost in manner of Triumph, environ'd by the choicest and richest array'd of all his Chivalry. He here received an honourable Embassie sent unto him from the Venetians to congratulate his Victory. These were four of the principal Senators of *Venice*, grave and reverend for their age, and famous for the

supremest Honours of the Common-wealth. *Georgio Cornaro, Andrea Gritti, Antonio Grimani, and Dominico Trevisano*, Procurators of St. Mark, the chiefeft Honour in that Common-wealth next to the Duke. It fell to *Trevisano's* part, as being youngest, to make the Oration, which is said to have been thus delivered.

As soon as the so greatly desired News (most Christian King) that your Majesty had taken your journey towards Italy, came to Venice, all our Souls were overwhelm'd with joy, as if even then the Victory had been certain; for we very well knew that there was no force which could withstand your singular Worth, and your invincible Army; wherefore our Common-wealth, judging that they had great occasion of joy offer'd them, as thus your coming, that they might not let slip any thing whereby they might manifest their affection and observancy, had chosen in her Ambassadors to wait upon your Majesty, and congratulate your having brought your Army safe into Italy, and return'd your Affairs to that ancient Honour, to which questionless prosperous success in war would soon bring them. The Senate did afterwards desire that all the Forces of their Common-wealth might be offer'd you by us, as hath been formerly done by other Ambassadors; that your Majesty might please to make use of them upon whatsoever occasion, either for your own greatness, or for the convenience of your Army. We could not execute this our Commission which was long ago given us, before now, because the ways were every where block'd up by the Enemy; but it hath happen'd by divine providence, that we, who were sent to congratulate the hopes of your beginning to be victorious, may now give you joy of your already won victory; for out-doing the thoughts of all men, you have achiev'd those very great things, which we, out of a singular affection and desire of your prosperity, were in our thoughts designing: Since having by a miraculous confidence in your self, and constancy of mind, made your way through craggy Cliffs, and almost inaccessible Mountains, you have master'd all difficulties, pass'd over the Alpes even there where they were thought to be impassable, and have conducted your Army in four days space entire and safe into Italy. Having thus overcome the asperous Mountains, you have instructed us, that nothing is so difficult through which the valiant man cannot make his way; and that a magnanimous Prince ought to esteem nothing too hard for him to overcome; but you have chiefly shewn your Worth to be such, and so excellent, as you can rule even nature, which rules and governs all things. That which amongst other of that cry'd up Commanders Actions, Hannibal, is number'd as a thing of singular praise, to wit, that he durst venture to pass over the top of the Alpes with his Army, and that in 15 days space he conducted it safe over; your Majesty by a more singular virtue, and in a more excellent manner have out-done, by having brought over your Army, Artillery, and all your warlike Preparations in a much shorter time into the Confinnes of the Enemy, by rougher, and by straiter ways. But whilst men stand admiring this egregious action, and highly celebrate your name, you have by a much more glorious Enterprize, and that which none other durst to have done, out-done your self, out-shin'd your Glory, and have left to posterity greater and better memory of the French Gallantry; for though your Army was wearied with their long and toilsom march, yet you stuck not to joyne Battle presently with most bitter Enemies, wherein your Valour was such, as you have shew'd that those may be beaten, who were before thought

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unconquerable. You have routed and put to flight the Swissers, who formerly dissping all other Nations, did proudly usurpe unto themselves chiefest praise for what concerns the Militia; and have forc'd them to return home, whence they are not likely to come so soon again to disturb your Affairs. And that nothing might be left desirable to your praise, Fortune, which for the most part useth to have the greatest share in Battles, dare lay claim to nothing in this your happy success; for no cunning, no stratagem, nothing but meer Worth had any share in this Victory. 'Tis merely this Worth then, which whilst all things else were equal in Battle, hath made you Victor, causing fear, flight, and slaughter to your Enemies, and freeing your own Army from the like, which hath not only fought under your happy conduct, but whilst you your self acted both the Captains and Souldiers part: So as it is not the splendor of your Dignity, but your own peculiar Worth, which hath preserved you amidst the fury of Weapons, and hath freed you more than once from danger. Your Majesty may therefore promise unto your self all things prosperous, and favourable hereafter. Those things which are propounded as a reward to Conquerors, Glory, Wealth, and Empire are already yours; you have already recovered the State of Milan, and your Enemies the Spaniards, who being grown more insolent through the courage and labour of other men, attempted greater things, abandoning the Enterprize, and retreating to within their own Confinnes, do hardly believe they can defend them against your victorious Arms; but we your true friends, well-wishers to your Honour and Greatness, being consoled and rejoiced by this your prosperity, have rais'd our Souls to greater hopes: and as we were ready to partake with you in any whatsoever fortune of War, so you having by Gods good will, by your own Worth, and we may say partly by our assistance, gotten so great a Victory, we also promise prosperous success to our own Affairs: Which as we know is it much desired by you, so we hope that you will be assisstant to our fortune, with all your forces, since thereby your power & glory will be greatly confirm'd and increased; for to have aided such a Common-wealth, after her being oppress'd by many evils, so as she be returned to her ancient state and dignity, will be number'd amongst your prime praises; and as you have always found us to be your faithful Servants, so remaining still such, but more powerful, your Affairs in Italy may peradventure receive greater security. Many therefore are the reasons of our joy, that a King who is our friend hath purchas'd so much glory, as will be envied by memory in all ages, but peradventure parallel'd by none; that we have hopes given us of recovering our own State, and that Italy is freed from the fear she was in of the Dutch and Spaniards, who sought to intire her Liberty. Certainly since your coming into Italy hath been long desired by us, and assisted by all our endeavours, as you your self know, it cannot be doubted but that our joy is great, in seeing all your designs prosper so successively; for we do very much rejoice that we have had fortune to be aiding to so great a King, and do think our selves already sure of those rewards, which we assur'd our selves would be very great, when we resolv'd to adhere unto you even in your dubious condition. Then as our Common-wealth thinks that she hath got whatsoever your Majesty hath won by so great a Victory, and is therefore greatly consoled thereat; so we desire and hope that your Majesty will have the same respect to her, and her Affairs; being confident that our State, Forces, and fortune, whatsoever it shall at any time happen to be, shall always

ways be ready to wait upon, and to attend your convenience and greatness.

To this the Lord Chancellour in the Kings name made a very civil and honourable reply; the Embassadors had private audience the next day of the King, who in a long speech endeavour'd to shew his good will towards the Common-wealth.

Saying, That he took their Embasie in very good part, and that the affection of the Common-wealth of Venice towards the Crown of France had been long since witness'd by several Testimonies, but that it was more clear by their recent deserts. That he had always much valued her Friendship, and was naturally given to imbrace it; that it was very fitting that they who had had their share of the Labour and danger of the War, should partake of the fruit of Victory; that therefore being mindful both of their ancient amity, and of their last service done him, he would not fail their expectation in the recovery of their State; that he had already destiny'd that many of his men should fight under their Banners, and that he would send them greater help as soon as his Affairs should be brought to a peaceable and safe condition: In fine, that he would readily do any thing which might increase the Dignity and Power of the Common-wealth.

The Embassadors, though they had ended their Embasie, received orders from the Senate to keep with the King, and in greater testimony of the honour and observancy which they bore him, to wait upon him whithersoever he should go, whilst he was in Italy. At this time whilst the Castles of Milan and Cremona were besieged, Aluviano marched with the Venetian Army towards Brescia, to attempt the taking of that City. He desired very much to follow the Spanish Army, after the success of the Battle, that he might revenge both their former and late injuries, and utterly destroy that bitter Enemy. But the Vice-roy was so speedy in removing his Camp, as Aluviano lost all hopes of encountering with him. Moreover, this his desire of following the Enemy was sufficiently cooled by Letters which he received from the Senate, wherein they signified their will and pleasure to be, then setting all other things whatsoever aside, he should endeavour the recovery of the Cities they had lost, and winde only that: That he should make use of the Victory, and his late won reputation, in things of greater importance; and that he should chiefly employ all his labour and study, where greatest good, and most hopes of ending the War were promised. Wherefore Aluviano passing over the *Adä*, went with his whole Army to the taking in of Brescia; Bergamo having been soon surrendered to him after the Switzers defeat. The Commanders in the Venetian Camp differ'd in their opinions concerning this: Some affirming,

That they were first to endeavour the taking of Verona, which City was the Seat of the War, and which had always been a safe receptacle of the Enemy; so as there was no hopes of ending the War, till they were driven out of that nest: That that City had still been the chiefest cause of contest, and had often been the only cause of hindring Agreement; that others difficulties would soon be ended, if this City were returned into the power of the Venetians: Therefore if they could get Verona, all the Castles and Territories which were possess'd by the Enemy, might easily be reduced under the power of the Venetians, either by force, or by agreement that the like advantage could

could not be had by the taking of Brescia, the possession whereof would always be uncertain and unsafe, whilst the Enemy was powerful in Verona. They added that by the business of Brescia little more of consideration then the Town it self would be gotten, of much consideration either for War or Peace; that as great respect was to be had for the accommodation of the Army; that questionless if they should sit down before the Walls of Verona, they might be better supplied both with Victuals and with all things else by the convenience of the River Adice, whereby they might tarry longer, and more commodiously in that Country, and make use either of Siege, or assaults as time and occasion should require.

The Senate being moved by these reasons were at first of this opinion, but not being so long, and taking the business again into consideration, to the end that they might not spend time to no purpose in the diversity of opinions, and that if the condition of Affairs should alter upon any accident, (as it often happens) they should not be forc'd to do what were not fitting, they resolv'd to leave the resolution to Aluviano, after they had acquainted him with their opinion therein. Thus the Venetian Camp, not staying for any help from the French, came before the Walls of Brescia, and Siege was laid to the City, and great diligence was made to storm it; Aluviano thought he might easilier and more honourably do this, then take Verona, because the one City being near friends, and the other near the Enemy, if he should carry his Army before Brescia.

He thought the business might prove the easier by reason of the vicinity of the French, and that it might be done with more reputation, and reader help; whereas on the contrary, if the Army should be employed in battering Verona, he feared lest the Spaniards and the Popes men, not being far off, might, though they were gone out of the Country, return thither, and hope to set upon our men whilst they were in disorder, and making of Trenches, or other works. Whereby he knew he could not tarry in those parts without much danger, nor depart from thence, and give over the Enterprize without as much shame, and loss of honour. Moreover Verona was better walled, and was excellently well provided of Victuals, and men; by the Garrison of Dutch Foot which was lately come thither. Whereas there were but few Souldiers in Brescia, and little provision of things necessary for defence; the Citizens very well affectioned towards the Common-wealth, and the Enemy driven out.

But Icardo a Spanish Captain, a shrewd, and nimbly witted man, who had then the command of of Brescia, having heard, and suspected this resolution of the Venetians, had with great speed caused 1000 Foot to come from Verona to that City, had brought in much corn, and all things requisite for defence, so as it was sufficiently munited against an Assault. And he had used such speed, and industry in all this, as that the Souldiers of the Garrison of Verona might safely enter into Brescia, and not only not be hindred by Aluviano, but do it before he should know of it till after it was done. Aluviano's advice was to assault the City on several parts, at one and the same time, and to storm it; but whilst he was contriving these things, and that his thoughts were much troubled, fearing lest the number of the Defendants being increased by the new Garrison, the business might prove more difficult then

he had thought at first, and having at the same time undergone much bodily labour, he fell sick, and his sickness increasing daily upon him, he was carried from the Camp to a Town called *Gbedi*, where being seized on by a violent burning Fever, he dyed on the seventh of *October* in the threescore year of his age. He dyed just when Fortune began to smile upon him, he having in his former days endured many adversities; for he had won great reputation by his prosperous successes, the year before in *Friuli*, and *Polifine di Rovigo*, and likewise by the confession of all men, he shewed singular Valour in the last Battle of the French near *Millan*.

Alviano was acknowledged generally by all men for an excellent Commander, of great courage and experience in Military Affairs; and he proved the more famous, because he flourished in a time, wherein he had field room enough to shew his Worth and Military Skill in managing important Wars. But he suffer'd a little, by being thought more bold in fighting, then good at the counselling; for he was so desirous of Military Glory, as he was often too hasty in coveting Victory. Yet it may be numbr'd up amongst his praises, that in point of execution he us'd miraculous, and at that time unusual speed: He was very much beloved and yet very much feared by the Souldiers. His great Liberality purchas'd their love, and his severity in making Military Discipline be observ'd their fear. He was more patient in taking pains then is to be believed, wherein he would equal any whatsoever private Souldier; wherefore he was wont to say, that the Commander was not so sensible of labour as was the Souldier; the hopes of Glory, which sweetens labour not being equal in them. He serv'd under the Venetian pay almost 20 years, always with great fidelity, but most commonly with ill luck; for having fought successively in the German Wars, near *Cadore*, he was soon after abandoned by Fortune, and these good beginnings were not followed by like success. 'Tis true that he himself by the fierceness of his nature did often times increase dangers and difficulties; for even then *Alviano* was thought to be born for greatest Attempts, though through greatest dangers, and to be one who might with praise serve any Prince in War, who was desirous of Glory, and willing to hazard himself upon Fortune, upon easie terms. But this his forwardness did not suit well with the Common-wealth, which being always the same, keeping still the same orders, though she change Officers, cares not for undertaking things though never so glorious, if dangerous: But that she may deal in them with more security, waits for time and occasion, and walks on to her greatness with more mature advice.

Alviano's body was carried to *Venice*, where his Obsequies were very solemnly celebrated, his Funeral Oration being made by *Andrea Navagero*, a man of excellent wit, famous for learning and eloquence; and for the greater honour of his memory he was buried in *San Stefano's* Church at the publick charge. And because he left his wife and children very poor, he having continually loved Glory and the good will of his Souldiers more then riches, the Senate, the more to gratifie his Worth and Loyalty, rewarded him in his posterity, they gave his wife and his only Son, to be paid them during their lives out of the publick Exchequer, 60 Duckets a month, and gave them a commodious house in the City, exempting them from all taxes belonging to their livelihood; they gave also 3000 Duckets a piece to his three daughters,

ters, to be paid them out of the publique Treasury at their day of Marriage.

After *Alviano's* death, Commissary *Emo* took the care of the War, and for some days commanded the Army as Captain General. The mean while the Venetians thought upon *Giovann Giacomo Trivulcio*, to confer the Generals place upon him, for his singular vivacity of wit, for his exquisite knowledg in all Military Affairs, and especially for his ready, and well dispos'd inclination towards the Common-wealth. Wherefore the Venetians very much desired King *Francis* that he would permit them to make *Trivulcio*, who (as hath been said) was at this time in pay under the French, to be their General; which having obtain'd, they forthwith conferr'd *Alviano's* place upon him, and the Senate writ Letters unto him.

wherein they signified the great love which the whole Common-wealth bore him, and the assured hopes they had in his singular Worth, and that confiding therein, and hoping to meet with the like willingness and desire in him to serve the Common-wealth, they had freely of themselves offer'd him that degree of Dignity, which they had not want to grant others, but upon much entreaty and intercession; wherefore they desired him that he would behave himself so in that Service, as became him, who was an able and famous Commander, greatly desirous of the Liberty of Italy, and affectionate to the Venetian Honour; that he would shew himself to be still the same man in this great and honourable employment, as he always had been.

Trivulcio having received these Letters, willingly accepted of the employment offer'd him, and went suddenly to the Venetian Camp, where being received by Commissary *Emo*, he began to govern discreetly and diligently.

The first thing he did, was to call the Council together, and to be truly informed of the Enemies strength, as also of ours, what had been done, and what was to be done, and finally to inform himself of the whole State of Affairs. He afterwards began to consult with the rest of the Commanders how the War was to be carried on, wherein there were divers opinions according to every mans judgment.

Some despairing to get *Brescia*, were for raising the Siege, and carrying the Army into the Territories of *Verona*, that they might be ready upon any occasion that should be offer'd to take *Verona*: Others affirm'd that the begun Enterprize was not to be given over, that the business would not prove so difficult if it were govern'd by the ordinary ways of War; that they themselves being wearied with the trouble of a longer Siege, would not quit the hopes of Victory.

But there were many things which made against these advices, Those that perswaded to be gone, might receive for answer, that by raising the Siege from before *Brescia*, the opinion which was had of their Forces would be lessned, and it would seem a vain and foolish thing to undertake greater and more difficult matters: And those that were for keeping the same Quarters, that Winter being near, the very season would not permit them to be long about the business, they therefore all agreed in this, which was first *Alviano's* opinion, to wit, that enviroing the Town on that part where the Walls were weakest, and setting their Artillery in order, they should play incessantly with their

Cannon upon one and the same place, till so much of the Wall might be thrown down, as might make way for an assault. Bringing then their Artillery into a certain place, where a little Rivolet called *la Garzeta* enters into the City, they began to play violently upon the Walls, so as having thrown down the uppermost part, the rest might be easily master'd by the Souldiers. And now this first action taking effect, the Venetians began to hope well in the victory, but the City was stoutly defended by the Spanish, and Dutch Souldiers, who were very ready upon any action; they kept diligent Guard every where, they raised their Rampiers, and did munite the Walls with their own bodies; nor did they leave any thing undone which appertain'd to defence. Therefore our men growing daily cooler in point of assault, and all resolution being drawn out at length, the Enemy growing bolder by our delay, accused our men of cowardliness, and not content to keep them also from the Wall, did often times indamage them by Sallies. And growing more confident by some small successes, about 2000 of them sallied one day out of the City, intending to drive away some of the Venetians that were gotten nearest the Walls; and bending their chiefest force against those that guarded the Artillery, they slew many of them, and chasing away the rest, forc'd them to retreat and to forsake that Station, pursuing them even unto their Quarters. So as our men would have been notably prejudiced that day, had not *Triulcio* speedily sent them a recruit both of Horse and Foot, by which relief they being stay'd, who ran away, they began to fight in their own defence, and being encouraged did not only sustain the Enemy, but after many Skirmishes, drove them to within their Walls, and recovering many pieces of Artillery brought them to the Camp; the rest were either broken by the Enemy, or carried into the City. Amongst the rest *Jovan Paolo Manfrone* won great praise in this action, but *Triulcio* did not only dispair by this to take the City by force, but growing somewhat afraid, by seeing the Enemy encouraged, and his own men abased, that somewhat of worse might befall him, thought it his best course to remove the Camp to a place two miles from the City, called *La seconda Pietro*: To the end that the Army might have means to refresh themselves, and to expect aid from the French, whereby he might afterwards with greater force, and better advice return, and re-assume the business. In the interim, that the Souldiers might not grow lazy through idleness, and to keep up the Venetian honour, which being begun to get head again, might seem by so small an adversity to decline; the Commanders resolv'd to send some of their men to *Peschiera*, and re-gain that Town to the Common-wealth, which was very useful to the War. Wherein they had such happy success, as they took it the very first day by assault; and soon after, encountering with a Squadron of Curassiers, and some Foot Colours, who were sent to relieve *Peschiera*, they put them to flight, slew many of them, and took many Prisoners. Hereupon *Afoli*, *Lonato*, *Sermione*, and some other Towns thereabouts soon surrendered; so as the affection to the name of *Venice* which seem'd to be fallen asleep, began to be awakened in the peoples minds. It was now *November*, wherefore the Venetians, partly by reason of the time of the year, partly by reason of the difficulty of the business,

business, resolv'd for that time to give over the Siege of *Brescia*; when News came to the Camp, that many Horse and Foot would soon come in to their succour. The King of *France* had thought to have sent these recruits much sooner to the Venetians, but they being to have been commanded by the *Gran Bastardo di Savoia*, a Kinsman of the Kings, and a man of great Worth and Authority, who had likewise given him in charge, first to take in the Castle of *Cremona*; he spent more time therein then he thought to have done, which had caus'd him to defer his coming thus long. He brought along with him 5000 Foot, 800 Horse, many pieces of Artillery, and great store of victuals; wherefore as soon as he was come to the Venetian Camp, they alter'd their opinion, and were all of one mind, to re-attempt the taking of *Brescia* immediately with the whole Army; thinking that the bitterness of the season might be overcome by the number, and assiduity of the Souldiers. But the business, though first attempted with great hopes of victory, rather by the fallacities and foolish obliquity of friends, then by any Worth in the Enemy; for the Dutch Foot commanded by the *Gran Bastardo*—soon began rather to be a trouble, then a help: They oft times rais'd tumults in the Camp, they refus'd sometimes to fight against *Cesar*, sometime cry'd insolently for pay, before they had deserv'd it, and despising their Captains commands, ran into the neighbouring parts, ransacking all things, and plundering as well their Friends as Foes. Another great inconvenience was added unto this, able to disturb any design how good soever; for the *Gran Bastardo*—falling very sick, was forced to depart the Camp. The Venetian Embassadors who were with the King of *France* being adverted of this, did by commission from the Senate, again very much desire the King to send more aid; they desired other Souldiers, other Commanders, but chiefly *Pietro Navaro*, who was at this time in great repute, for being very expert at the taking in of places, & wont to get the victory by a new way of Militia: He us'd such art and industry in working Mines, and in using several unusual Engines, as made all men wonder. This man being sent by the King with succour to the Venetian Army, the Siege was again begun to be laid to *Brescia*; *Triulcio* was encamped on one side with about 900 Venetian Foot, and 2000 Horse; on the other side, which lyes over against the Gate usually called *delle Pille*, and of which *ill Bastardo*—had had formerly the care, *Navaro* plac'd himself, with 5000 Gasconne and French Foot which he had brought with him; so they began to play upon the Town in several parts at once, and the City being besieged on all sides by continual Guards, nothing was free nor safe to them that were within; they were forced to keep Sentinels in all places, to be in perpetual work every where; and herein lay the Venetians chiefest hopes, that the Defendants tired out with continual action, and consequently growing weak, would be forced to give over much of their defence; for the Spanish Souldiers, having had leisure time enough to fortifie the City, had been so diligent in raising Cavaliers, in making Trenches, places of Retreat, and in well defending the Walls, as not any one part lay open, or naked to the assailants; and if any part of the Wall chanc'd to be thrown down by the Cannon, a new Rampier was rais'd for defence in the place thereof. So as the

Souldiers might use their Artillery under shelter, and all other sort of Arms. But the business drawing on in length, and the Venetians knowing that their labour was but in vain, and that the City could not be taken by assault, *Navar* betakes himself to his other accustomed Stratagems, which he had not yet made use of here, because it required much labour and pain, and because he feared lest all his labour and design might meet with disturbance, by the condition of the season, and by the great store of rain that was fallen. He began to make a passage under the earth, which led from the Camp to the City, through which the Souldiers were to march, and on the sudden fall upon the City within. This work being diligently, and with much labour wrought upon by the Souldiers both day and night, so as it was now brought almost to an end, the Spaniards, moved thereunto by some sign, or were it only out of suspicion, because they saw our men had given over their Battery, and that Proceedings went slower on in the Camp, betook themselves to observe diligently in every part of the City, whether or no they could find or hear any motion of the earth, they dug Ditches in many places, and searched diligently into *Navar's* hidden ways, of which as soon as they discovered any the least shew, to the end that they might be the more certain of it, and apply remedy, they began to make countermines all in contra, and throwing great force of Gun-powder thereinto, they gave fire unto it, and overthrew our work, slaying all the Souldiers that wrought upon it: Thus many days labour was lost in a moment; yet the Venetians had one hope left whereby to get the City, the rest proving vain through various accidents; to wit, to straiten it by Siege; for they knew it wanted many things, which would force it to surrender. Corn was grown to, such a scarcity, as the Dutch Souldiers not able to endure it, not having received neither any pay of a long time from the Emperour, refused to do duties, grew insolent with their Commanders, put all things into confusion, and began to rebel. Which when the Venetian Camp knew, *Trivulzio* thought he had a fair occasion offer'd him of taking the City, without the loss of his men; wherefore neither the inconvenience of Winter, nor the Snow, nor the trouble of a long Siege, were able to make him alter his resolution. He knew it made much for his Renown, and for the proving of his affection to the Common-wealth, that he should prosper in his first attempts. He therefore kept the City environed on all sides with his Army, to keep any victuals from being brought into it, and to keep the Souldiers that were within from coming out, intending likewise to seize on such monies as might perchance be sent them; and in the interim there past light Skirmishes between them and the Enemy; for many Foot came from the Garrison of *Verona*, striving to get into the Brescian Territories, and to prejudice our Army. But to hinder these the Souldiers of the Common-wealth came from out *Peschiera* and *Valeggio*, and meeting with some of them, they often fell to blows with various success of both sides; nothing hapning notwithstanding worthy of memory, nor which did much concern the main business.

Whilst *Brescia* was thus besieged, many things had past concerning peace: The Pope, seeing that his attempts by Force and Arms succeeded

ceeded not according to his thoughts, betook himself to his wonted artifices the better to secure himself thereby. He therefore resolved to be a Mediator of peace between the Emperour and the Venetians: Which if it should succeed, he thought he might treat of peace with the French upon better terms. But the Venetians weary of such Proceedings, and being often deluded by vain hopes, could not believe much in the Popes words. Wherefore thinking that the safety of their State and of their Affairs could be grounded no where better then on the friendship of the French, which they desired might be made as much known to them as might be, they refused all offers of agreement, and thought it better to acquaint the French Embassadour with all things that were propounded to them by the Pope concerning peace: And to do the like with the King by their Embassadours that were with him; who told him in the name of the Common-wealth, that the Senate in their present troubles of War, placed their hopes in nothing but on their own Forces, and on the King of *France* his help and favour. The King was of the same mind, to keep friendship with the Venetians, and to pursue the War. Wherefore *Cesar* who was much troubled at these prosperous successes, having by his Embassadours endeavoured to come to some agreement, the King utterly despising the Friendship and League which was offer'd him, dismiss'd the Embassadours, and acquainted the Venetians particularly with the whole Treaty. The French knew very well by many examples, that *Cesars* mind was so mutable, and so desirous of Novelties, as their affairs could never be reputed safe nor quiet, whilst he had any Footing, or his men any receipt in *Italy*: So as they must be forced to be at great cost, and not out of danger in maintaining the State of *Milan*, till *Cesar* and his Armies were driven from thence; but the King thought otherwise of the Pope; for though he had alienated himself from him, when he thought him to be most his friend, yet he greatly desired the Popes Friendship; nor was he parted from him, but upon great necessity. Wherefore the Pope, having sent his Nuntio into the French Camp, without knowledge of other confederates, to treat of agreement, the King received him graciously, seeming very well pleased that there was means left him whereby to be easily received again into favour, and friendship with the Pope; yet being resolved not to buy it at any dear rate, since it was voluntarily offer'd him, the Nuncio could get no positive answer, unless the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which were then detain'd by the Pope, should be restored to the power and possession of the French. The Pope though he thought it very severe for him to be bereft of those two Cities, and to lose that reward which he had purchas'd by so many dangers and labours, yet after having spent many days and nights in great agitation of mind, he at last resolved to satisfy the King, and to resign up those Cities. Finding that all his labour was lost in going about to bring the Venetians to agreement with him and *Cesar*. Nor could he defer it any longer without hazard, not thinking either his own Forces, or those of his colleagues sufficient to secure him and his affairs from the power of the Conquerours. These chief points being therefore accommodated, to the end that they might treat the better of the rest, and that the League might be the more firmly

ly made, it was resolv'd that the Pope and King should have an Interview, for which a certain time being appointed, the one parted from *Rome*, and the other from *Millan*, and met both at *Bologna*, as the most convenient place for them both. The Venetian Embassadors accompanied the King, the more to honour the Royal Court in a time of such solemnity; the Court being then full of many French Lords, and very glorious in all manner of Preparations; as also for that it was reported, that many things belonging to the Common-wealth were to be treated of at that convention, and touching universal agreement; which caus'd much rejoicing in all *Italy*, which had been so long molested, but especially amongst the Venetians, all of them hoping well in a future peace. Yet for what concern'd the Common-wealth, because divers difficulties lay in it, it was only resolv'd, that Cardinal *Egidio Eremitano*, a Personage of singular Integrity and Learning, should be sent Legate to the Emperour from the Pope, to treat of this business, and to endeavour to make him comply, and agree with the Venetians. Pontifical Briefs were likewise sent to the Venetians, wherein they were exhorted to embrace peace; but as concerning the common condition of affairs, and the ordering of a general peace, nothing was either concluded, nor so much as treated of, but rather many seeds were sown of other Wars; for on the one side King *Francis*, not being able any longer to cloak his desire of winning the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had long thirsted after, had by his civility and complacency with the Pope, got leave of him, that by the Popes favour and authority, he might, when time should serve, fall upon that Enterprize; on the other part, *Leo* discover'd a no less ardent desire in himself of the greatness of the House of *Medici*, by denying the King, who had very much desired it at his hands, to pardon *Francisco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, if he had found any fault in him. Whence it might be easily comprehended how he was minded (when there should be occasion again of taking up of Arms, and of exposing himself again to the danger and troubles of War) to put his Nephew *Lorenzo de Medici* into possession of the State of *Urbino*, wherein he had a little before invest'd him. Thus the Sequel did shew manifestly, that both *Leo* and *Francis*, aim'd only in this their convention, at their own advantage, and their present accommodation; and that they did not almost at all think upon the common agreement, and peace for the future; for having establish'd divers things touching their own security, and the aggrandizing of their States, they both departed from *Bologna*, after having spent six days in this Treaty. 'Tis most certain that both these Princes did very much desire this Inter-view, out of a thought of reaping much advantage thereby; for the Pope, being strangely ingenious, and knowing how to handle business best for his advantage, thought he should be able by his persuasive speeches, and elegancy of words, to pacifie the King, and make him become his friend, if he should find him otherwise; and if he should find in him a well disposed will, to be then able to increase it, and to dispose of the Kings Forces at his pleasure. But King *Francis*, seeing his ancient Enemies re-kindle their hatred, and his Friends behave themselves as Enemies, and that they all conspired together against him (as it is always seen that

prosperity

prosperity produces envy) thought nothing could make more for his good at the present, then to take the Pope from his Enemies, and joyn his Holiness to him. *Cesar* and the Switzers were already joyn'd together, and it was commonly said that the King of *Spain* and King of *England* were likewise joyn'd with them; the latter because he could not willingly endure to see the King of *France* his power and glory increase so much; and the other, because it was held for certain, that when the French should be at peace with the rest, he would soon make War with him, either to put the King of *Navar* into his State, or else to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore King *Francis*, finding such dangers threaten'd him by so many Enemies, thought he had provided the better for his affairs, by how much he should joyn in a straiter League and Friendship with the Pope. Those things being then thus dispos'd of, which concern'd the annexing the Forces and Authority of the Church unto him, he began to think of his return into *France* to comply with his wives entreaties; but much more to secure his Kingdom from the imminent danger of War, by the men that he brought back with him; and he stay'd now only that he might first somewhat establish the Venetians affairs, and so increase the Forces of the League, as though he were not himself in person in *Italy*, he might have no reason to fear the Enemy for what concern'd the State of *Millan*. Therefore as soon as he was gone from *Bologna*, and arriv'd at *Millan*, he chiefly minded the sending of more Forces time enough to the Venetian Camp before *Brescia*. Which was already reduced thereby to so great straits, as it was thought it would soon fall into the Common-wealths hands. It was known that the Souldiers who defend'd it, and who had already shew'd great Valour, in resisting many assaults, being weary through so many inconveniences of the Siege, and chiefly not having received pay nor relief; nor *Cesar* not having taken any provision for it, were brought almost to the very last point of despair; in so much as the Spanish Souldiers had agreed; that if the promised relief should not come from *Cesar* within twenty days, they would deliver up the City to the Venetians, upon condition that they might be permitted to go forth with their Colours, and their other Military Affairs. The King was particularly inform'd of these Proceedings by the Venetian Embassadors, who accompanied him all this journey; and shew'd him how affairs went, and desired him not to give over the hopes of getting that City; but to send his men forthwith to the Venetian camp to keep the Dutch Foot from relieving the City, who were led on by Captain *Roncandolo*, which if it should succeed well, so many moneths time would be spent in vain, and they should lose so fair an opportunity of putting an end unto the War. But though the King very well knew the importancy of the business, he could not use such diligence as that the French aid could prevent the coming of the Dutch Foot, who being 8000 in number entred all safe into the City the 20 days not being yet expired, not meeting with any obstacle; for the Common-wealths Souldiers, who when News came of the Enemies approach, were sent to the strait Passes of the Mountains, safely retreated to the Army, not staying so much as to look the Enemy in the face. The Dutch had for their guid in this their voyage Captain *Lodo-*

vico

vico da Ladrone, who being very well practised in those parts, led them over the tops of Mountains by unusual ways, so as getting at unawares out of those strait and difficult Passes, they caused thereby more fear in our men. When News came to the Venetian camp that the Enemy was come, they differ'd in their opinions, some were for continuing the Siege, some for carrying the Army elsewhere; but the number of the Dutch Foot being given out to be greater than indeed it was, and the Spies having informed at the same time that *Marco Antonio Colonna* was gone out of *Lerona*, and entred into the confines of *Mantua*, and hastled to assault them; the Venetian Commanders, fearing that if they should tarry any longer they might easily be encompassed on both sides by the Enemy, thought it best to raise the Siege. So the Artillery being brought into the Cities of *Crema* and *Cremona*, the Army march'd to *Castenedolo*, six miles from *Brescia*. When this News came to *Venice* it caused much wonder, and as much sorrow in all the Citizens, who built confidently upon the getting of *Brescia*. The Captain General and Commissaries had by letters advertised the Senate that all the Passes were so guarded by our Souldiers, as it was impossible for the Besieged to receive any succour. And this was the more credibly believed, because News came at the same time, that the Forces which were sent from the French to assist our Camp (which were 3000 Dutch Foot, and 400 Horse) were already on their way from *Millan*. And assuredly the Common-wealth lost no little reputation hereby to think that so few men gathered together out of the Countrey, unexperienced in the Militia, without either Artillery or Horse, should infuse such fear into a numerous Army, so well provided of all things as was that of the Venetians and French, and which expected new succours suddenly, as should make them give over their hopes of getting the City by Siege, and to change their Quarters. *Trivulcio* was accused by many of too much haite and bad advice, in losing the opportunity of putting an end unto his business, which so much labour had been bestowed about. Whereat he being very much incensed, he demanded leave to quit the Service of the Common-wealth; alledging that he was sent for home about some private affairs of his own, which would not suffer him to tarry any longer in the camp.

But the Senate, who thought this mans reputation and skill might be of great help in that War, writ unto him, and exaggerating his Worth, said,

They had always found much fidelity in his Actions, and much readines, and had never found fault with him, but much commended him for it; that it became not the gravity of a Senate, when things wisely undertaken, did not succeed well, to lay the fault upon the Authors, according to the custom of the common people; that they therefore never blamed any thing but the bitterness of the Season, and the Fortune of War, which had been so long adverse to the Common-wealth; so as though they might be sometimes troubled at the success of the Commanders counsels and advices, yet knowing them to be good, they did not blame the counsels: That for all this bad fortune the Senate would not go less in their former intentions of providing for the War, but would take care that the Army should be abundantly furnish'd with all things, which belong'd to the care of a General, as if he himself were present at their

Counsels.

Counsels. And that the General should want nothing whereby to shew his Worth.

These, and the like means were often used not only to *Trivulcio*, but to the King of *France*, yet were they not able to make him alter his resolution. He therefore departed from *Millan*, and the care of the Venetian Army, and the administration of the War, was committed to *Theodore Trivulcio*. This man was formerly entertain'd by the Venetians, and had the same place and employment as *Renzo da Ceri* had before; but was notable to come unto the camp till now, whither as soon as he was come, he had the same authority given him as *Giacopo Trivulcio* had before, though not the name, nor degree of Captain General. This mean while King *Francis*, having provided all things for his departure, and sent some of his men already before, he left the Duke of *Barbone* in charge with the Government of the affairs of *Italy*, wherein he endued him with great authority, and returned into *France*. But being resolved before he went to send more aid to the Venetian Army, he recommended the men to the care of *Monsieur Odesto de Foix*, named *Monsieur di Lautrech*, one famous in War, and desirous of Glory, who for his worth and courage was thought fit to exercise the place of any Commander. His commission from the King was to go with those men to the taking in of *Brescia*, and to do all things for the good and service of the Venetians, with the same care and diligence as if the City were to be recovered for him, and to be annex'd to the Crown of *France*. And certainly all the Kings Proceedings were such, as plainly shew'd he bore a great good will to the Common-wealth; for he had often constantly affirm'd, that if the occasion of War should require it, he would be ready to return again into *Italy*, with no less Forces than he had done now, to the end that the Common-wealth might be restored to her former Power and Dignity.

Wherefore the Venetians to purchase more grace and favour with the King, thought fit to send an Embassadour who might continually reside with *Monsieur di Barbone*, who, as it hath been said, was left in *Italy* in the supremest place of Dignity; since it was likely they might have many occasions to treat with him in: To which employment they chose *Andrea Trevisano*, who as soon as he came to *Millan*, *Andrea Griiti*, who had tarried in that City after the Kings departure to procure the coming of the French to our Army, returned to the camp by order from the Senate, where he was made Commissary in the place of *Dominico Contarini*, who falling sick, had got leave of the Senate to be gone. Almost about the same time came *Monsieur di Lautrech* to the Army; and now the French aid being come, it was thought it was no more to be doubted, but that *Brescia*, not being able any longer to resist so great Forces, would at last fall into the power of the Common-wealth. The Pope thinking that such success would make much against his designs, sought by all means to hinder it. He propounded a Truce, and howsoever desired that the business might be spun out at length, hoping that if the Siege of *Brescia* should prove long and difficult, some occasion might arise, which might make the Venetians listen the sooner to agreement, though upon bad conditions. And because he himself was able to do but little in this business, no great

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belief being given to his words, nor exhortations, he thought to interpose the King of *Polonia's* authority, perswading his Embassadour, who was yet at *Venice*, to re-assume the business of Peace, by making new Proposals.

As, if the Venetians would forego the friendship of the French, and side with Cesar, the noble Cities of Cremona and Lodi might be added unto their State; for the King of France might be easily driven out by the joyn't Forces of the Emperour, the Pope, and the Common-wealth; and then those Cities might be obtain'd from Cesar, by the King of Poland's Intercession, and Authority; so as being for the future sever'd from the State of Millan, they might be added to the Dominion of Venice, which would make way by occasion of handling other particulars, for the re-gaining all the other things which were now held by Cesar.

Upon the same design, the Pope, to the end that by absence of the Commander the business of *Brescia* might be drawn out more at length, exhorted King *Francis* to send *Monsieur di Lautrech* to *Rome*, seeming very desirous to treat with that grave and wise man in many things concerning the business of *Naples*, which he knew the King did very much desire, and therefore he thought this proposition would be very acceptable to him. And though the Pope had contrary thoughts in his head, yet he seemed very desirous that the beginning of that War might not be deferr'd; for that *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, after long sickness was dead, and the power of *Charles* Duke of *Burgony*, who had taken upon him the name of Prince of *Castile*, grew daily more formidable to all those that had any States in *Italy*, but chiefly to him; that therefore all force and industry was to be used in not suffering his power to increase too immoderately. But as *Leo's* cunning, already sufficiently known to all, could not bring about his design, he having lost all credit; so did it afford great cause of wonder by his uncertain way of proceeding; for it seemed that these courses wherewith he thought to have jointly provided both for his own safety, and the like of the Ecclesiastique State, did ill become his wisdom; for he endeavoured, as he had done all the time of his Popedom, that the *Venetians*, who had always shew'd themselves obedient to the *Apostolique* See, whereof there wanted not many evident examples; being supprest by so many adversities, should be still troubled with the labour and dangers of War; so as their Forces should be kept low, and the dignity and power of the Common-wealth weakened; and that on the contrary he should so study to advance the Emperours greatness, when he knew that nothing could be so pernicious both to himself and all *Italy*, as to suffer the Dutch Armies to continue long in that Country; giving occasion thereby to revive the ancient claim and pretences of the Emperours. And say he should have forgot ancient passages, whereby he might be instructed how many cruel and bitter things that Nation had plotted against the Popes of *Rome*; how could he forget modern affairs and speeches told unto him, used by *Maximilian*? Who was wont in all his discouries to say publicly, that the Churches State did belong to the Western Empire; and that it would be his Fate to return the Dignity of the Empire in *Italy* by his Forces, to its former greatness. Therefore they who thought they saw more into *Leo's* intentions,

tentions, were of opinion, that his chief aim was to take the *Venetians* off from the friendship of the French: Which if he could not do, yet that by the weakening of their Forces, those of the King of *France* would likewise be weakened, he being a friend and confederate of the Common-wealths; whose greatness (moved thereunto either by hatred or fear) the Pope could not tolerate. Whereas he was less jealous of *Cesar's* Forces, as well in his own respect, as of that of the Church, by reason of his natural light headedness; by reason of his paucity of men, and want of monies; for which reasons he thought his greatness could never be so well grounded, but that it might by some chance be made to totter.

Thus did this year end, mens minds being variously possess'd with hope and fear; and not knowing what the end of so many evils would be; for in the beginning of the next year, which was the year of our Lord 1516, and the 8th year from the time that all *Italy*, and especially the State of *Venice* began to be sorely molested with War, new Preparations for Arms, and evident signs of future troubles began to appear. Souldiers were taken into pay every where; more means were used for the renewing of War, then was before: and chiefly the *Venetians*, refusing all Treaties of Peace, or of new Leagues, and being return'd to besiege *Brescia*, with great hopes of gaining it, were resolute to continue the War till such time as they should have gotten that City either by force, or by voluntary surrender. *Cesar* also (who had not been himself in person in any of the Armies the last year past, but managing the War by his Captains, had not managed it over well) re-assuming his former thirst after War, sought to raise commotions in all parts, and to augment his Forces that he might molest the affairs of *Italy*; he called many Dyets, craved aids, muster'd men, sent for Commanders; but he chiefly solicited the *Switzers* to take up Arms, and to revenge the death of their valiant companions, promising to be their Leader, and to be willing to share with them in all labour and danger. The King of *England* did the like, out of envy to the King of *France* his recent glory, and out of anger that he had taken the King of *Scotland* into his protection. The Pope with the like intention, but more secretly, endeavour'd the same with the *Switzers*. All these affirm'd that the *Switzers* could undertake no War which could bring them greater glory or richer booty, then that of *Italy*, which being already begun, must now again be renewed with greater Forces. They moreover promis'd them some pay for their Souldiers, but much hopes of greater advantage which they might always have by their Friendship. This meantime the *Venetian* Commanders, *Lautrech* being already come (as hath been said) with aid to their camp, held many Councils, and did differ in their opinions touching the managing of the War.

Some were for the raising of the Siege from before Brescia, and for carrying the whole Army to Verona; for which they alledged that that City, now that their veterane Souldiers were gone to relieve Brescia, was but weakly garrison'd, and that the Enemy had made no provision for necessary defence; as not suspecting any such thing then. But the season of the year made much against this opinion; for the Camp could not without great inconvenience

be removed in the midst of Winter, nor the Souldiers be led to a new Enterprize. Besides it might appear a rash thing to change greater hopes of getting Brescia, with the uncertainty of what might befall about Verona; for the condition of Brescia being considered, it was evidently seen, that unless they did intermis their begun works, the Town must of necessity fall into their hands; either by force, or by surrender; it was apparent that the City was in great want of money, Corn, and of all sort of Victuals; the Commanders were at odds within themselves; the Souldiers weary of being long besieged, and by reason of many sufferings, rather ready to mutiny then to fight; and the Citizens, as well by reason of their new grievances laid upon them by their new Masters, as out of their ancient affection to the Venetians, desirous of Novelties, and ready upon any accident to drive the Garrison out of the City. Moreover the Defendants were reduced to a small number; for the Foot who were come a little before to assist the Besieged, seeing that with diversity of opinion, but no resolution, many discourses had been had of leading the Souldiers forth to fight, and that the scarcity of Victuals did daily increase, were most of them gone from the City, leaving the business unperfected.

These things being found by the report of many to be true, it was by general consent agreed, that they should keep their Quarters, and attend with all diligence to straiten the City more. Our Army abounded in all things; for the Senate were so careful to provide all things requisite for War, as though the Enemy strove much to hinder it, all their endeavours proved vain. Amongst the rest *Mark Antonio Colonna* endeavour'd often by sending his Souldiers out of *Verona*, to keep the Army from victuals, and by laying ambushes to intercept the monies which were sent to the Venetian camp. To which purpose he kept continually good store of Spanish Foot and Horse at the Town of *Legnano*, which was now fallen into his power; to block up all the ways of that Country, and the Enemy growing daily more bold, and offering at great matters, they made incursion even to the Territories of *Brescia*, which they might safely do, because they saw the Venetian Army was busied about the Siege. Wherefore the Captain General and Commissaries, thought that it stood not with the honour and reputation of that Army to suffer that so few men should come so near hand to insult over them. Wherefore having notice that *Colonna* endeavour'd to come into the confines of *Mantua*, to block up that way likewise, which as the safest, was frequented by those that went to the camp; *Paolo Manfrone* and *Mercurio Bua* were sent by our men to meet them, and to fight them. Who though they undertook the business courageously, yet did they not succeed well therein; for *Colonna* having notice of their coming by his Scouts, took with him some companies of veterane Souldiers, and went speedily towards *Valeggio*, where he had such advantage of place, as he might chuse whether he would keep safe there, or fight upon advantageous terms: Our men and the Enemy entred at the same time by several ways into this Town, and both of them strove to possess themselves of the Bridge, which joyns the Town together, being otherwise divided by the waters of *Menzo*; each side hoping to repulse the Enemy, and to make themselves Masters of the Town. When they came to skirmish, our men at first did not only valiantly withstand the Enemy, but repuls'd them, and if after a long dispute they were sometimes

sometimes forced to give back, yet soon after they would return and pursue them.

Thus this Conflict lasted a good while with dubious success: but the Enemy, who were many more in number, having at last driven our Horse from the Bridge, whereby they had power to settle their Ranks in a larger space, they charged so furiously upon our men, as not being able to resist any longer, but being dispersed, and discouraged, our men began to run, some of them getting safe unto the Camp, othersome being taken Prisoners, amongst which *Fulvio*, Son to *Paolo Manfrone*, was one. *Fannus Fregoso*, and *Corrado Orsino*, succeeded better in their Attempts, who being gone at the same time from the Camp, to suppress some Dutch Foot Colours, in some narrow passages of the Mountains, they met with them who were sent before to be a Convey to certain Moneys which were brought to the Besieged. They fought them so courageously, and so fortunately, as but few of the Enemy escaped safe away: But being more encouraged afterwards, they made way for a greater Victory, being by an unexpected accident, put upon abusiness of much danger, but of more hopes. For *Fregoso*, and *Orsino*, being come to the Castle of *Anfo*, when they thought the Enemy were far off, they were unexpectedly advertized of their being near at hand; And although the night were already come on, they resolv'd to Assault them forthwith, without any delay, and at unawares; They quickly put the first Squadrons to flight, whereat those that followed being disheartied, they likewise began to run; which they could not doe so fast, by reason of the craggy Waies, but that they were cut in peices. But the mean while these were Fighting, those who had the conducting of the Moneys, relying upon their knowledge of the wayes, and the darkness of the night, went over the sharpest tops of Mountains, and saved this prey, which the Venetian Souldiers thought themselves almost sure of. But these things made little for the main business, nor did they conduce any thing to putting of an end unto the War: And much greater businesses began now to be agitated, by reason of the news of the Emperours coming for *Italy*, which news encreased every day, affording both the Besieged and the Besiegers, various effects, both of hope and fear; and many new things were broaching both in the City, and in the Camp. The Emperour had raised many Horse and Foot in his own Dominions, and having egg'd on many Switzers to take up Arms, he was already upon his way for *Italy*, intending to enter by the Mountains of *Trent*, into the Territories of *Verona*, and when he should have munit the Garrisons of *Verona* and *Brescia*, to pass into the State of *Millan*, and drive the French from thence: When the Pope heard of his coming, for his greater honour, and to witness how well he stood affected to him, he sent his Legate *Bernardo Bibiena*, to meet him, a man of great note, both for his honour of being a Cardinal, and for his favour with the Pope; which did not a little molest *Cesar's* Affairs, nor confirme the Switzers. The Venetians, beleaving for certain that the Emperour would come for *Italy*, did several times earnestly entreat the King of *France* to provide betimes for the common Affair, and not to suffer himself to be bereft of the fruit of so much labour, neither

neither by *Cesar*, nor by the Switzers, who envied his glory; That therefore he should either return arm'd himself into *Italy*, or if that might not be, to encrease his Army lustily, and to take order for all such provisions as the greatness of the Affayr did require; as for their part, they promised to spare for neither cost, nor labour. The King was very much troubled at these things, not only for the danger which he saw the Dukedom of *Millan* would be in, but because it would be a great hinderance to him afterwards in the business of *Naples*, which he had set his heart upon. Being resolved to defend his own Territories, and those of his confederates, he first propounded to the Venetians that 8000 Switzers might be taken into pay at the common charge; for having opportunely made League at this time with that Nation, in their agreement it was particularly declared, that it might be lawful for the King to have as many Souldiers out of their Country as he should please. To this the Venetians assented readily, promising for their parts to pay 2000 Foot of that Nation, and to be ready to disburse monies for all other necessaries for the War. And though the publick Treasury was already much exhausted, and the whole City mightily oppress'd by the weight of so long a War, yet was there no provision so-mitted which was thought necessary for maintaining the Army, and continuing the War. Four thousand Italian Foot were raised, the Garrisons of Cities increased; *Paulo Gradinigo* and *Luigi Barbaro* were made Commissaries; the former to have particular care of all things belonging to the Militia in *Padua*, the other, the like in *Treviso*.

There were at this time in our camp 4000 Gasconne Foot and 500 Curassiers, commanded by French men; in the Army which was particularly under *Trivulzio's* charge were 7000 Foot, & about 2500 Horse, part light Horse, part Curassiers. The Duke of *Bourbone*, after the Kings departure, had with him 4000 Gasconne and Italian Foot, and 700 Curassiers; these men being all joyn'd together, & the Switzers Foot being likewise to be added to them, whereof 6000 were already said to be come to *Jurea*, the French and the Venetians might seem to have great hopes of being therewithal able to defend the State of *Millan*, and to frustrate all the Emperours endeavours; for though it were given out that *Cesar* brought with him 25000 Souldiers to this Enterprize, yet it was confidently believed that his Army was more numerous then valiant, and that their other Requisites for War were not answerable; for the Dutch Foot were for the most part raised in his own Dominions, and tumultuously of all sorts of men; that his Horse were few, and unexperienced, the provision of victuals and monies but small, and no great constancy in the Commander himself to support these inconveniences, nor much knowledge how to remedy them. There was only one thing which seemed to make for the strength of this Army, to wit, the Switzers Forces; yet *Cesar* could not much confide in them, by reason of their changeable disposition, and for a certain ill will they bore to the House of *Austria*: Therefore these Forces of the Emperours being greater in fame, then in reality, it was thought that the Venetians would encounter with them, and fight them with all their men, as soon as they were come near their confines; lest any longer delay might shew fear in them, and make the Enemy grow the bolder: and left their

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affairs might fare the worse as if they durst not look the Enemy in the face, but had yielded the field unto them. They therefore considered, that though they should resolve not to give Battle, yet they might chuse some strong place opposite to the Enemies Quarters, wherein they might keep, and observe *Cesar's* ways, and search into his counsels, and then change place and purpose according as time and occasion should counsel them. Yet because the French were of a contrary opinion, the whole Army was brought from the Territories of *Brescia*, and brought into those of *Cremona*, whither the Duke of *Bourbone* was come but a little before with his Horse and Foot.

Their attention was to wait for the Switzers here, who were not yet past by, and to keep them from passing. *Maximilian* being this mean while past over the River *Adice* with all his men, came to the Town of *Gussadenga*, having met with many Souldiers from *Verona* in his March, as also with *Mark Antonio Colonna* with 200 Horse; for the Venetian Army being drawn off, they thought they might find all things sure in that Country. *Cesar* being entred into the *Brescian* Confines, resolved before he would go any farther, to possess himself either by fair means or by foul of the Town of *Asola*, which is the first Town on that side of the Country, thinking it neither became his safety nor his honour, to leave any place behind him in the power of the Enemy, whereby they might keep back victuals from his Army. But this proving a business of great length by reason of the Defendants valour, all other warlike Proceedings were impeded, and in the mean time the French had better opportunity to increase their Army. Much praise was attributed for this to *Francisco Contarini*, Commissary of the Town, to *Antonio Martinengo*, and to all the rest as well Souldiers as Citizens that were in the Town; for having with so few men, but much courage withstood so great an Army, and by defending *Asola* frustrated the Forces of so great a Prince, and much lessened his reputation; since with expence of much time and labour he could not get so small a Castle. Yet the Switzers had won such reputation and credit in their last Skirmishes, as the French resolved neither to keep where they were, nor to hazard themselves upon the event of Battle, unless their Army were munited and increased by the same Nation. Wherefore *Maximilian* being gone from before *Asola*, after having spent much time there in vain, for fear lest by keeping so great an Army so long a time, before so little a Town, his Souldiers might be discouraged, and might miss of doing greater matters; the French Commanders when they heard of his being gone, called suddenly a Council of War, wherein they resolved to raise their camp, and to carry it to the River *Adi*, hoping that by keeping upon the Banks thereof, they might hold the Enemy play, and hinder them from passing over the River. But the French and Venetians were not well gone from thence, when all that lay between the Rivers *Poe* and *Adice*, fell into the Emperours hands, except *Cremona* and *Crena*, which redounded so much to his honour, and to the terror of the others, as the French neither confiding in themselves nor in others, march'd away with their Army so suddenly, and so fast towards *Millan*, as it was doubted, whether they went thither to defend the City, or to be defended themselves by the Walls thereof.

of. *Maximilian*, making use of opportunity, pursued those that fled, and began already to promise all good success unto himself, and staying six miles from *Millan*, he let the City know,

That if it did not surrender all the sooner, it must look for all severity: But if it would yield to him of its own good will, it might presume of obtaining many immunities, and much more freedom in all things. Affirming that he was come into Italy with intention, according to the custom of his Ancestors, of taking up the Ensigns of the Empire in that City, and to drive the French from thence, and out of that State, who were unjust and unlawful Lords thereof, and to recover the right dues of the Empire. This Message was answered, as pleased the French; that the State of *Millan* which was formerly a member of the Empire, was sever'd from thence by authority of the Emperours, and for a certain sum of money which was paid down for it; that therefore *Cesar* had now no more pretence to that City, which both by right of inheritance, and right of War, was lawfully possess'd by *Francis Vallois King of France*; that therefore the *Millanese* would keep that City for their legitimate Lord, to whom they had sworn Loyalty, and that they had so provided for all things, as they doubted not but to be able to defend the City against all injurious violence.

Yet all things were full of fear in that City, the Citizens and Souldiers doubted much what the issue of the War would be, and not knowing well how to provide for their own safeties, which they more minded then the preserving of the State for the King, all their consultations were full of fear and doubts: Amidst these doubts and difficulties, the Venetian Commissaries, especially *Andrea Gritti*, who had most power with the French, being firmly resolved to defend the City,

Exhorted all the rest to do their utmost, and to be of good courage; they put the Citizens sometimes in mind of the Kings humanity towards them, sometime of what punishment they were to suffer if they should often provoke his anger; they likewise apply'd themselves to many of the chief of the Army, entreating them, and conjuring them, that calling to mind their late Victory, and the Glory which they had won, they should resolve upon serving the King and the Venetians: That the cause and common interest was the same therein, and that the business itself was not desperate, if it were courageously and constantly defended; to what purpose (said *Gritti*) do the French take such pains, and put themselves into so much danger, to what purpose do they send so many Armies into Lombardy, if at the very first appearance of the Enemy all defence must be given over, and those things must be yielded, which they have gotten with long War, and with much expence, yea even of their own blood? We, as knowing the Senates intention, and the like of our whole City of running the same fortune with the French, will willingly expose all our men and all our Forces, not refusing to endeavour every thing to even to the utmost.

Thus by *Gritti* his counsel and exhortation, the Suburbs of the City were set on fire, to the end that the Enemy might not make use of them for their advantage; great Guns were placed upon the Walls, divers Corps de garde were ordained, and all things were prepared for defence. These provisions did somewhat cool the Enemies courage, and afforded them occasion of many doubts and difficulties, so as taking time to think what to do, those within began to be of better hopes; for

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in this interim many Colours of the Switzers came opportunely to *Millan*, commanded by *Alberto Pietra*, to the number of 4000, of the Cantons of *Sedano* and *Berne*, who were very welcome to the Souldiers and Citizens. By their coming the faces of things altered; all fear fled from the French to the Imperialists; for the City being munited by such supplies, so as it was not to be taken but with expence of much time and labour, they within thought themselves safe enough, since *Cesar* could not tarry long before the City for want of money, victuals, and of all things necessary. Wherefore the French began to be of better heart, and on the contrary, *Cesars* hardships grew daily greater and greater. But he was chiefly troubled with jealousy of the Switzers, for calling to mind the past and present affairs, he found that there were many of that Nation as well in his camp, as in the City; whom the French might easily win over unto them by their moneys, which he could not so easily do by reason of his want thereof. Moreover, that that Nation had always, unless it were upon some occasions in these latter times, been great friends to the French: And that they had always hated the greatness of the Emperours. These considerations occasioned much fear in him, and took from him the chief ground work of his hopes of Victory. He likewise thought with much more commotion of mind, upon *Lodovico Sforza's* latter fortune near *Novara*, where he was delivered up into the hands of the Enemy, by the perfidiousness of those people. He therefore held it the better counsel to free himself from that danger by reason of the Switzers sickness. At last his mind being agitated by such like thoughts as these, and fear growing more powerful in him, he resolved to quit his Army without having attempted any thing, and to return himself into *Germany*. Wherefore taking only 200 Horse along with him, he gave out that the cause of his departure was only to provide monies for the payment of the Army, and that he would speedily return to the camp. But the Souldiers seeing their chief Commander gone, began every one to do what he thought best for himself. The Switzers went to *Lodi*, and ruining the Country every where, sack'd the City: And would have continued to commit the like Out-rages, had not the Switzers which were in *Millan* protested, that unless they would give over those injurious Proceedings, they should be forced to come out against them, together with the French and Venetians; so as Switzers fighting against Switzers, they were to imbrue their hands in one anothers blood. The former Switzers for this respect forbearing doing any other damage, after having made some peaceful abode in those parts some few days, returned all of them to their own homes, except it were some few companies, who went with their Commander *Morco Setio* to the custody of *Verona*, whither *Colonna* went also with his Horse, and with the Spanish and Dutch Foot who were before drawn out from that Garrison. The rest of the Spanish and Dutch Foot, returned by several ways into their own Countries, having been much prejudiced in their journey by the Venetian Horse.

Soon after the Emperours departure came the Marquess of *Brandenburg* to the camp with a certain sum of money, who though he did his best to rally the Souldiers that disbanded, yet things being already

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grown to great confusion, and the Moneys that were brought not being sufficient to satisfy all, he could do no good. Thus a great Army, which was at first so formidable to the Enemy, being in so short a time vanish to nothing; not any danger at all having befallen it, may teach us that men are oftentimes deluded in their Councils by various accidents, and meet with much unexpected ends: And that we are often times deceived through hopes, and fears, arising out of meer opinion, without discerning any thing, save the first appearances.

In this perturbation of Affairs, the no great good will which was between the Pope and King of France, began to be more manifestly known, sprung from former reasons, which were unknown till now; for King Francis complained that the Pope, out of some bad intention, had forestowed the sending of such recruits unto his Army, as by agreement he was bound to do, that he had privately incited the Switzers against him, and had given many other signs of his bad inclination towards him. Certainly 'tis worthy note (since occasion leads me thereunto) with how many several affections, and sometimes contrary within themselves, the minds of Princes are agitated. Pope Leo, and King Francis, thought when they parted at Bullen, that they had sufficiently provided for their Affairs; and that the Friendship and League that was confirm'd betwixt them, was likely to last long, and to be cause of much safety to them both: But soon after, construing the same Affairs otherwise, they began to doubt that the things agreed upon between them would not be observed; so as each of them grew jealous of the other. The Pope being conscious how bitter, and open an Enemy he had already shewed himself unto the French, how often he had abused their hopes, under a fained pretence of Friendship; that even then when they were in treaty of reconciliation he would not satisfy him in many things, prest hard upon by the King, in behalf of his Friends and Confederates; began to doubt the King of France could never be his true Friend: Moreover, calling to minde the many injuries done by the two preceding Kings, Charles, and Lewis, to the house of Medici, he could not persuade himself that then when the French hoped to get some principal places in Italy, King Francis could willingly tolerate the greatness of Lorenzo de Medici, should still increase; whereby he had opportunity given him to revenge the ancient injuries done to the prejudice of his reputation, and to the States which he held in Italy. On the contrary, the King thinking that the same reasons remained still, which had formerly disgratiated him with the Pope; and that this the Pope's ill will towards him was the more increased, by how much his power was increased in Italy, and was become more formidable to him, interpreted all things to the worst, and according to this his apprehension, that Leo had concealed his true intentions from him, that it was necessary which had made him accommodate himself to the condition of the times at their meeting; and that as soon as he should meet with any means of hurting him, this would evidently be seen. The Venetians labour'd off to free these Princes of these suspitions, and fought by all means how to reconcile them; for they knew how much it import'd the strength and reputation of the League, that the Pope, King of France, and Common-wealth, should

should hold true intelligence together; and did of all things abhorre to be necessitated to take up Arms against the Church; wherefore passing by the injuries they had received from Leo, they desired to have him leis their Enemy. The King of England did also oft times out of the said reasons, endeavour to bring these two Princes to fair terms; for that it very well became a great and wise Prince as he was, and who had alwaies prefer'd the Interest of Christian Religion before any self-respect, to use his best endeavours to introduce peace amongst Christian Princes, that they might be able to defend their States against the Turks; who having overcome the King of Persia in Battle, totally destroyed the Empire of the Mamalucky, and taken the Kingdome from Camisone Gaur, King of Memphis, did very much advance by the ruine of other men; and to the end that they might win greater Favour and Authority with the King, the Senate, knowing that it would be acceptable and commodious to the Kingdome of England, resolved to send their great Gallioans, towards the Rodes of that Island, which had not for some late years been upon those Seas.

Whilst these things were treated of by Embassadors, the War did notwithstanding, still go on; for after the Switzers and Dutch were gone, Lautrech, having left sufficient Garrison in Milan, drew all the Army out of the City, and not making any delay, marched into the Territories of Brescia, intending to renew the Siege of that Town; the Duke of Burbone, being at this time gone from Italy, the supreme Government of the Kings affairs were intrusted with Lautrech, a man famous for many indowments of mind, and who would have been more famous in War, had he not been too much opinionated. After the departure of Cesar's Army, the City of Brescia was left almost without any defendants; for the Souldiers of the Garrison, seeing Cesar grow less in his reputation, and having no hopes of relief; being also weary of the toylsome labours, and inconveniencies of the late Siege, and not having received their pay at due times, were some of them returned home, and some gone over to the Venetian Camp: So there were but only 700 Spanish Foot left to guard the City, under Captain Hicardo, but these were all men of known Valour, and Integrity; Wherefore the Venetian Commanders thinking they might now hope well to get that City, made the more haste, not tarrying for the French (who followed them a little more slowly) to the end that finding the Enemy unprovided, they might be the more confused at their unexpected approach. Thus though the night came on whilst they were on their March, not allowing any the least time for the Souldiers to rest themselves, at the very instant of their Arrival they ordered their men before the Walls, and suddenly clapt their scaling Ladders thereunto, by which many of them began already boldly to mount, and to put for entering the Town. The Foot who were upon the defence, astonished at this unexpected accident, and confounded by the darkness of the night, ran up and down every where, striving to keep the Ladders from off the Walls; and if any of our men were got up to the tops thereof, they threw them down; they fought in several places, endeavouring to defend themselves, some here, and some there: They at the same time minded fighting the Enemy, and their own defence: The

Combate drawing forth thus in length, the Enemy having borne the first brunt, grew hourly more corragious, so as the Venetians being in a disadvantageous place, where they could neither tarry, nor fight, were forced to quit the Enterprize, and to retreat. It was afterwards known that this designe miscarried by the Ladders being too short, soon after came *Lautrech*, with his Army, wherefore the Commanders thinking they were now strong enough, endeavoured to doe their best to storme the City: They surrounded the Walls with 5. bodies, and placed their Cannon in such parts as they thought most convenient, and began to play so furiously upon the Walls, as in a short time a part thereof fell down to the ground, which facilitated the way to make an Assault: Amidst these dangers and difficulties, *Hiccardo*, not at all discouraged, provided carefully for all things, not refusing any labour, and all the Souldiers being equally desirous to defend the City, labour'd both day and night about the Walls, by day in repairing the Rampiers, by night in bringing the Rubbish into the Town, wherewith they quickly raised new Rampiers where the Wall was broken down; but the ruine which were made by so many Batteries, could not be repaired in so short a time, nor by so few men; nor could sufficient Guards be kept in all necessary places at once: Wherefore *Hiccardo* understanding that the Enemy were ready to give an Assault, which he could not sustaine without evident ruine to himself, and his men, he resolved to surrender the Town. This was welcome News to the Venetians, who desired the preservation of that Noble City, and to returne it unto the Common-wealth undefaced or ranfact, which would have been hard to doe, if the City had been taken by force; the Commanders not being able often times to refrain the insolency and rapine of the Souldiers, especially if Forreigners.

Truce was therefore made by a certaine tacite consent of both sides; and by Messages sent between the Town and the Camp, an agreement was made upon these conditions.

That the City should be delivered up to Lautrech, unless it were releev'd by 8000 men within three days, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be permitted to goe whither they list'd, provided it were not to Verona; that no prejudice should be done to the City, neither by the Venetian Souldiers, nor by the French; and that it should be lawful for the Count Gambarras, and for some few Citizens who had adhered to Cesar's party, to enjoy their Country and all their goods, and that all their faults should be forgiven them.

These conditions were the more easily given way unto, for that it was confidently beleeved to great a supply could not come unto the City in so short a time; for the Dutch Souldiers who were come to the Castle of *Anso* to relieve the Besieged, were returned back, being routed and put to flight, by a greater number of our Souldiers.

Things being thus agreed upon, and no succour appearing within the pre-limited time, *Hiccardo* and all his Souldiers march'd out of the Town in good order with their Colours flying, and Drums beating; and at the same time *Lautrech* and the Venetian Commissaries entred, who were received by a great concourse of people of all conditions, and of all ages, manifesting shews of much joy, whereby they witnesed

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their good will to the Common-wealth. *Lautrech* took possession of the City first, and then presently delivered it up to the Venetian Commissaries, and the Common-wealths Standard was set up. Thus this famous City after so great confusion of affairs, having suffer'd very much and run several fortunes in War, returned under the Dominion of her ancient Masters, and was restored to her former peaceable condition. When the News of the recovery of *Brescia* came to *Venice*, great joy was throughout all the City, and the Citizens by this success began to have better hopes of putting an end unto the War. The Venetians did always make very great account of *Brescia*, by reason of the number of her Inhabitants, and she was of great service to the Common-wealth by means of her fruitful, rich, and copious fields; and moreover because the Gentry and commonalty therein were ever held to be faithful and loving to their Country. The Senate gave many thanks to the King of *France* for that by the ready assistance of his men they had re-gained that City, wherein, as his Commanders had shewn singular Worth, as should always be by them acknowledged, so did his Majesty share in the glory, and the Common-wealths obligations to him was much increased thereby.

Letters were likewise written to Lautrech, wherein as his faith and diligence were much commended, so was he desired to make use of such fitting occasions as did offer themselves for other prosperous successes, since the fortune of the Common-wealth began to alter. They put him in mind, that if the Army (who were very desirous of the Enterprize) were suddenly carried to before the Walls of Verona, they might be almost sure to get that City; and so the whole War would be prosperously ended; that he could do nothing that would redound more to his own glory and to the advantage of his King than this; for assuredly when the Common-wealth of Venice should chiefly by the aid and favour of the French, be restored to her pristine greatness, their Empire would be confirmed for many years in Italy, to his particular and immortal glory, whereof he having shew'd himself to be at all times desirous, he needed imitate no body but himself.

Lautrech being much taken, as it appeared by these Speeches, he resolv'd to march with his camp in company with *Trivulcio* towards the Territories of *Verona*; but being come to *Peschiera* whilst the Army was yet on this side the River *Menzo*, *Lautrech* told the Venetian Commissaries, who expected nothing less at this time,

That he could not tarry longer then three days in the Territories of Verona, for that he had had intelligence, that the Swissers were resolv'd to take up Arms, and that they were already prepared to assault the Dukedom of Millan, the danger whereof being considered, he thought it would make much against the Service of his King to keep his men any longer farther off from the Coynes of that State.

These things being propounded in the Council, they were all of a joyn't opinion, not to remove the camp from the place where it was, but to tarry there, till they might have some more certain News of the Swissers moving, which was brought to the camp only by a flying rumour.

Left if the Army should advance farther, and be doubtful whether it should tarry there any longer or no, they might make men believe by their sudden departure that they had rais'd the Army for want of Forces, or for fear

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of the Enemies approach, and out of despairing to do any good upon Verona, which would make them lose the reputation they had won by their prosperous success at Brescia, and whereas now they were a terror to their Enemies, they would become their scorn.

But the News of the Switzers advancing increasing daily, Lautrech would needs carry the whole Army into the State of Milan. And though this resolution was gain-said by all the other Commanders, who alledged,

That the place where the Army now was, was naturally very strong, and very fit wherein to put on such Resolves as the condition of Affairs, or the Enemies March, which was then uncertain, should require.

Yet he standing fix'd to his opinion of removing the camp, moved that it should be carried to near *Asola*, in the Breician Territories; alledging,

That Verona was then gallantly garrison'd, for that after the disbanding of Cæsars Army, many of the Switzers and Dutch were retreated thither; so as that Attempt was likely to prove vain, and that therefore to undertake a difficult business, without assured hopes of effecting it, was no better then to hinder themselves in their other Proceedings, and to confound the whole Government of the War. He added hereunto sometimes (to find other excuses for his counsel) that the Venetians had given ear to the King of Poland, who was said to have treated of peace by his Embassadors, wherefore they were to expect an issue of that Treaty, before they fell upon any other business; and finally he complain'd that monies were not sent at the time appointed to pay the 6000 Dutch Foot, as the Common-wealth had promised.

Gritti gain-said all these assertions, saying that things were much otherwise then Lautrech had represented them to be.

That there was a great scarcity of all things in Verona, especially of Corn; that the Garrison which was entr'd therein, was likely to be a greater inconvenience to the City through the dearth of Corn, then a safety by increasing the numbers of the Defendants; that if the Army should fall off then when the Harvest was so near at hand, and should afford the Enemy opportunity to gather in the fruits of the Earth, and bring them into the City, they must make account to attempt the same Enterprize upon much greater disadvantage at another time, when they should have no other hopes then what lay in their Forces and Weapons; and that not without much danger, and uncertainty of good success. Moreover, that they understood by those Souldiers that were fled into their Camp, that there was great falling out in the City between the Citizens and the Souldiers, and great confusion in all things, whereby the Affairs of War were treated of with much negligence and jealousy: That therefore when the Army should draw near, 'twas likely that the people, partly to provide for their own safeties, and others out of their affections to the parties they sided withal, would make some commotion, and afford better opportunity of gaining the City. Assuredly said Gritti, it is not to be believed that the Senate of Venice should rest of any thing touching peace with the Polish Embassador, contrary to the will of the King of France, nor yet so much as without his knowledge; the constancy of the Senators having been such, and so manifest, in renewing the War for so long a time, their observancy towards the King, and their confidence in the French Nation having been so great, as that they had often times refused fair conditions of peace

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which had been offer'd them, and had always studied the Kings greatness no less then the good of the Common-wealth, which might be witnessed as well by their actions of the former year, as now of latter days near Milan; wherein rather an express Commandment; then tacite consent, came from the Senate. Let these suspicions and jealousies then cease, and let them not prevail so far as to make any of us less ready to do what the common good doth counsel; the monies which are due to the Dutch Foot are already prepared, and as soon as the ways shall be safe and open, they will doubtless be brought to the Camp; but when I think of our departure from hence, and of our going into the Breician Territories, I find that greater inconveniences will insue thereby: And the like will befall our City; for the people of that Country who have been always faithful to the Common-wealth, and who have suffer'd so much by the Wars, now when they should begin to make themselves whole, will be oppress'd almost with their late former grievances, by the coming of so great an Army into their precincts; since it is they that must feed it. So we shall be burthen'd to our friends, and shall forbear our Enemies; we shall lessen the affections of the former, and encourage the others. When Gritti had spoke thus, to confirm his opinion, he added; that though Lautrech should not follow them, his opinion was that the Venetian Army should of, and by it self, march into the Territories of Verona.

The Captain General, and all the rest of the Venetian Commanders were of the same opinion with Gritti, so as certainly his opinion would have been followed, if after more mature consideration, they had not feared, that such a resolution would in some other respects be prejudicial to the Common-wealth; for by this division of the Army, the forces of the League would not only be diminished, but the Enemies would believe by this disagreement of the Commanders, that the confederate Princes might easily be divided. But Lautrech, were it either in pursuance of his nature, which was not to part easily from his opinion, or that he would not willingly hazard the glory of having recovered Brescia, to any new events of War; could never be perswaded either by reason or by entreaties to venture upon the taking of Verona, but with much ado yielded at last to tarry awhile in those Quarters where he was. The opinion of many was afterwards confirm'd by the sequel of things, that Lautrech having notice of a Treaty of agreement which was in hand between King Francis and Charles Duke of Burgundy, which was begun in the City of *Nejon*, did by thus drawing things out at length, more mind his Kings conveniency, then either his own praise, or the Venetians service. The Senate being this mean while inform'd of all these passages, and esteeming it to be very disadvantageous and contrary to their designs, to permit the Enemies who were in Verona, to gather in their Harvest, they charged Commissary Paulo Gradinigo to draw forth a Band of the best Souldiers that were in Garrison at Padua, and that with them, and those that were in the Territories of Vicenza under the Government of Frederick Goussaga, he should over-run the confines of Verona, spoil the corn which was upon the ground, and use all means possible to keep the corn from being brought into Verona. But the Enemy being advertis'd of these mens departure, went unexpectedly out of Verona, and going by another way then our men did, went into the Territories of Vicenza and Padua, and did much mischief.

Lautrech

Lautrech had stay'd in the same Quarters about some thirty days when the News of the Switzers being quite over, and having no other reason for his so long delay, growing likewise suspicious that it might redound somewhat to his disparagement that he had kept the Army so long idle, and had lost so much time, he resolv'd at last to remove the camp, and to go into the Territories of *Verona*; whereunto he was the rather moved by a protestation made by the Venetian Commissaries that else they would not issue forth the monies which were then come to the camp for the Dutch Souldiers. The camp being rais'd the first day of *August*, all the Army was led to the Town *Gotalençe*, to be pass'd over the River *Adice*. The first thing the Commanders did was to possess themselves of the straightest passages of the Mountains, by which the Dutch were wont to come from *Germany* to *Verona*, by placing good Guards in them; to the end that the ways being block'd up, the City might be kept from being relieved: By which means the Spanish and Dutch Foot, (corn growing every day dearer and dearer, and not having received their pay from *Cesar*, whereby to help their many inconveniences) pass'd over in great numbers to the Venetian camp, where they were willingly received and muster'd amongst their Militia. And the Switzers, moved by the example of others, and hating the great inconveniences of a Siege, return'd most of them to their own homes. There were then in Our Army 8000 Italian Foot, and 6000 Dutch, to boot with the French aid; 1000 Curassiers, 2000 light Horse, many famous Commanders in War, and all other things necessary for the taking in of the City. It was resolv'd that the Army being divided into two camps, the City should be begirt on two sides; to the end that the Defendants, who were already reduced to a small number might be the sooner wearied by doing perpetual duties. These things being begun to be put in execution, as was resolv'd of in counsel, the Dutch Souldiers, though they had received three moneths pay, began to mutiny, and refused to obey their Commanders; and though *Trivulcio* was already on his March with his other companies, they would not stir from where they were; saying they would not carry Arms against the Emperour, nor be led to the taking of a City possess'd by him. These men not being to be perswaded out of their opinion, the Venetian Souldiers not being able to do of themselves what was particularly recommended to *Trivulcio*, *Lautrech*, promised to give them other companies out of his Souldiers, but considering afterwards that by the loss of those men his Army would be much weakened, and his camp not be over safe, he changed his mind, and without attempting any thing, fell aloof off two miles from the City; and the Venetians were forc'd to do the like, for they were not able to do any thing of themselves. This mean while the Garrison began daily to decrease within the City, for many Dutch Colours return'd home, and others pass'd over to the Venetian camp; and came in such numbers, as no more fugitive Souldiers would be received into the camp; for the Venetians remembered that these men were rather a trouble and an expence then any aid; wherefore they thought it not safe to relye upon their Loyalties: And they feared likewise lest a much greater number of Mountainers, who had formerly been in *Cesar's* camp, seeing such hopes of gain given them, and that they

they might get those pays from *Cesar's* Enemies which he had not paid them might descend from the neighbouring Villages, into the Territories of *Verona*.

Yet so many were the defendants, as though great store were gone, the City was notwithstanding well munited: Wherefore *Lautrech* not thinking it fit to attempt any thing without the hopes of effecting it, demanded more help of the Venetians, if they would have him take *Verona*; which though it were hard to do, yet that they might not leave a business of so great importance unattempted, they sent 4000 Foot to the Camp, and great store of Artillery, Powder, and Victuals, that nothing might be wanting which was necessary for War: All sufficient provisions being had, the Army drew neer the Walls of *Verona*: This City is divided by the River *Adice*, which runs through the midst of it, into two parts; and is walled round about by Walls which look upon a large Campagna, and are in compass 7 miles about; neer unto which are great Rampiers of earth, which take up the greatest part of the space which lies between the Wall and the Houses of the City, whereby the Wall is so secured, as it cannot easily be shot through, nor beaten down by the Cannon.

There are besides in the Walls themselves divers Bastions of several forms and greatnes; which bearing out beyond the right line of the Wall in certain fit places, are very proper to disturb the Enemies Artillery, to keep the Enemy aloof from the Wall, and for the safety of the Souldiers who stand thereupon to defend the Town: The City was therefore thought to be strong enough, and safe according to the custom of those times, and the then manner of fighting; and the rather for the Count *Carreto*, who had the Government of that City, had added several new works, the year before, to the old Fortifications, which made it more defenceable. Moreover great store of Artillery were carried thither, and many expert Cannoniers. And the Garrison was not to be esteem'd small, for besides Horse, there were about 6000 Foot, what Spanish, what Dutch, what Switzers, in the City; who were all commanded in cheif by *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who was now no longer a Commander under the Pope, but under *Cesar*; a man very expert in Military Discipline, which he had learnt by being under *Prospero*, and *Fabritio Colonna*, in the Wars, very Famous Commanders in those times. He was very ambitious of glory in War, more of which he would have won had he not been given, according to the abuse of those times, too much to pillaging, and to other barbarous and dishonourable deportments. He had been very diligent in preparing all things fitting for defence, and having carefully, and with much confidence, exhorted the Souldiers, and Citizens to stand upon their defence, he expected an Assault.

Lautrech on the other side, divided his Army into two Camps; he pitcht himself, with his Foot and Horse, over against that part of the City, which lies towards *Mantua*; and *Trivulcio* having pass'd over the *Adice*, with his Venetians, sat down with them opposite to that part of the Wall that looks towards *Vicenza*. Both Camps began to play upon the Walls at one and the same time, but with some difference of designe; for *Lautrech* placed all the force of his Artillery, against one

only part, that he might make way for his men to enter the City, and that the Enemy might not have leisure to repair the breach made in the Walls by the violence of Cannon shot. But *Trivulzio* having taken more room to encamp himself, began to batter a larger place of the Wall, hoping that when he should have thrown it all down, he might fight upon better advantage; since the Enemy not knowing where the Assault would be given, must consequently be employ'd in several places. *Lautrech* having observed that a certain place, near the Gate commonly called *della Calcina*, was not very strong, for there was there no other defence, but one antient weak Tower, he turned his Cannon upon it, and having quickly beaten it down, he commanded his Souldiers to goe presently to the wall, who being encouraged by their Commanders, and egg'd on by the hopes of sacking so rich a City, went boldly on, and making haste that they might soon get out of the danger of Cannon shot, they came to handy blows with the Enemy, and a valiant fight was performed on all sides. The French, to win praise and shun shame, strove to get to where the Enemy were thickest, knowing that they fought in their Commanders sight; for *Monsieur de Lesou*, *Lautrech's* brother looked on, and was a witness of each mans Valour and Cowardlineis. But the Spanish and Dutch Foot were full of confidence, calling to mind their own Gallantrie, and what they had done formerly, which made them the bolder against danger; for they were all Veteran Souldiers, who had been present at all these wars of Italy. The Assault was given, and sustained, with equal Valour. The Enemy brought many of their Artillery into the vacant place where the Tower had stood, and where the Combate was, and placing them in some more eminent parts, plaid therewith apace upon the French on the flank, and made much slaughter upon them. So as having lost many of their men, they were forced to retreat unto the Camp. But *Trivulzio*, although he had already thrown down a good part of the Wall, and that there was space enough for the Souldiers to have Assaulted the City, forbore falling on; being aware that a great number of the defendants, having well munited the place from whence they had repulst the French, were run thither where they knew the greatest Effort was made to assist the weaker side; whereof *Trivulzio* gave notice to *Lautrech*, and desired some men of him, that he might the more safely attempt to take the City: But *Lautrech*, though he might very well have done it, for the Venetians and French Camp were so joyned together by means of a very strong and safe Bridge which was made over the *Adice*, as the one might assist the other, and though he had often promised to send him assistance, yet he prolonged the time, and sent none; it was now 15 daies since the Camp before the City, and the Enemy was reduced to great extremety, a great part of the Wall was thrown down, the Souldiers were weary with fighting, great scarcity of Powder, and the Commanders, and Citizens differed in their opinions: All which things invited to make hast, and yet the business must be drawn out at length. This meantime news came to the Camp that a strong band of Dutch Foot came speedily to relieve the Besieged, and that they had already upon Articles taken the Castle *della Chiosta*, which they had Assaulted at unawares, so as the way was

was

was open, for them to enter the City. *Lautrech* was hereat more discouraged then he had reason to be, which made him give over all thought of continuing the Siege; so as he seemed not to mind it much now, and that measuring more according to opinion then reality, he was solicitous of nothing but how to carry his Army quickly to a place of safety: At which sudden change, and pernicious resolution, the Venetian Commissaries being much perplext, they went unto him, and did all they could to entreat and to conjure him, by the loyalty he ought unto his King, and for his own honour, that he would not too much undervalue his owne Affairs, the reputation whereof he ought to inhaunce as much as he could.

They told him that it was usual to report the Forces, of Enemies to be greater then they were because the Authors of such News doe invent many things according as feare dictates unto them; but grant that all wast to be believed, that was reported; none affirmed that the Enemies Forces exceeded 7000 Foot, and those with out any Military Discipline, and without any War-like preparations; that a more unworthy resolution, nor more prejudicial to their honour, could not be taken, then to shew unto the Enemy by raising of their Camp, wherein there was above 20000 Souldiers, many renowned Commanderes, gallant Horses both for Number and Worth, store of all things necessary, that they did so feare so small a number of the Enemy, as at the very News of their approach, they had retired themselves; so as they might with reason be thought to be driven out of their Quarters, and to have given over all hopes of Victory: And wherefore (said they) should we not think rather of sending out our light Horse, followed by our swiftest Foot, to encounter and oppose the Enemy? The business would not last long, nor would it be difficult, since those men who had no experience in war, and were unprovided of all things, would easily be put in disorder, and routed: And say they should prove so stout, as to stand and make resistance; a little delay of succor, would make it come too late, and doe noe good, since if we doe resolve to use our utmost power, the City must needs yield, and fall into our hands, at the first or second Assault.

To these things *Lautrech* answered.

That he had not taken this resolution by chance, or moved thereunto by any feare; but that he thought it fitting to doe so, that he might in time provide for the safety of those men who were opposed by two Armies of the Enemy, the one within the City, the other upon the Mountains: That the Dutch Foot were already gotten out of the straightest and most difficult waies, and that there was no hopes to keep them off, since they were already Masters of the passes that were naturally strong: It was therefore to be considered, that if they should send some few men against them it would be but in vaine; and that the nature of the places, the straight and Rocky waies would not permit them to send many. That he had a care of the safety of that Army, which being divided into two Camps, was thereby the weaker: So as if they should lessen the numbers of their men by sending a great number to this action, they should not a little indanger the main business; since several accidents might bereave our Camps (which were divided by the River into two parts) of the means of Interchangeably succouring one another, if they should be Assaulted by the Enemy.

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Lautrech's

Lautrech standing thus firm to his first opinion, he commanded that the Ensigns should be suddenly removed, wherein being followed by the other Commanders, all the Army was brought to *Albarede*; Commissary *Paolo Gradinigo*, and *Giován Paolo Manfrone* being left with 800 Horse, and 2000 Foot to guard the Bridge left if it should be broken, the Army might not know how to come by victuals; but the Army having tarried there but a little while, went to *Villa Franca*, where they took up their Quarters, and fortified themselves. They began then to think upon the main business; but the advisers differing in their opinions, nothing was concluded on.

This mean while *Rocadolfo* who commanded the Dutch Foot, our Army being gone, and there being none to hinder him, entered into *Verona*; and having brought good store of corn, wine, and cattle into the City, he tarried there some few days, and leaving many of his found men in the places of such as were weak and wounded, fearing lest his longer abode there might prove incommodious to the City by reason of the scarcity of corn, he return'd into *Germany*.

Our Souldiers, though they were removed from before the City, and though it were in the depth of Winter, did not notwithstanding forbear to over-run all the neighbouring Country, to keep victuals from being brought to *Verona*. Whereupon many slight Skirmishes were had, and chiefly by the Horse; for the Enemy issuing out of the Town, endeavour'd to bring in some corn to amend the scarcity thereof; and our men on the contrary going out of the camp, and falling upon the Enemy as they were scatter'd abroad here and there, did seek to keep them from so doing. In these Skirmishes *Mercurio Bua* and *Babone Naldo* won great praise both for Man-like valour, and Military cunning; they left nothing quiet nor safe for the Enemy in that Country; they were every where, kept back victuals, and brought many of the Enemy Prisoners to the camp. The Castle of *Crouaria* was at this time held by the Dutch (this is a very narrow place, seated amidst the hardest passages of the Mountains upon a steep cliff, from whence the River *Adice* is carried with a swift and violent course towards *Verona*) which if our men could recover, that passage would easily be stopt, and victuals hindred from being carried by the River into the City. *Mercurio* and *Babone* were employ'd about this, who by their worth and diligence overcame the cragg'dness of the ways, and the Forces of the Enemy; for setting upon the Souldiers, who had the guard of the Castle, unexpectedly by night, they slew them all, put all the rest to flight, forcing them to quit the Castle, and to provide for their own safeties. This Castle being taken, a Garrison was put thereinto, which did much incommode the Enemy, by keeping them from such corn as was wont to be carried by the River. But nothing of great moment was done in the camp, nor did they think of altering their Quarters; which made the Venetian Commissaries complain yet more of *Lautrech*, for that by his means the City of *Verona* was not yet taken: And that at this time when the Enemies inconveniences perswaded them to return again unto the Siege, the Army kept loitering within the camp, as if nothing remain'd to be done. And truly as all men wondred at these Proceedings, so there was not any one that commended them. But *Lautrech* bade

bade the Commissaries be of good cheer, and finding several excuses for his delays, told them that all things sufficient should be had whereby to put a good period to the War, and bade them believe constantly that *Verona* should quickly return to the Venetians Dominion. Which words made the Commissary suspect that he meant some other thing than what was then in hand; for at that very time when the Army rose from before *Verona*, News was spread abroad in the camp, that a Messenger was come to *Lautrech* from *France*, and that having spoken with him in secret, *Lautrech* strove to keep his coming concealed from the rest. The Commissaries did very much press him therefore, to acquaint them with the reason of his counsel, and why for great an Army should be maintain'd, without any necessity or hope; and which through excessive expence weakened the Forces of the Common-wealth, which were always ready to serve the French. The Senate being acquainted by their Commissaries with what had pass'd in the camp, were much perplex'd, not knowing what course to take for the advancement of their Affairs; they who but a little before were so rejoiced and comforted for their good success at *Brescia*, began now to have new fears and troubles since when they thought the War to be near an end, they saw reasons arise of greater length and difficulties. And they were chiefly troubled to think that the French, in whose assistance they had put their chiefest hopes, should proceed with various and uncertain counsels; and perhaps, (as it was then believed) wholly separate from the Common-wealths Interest.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Letters came from their Embassadour who was in *France*, by which they were fully informed with all that had pass'd at *Noion*; for King *Francis* being desirous that the Venetians might have leisure to advise well, would have them quickly acquainted with whatsoever had pass'd till then between him and the Arch-Duke *Charles*: To the end that as soon as the Commissioners of both parties should be come to *Brussels*, for the confirmation of such things as had been treated of, they might find all doubts resolved. The chief things treated of and resolved at this convention, were;

That the King of France and the Duke of Burgony (a name which *Charles* of Austria took unto himself till this time) had by the means of their Embassadours contracted Friendship and Peace, and confirm'd it by the tie of Alliance; for King *Charles* had promis'd to give the Lady *Renée*, daughter to King *Lewis*, to *Charles* for wife. In this Confederacy all the other Princes that were friends to either party were included: On *Charles* his part Maximilian Cesar was chiefly nominated, and the Common-wealth of Venice on the King of France his behalf. But those that would be comprehended within this agreement, were bound to declare their minds within two moneths space. The Emperour being hereof advertised, promised to stand to what was agreed upon, provided that peace might be established upon fair conditions; wherefore *Brussels* was appointed for the place of convention, to treat more particularly of the conditions of agreement; where *Charles* his Embassadours and those of France were to be, who should intercede as Moderators and freely Composers of the business. One chief thing which they were to treat on, was how the Venetians might by this agreement recover *Verona*; for it was evident, that as this business had oft times before disturb'd the

Treaty of peace, so if it should not now be decided, all other Negotiations would be in vain; for the King of France being mindful of the League which he had made with the Venetians, and being desirous to keep his word, was resolved not to come to any agreement with the Emperor, unless Verona were thereby first restored to the Venetians. Wherefore as soon as the Assembly was met, this was the first proposition which was taken in hand. Cæsar's Embassadors demanded a great sum of money in exchange for the restitution of Verona, and moreover the possession of some other Towns which were formerly in that jurisdiction. It was farther added that Cæsar would not consign over that City into the hands of the Venetians; but unto some of Charles his Ministers, in whose power after it had been six weeks, the French might dispose of it as they should please.

Notice being given of all these things by the Embassadour of Venice, the Senate was much perplex'd and full of various thoughts. After so tedious and troublesome a War nothing certainly could be more desirable than peace and quiet. They knew that they had often hazarded the fortune of the Common-wealth, that they were now to endeavour some ease and amendment, to free them from the necessity of continuing longer in War. Yet some men of more mature years, and greater experience, thinking how great a change of things a short time was often cause of, feared that (some time being by the agreement required for the re-delivery of Verona) some accident might happen the mean while, whereby all things being put in disorder, they might remain in the same troubles, and peradventure be plung'd into greater. This jealousy was much increased by the knowledge of Maximilian his nature, and tricks which he had wont to use, which if he should continue to do in this business, they feared lest under the colour of Honour, by which he seemed desirous that Verona should be restored to the Venetians by the hands of some others, and not by himself, he might plot a greater mischief against them. For which doubt of theirs they seemed to have the more reason, for that being contented to yield up another place of much greater importance, he earnestly desired certain little Towns, from whence not being able to reap any profit, they judged he might have a mind to keep the way open in several parts, so as he might assault the States of the Common-wealth when he should please. Many things were moved in the Senate, but nothing concluded, because they generally desired to recover Verona, which they thought they might effect better by force than by agreement. They ceased not continually to sollicite Lautrech not to wait for the receiving of that from the Enemy, which he might take from them by force; for sure peace was not to be hoped for but by Arms. If Cæsar did really desire friendship with the French, he would not stand so much upon the loss of Verona, but would covet their Friendship though upon conditions more advantageous to them. The Senate would therefore have the King of France acquainted with these doubts which made them suspend their resolution; desiring him that he would so provide for the common Affairs as became his wisdom and his singular love towards the Common-wealth; and that he should take heed not to do any thing which might occasion greater difficulties. As for them, they would willingly submit all things to his pleasure if it should be needful so to do; assuring themselves that

he

he would have a great care of the Honour and safety of the Common-wealth.

The Assembly being this mean while met, there were many differences between the French and Dutch, which grew to that height as Cæsar's Embassadors were ready to depart from Brussels, leaving the business imperfect. These differences were thought to be in a part occasioned by Cardinal Sedunense; for this man who thought to acquire much glory by disturbing peace, finding a fit occasion to provoke the Switzers, laboured to undo whatsoever was formerly agreed upon between them and the King of France. He went likewise to Henry King of England, and sought by all means to incense that King yet more, who did already sufficiently envy, and hate the King of France. Sedunense had propounded unto himself to persuade both these Princes to joyn their Forces with those of Cæsar, or at least to promise him they would do so, to keep him as he alleged from being necessitated to throw himself by headlong counsel into the Friendship of the common Enemies; which could not be done without prejudice and danger to them. The King of England and the Switzers being wrought upon by these persuasions, they had sent their Embassadors to the Emperor to make him large promises, inasmuch as he, who seem'd at first to be well inclined to peace, began now to be otherwise affected, and to raise new doubts, seeming sometimes to refuse, and sometimes again very much to desire the same thing. But peace being finally concluded between the French and the Switzers (for the Inhabitants of some of those Cantons who were at first more averse, and opposite to the King, being made more pliant by means of a great sum of Money, which by the agreement was to be paid to each several Canton) did afterwards desire the Friendship of the French, as well as the rest, and did by common consent confirm the League. Hence it was that Maximilian failing in the hopes of their assistance, and knowing that he was able to do but little of himself, did much desire friendship with the French, and Venetians; and began to treat more calmly; yet the Venetians were so troubled at the slow proceedings of all things, as well concerning War as Peace (mens minds being very changeable, and apt to believe every thing, when they are governed either by consciousness or fear) as they suspected every thing. Sometimes they much doubted the Catholick King (which name Charles of Austria being already gone into Spaine, begun to take unto himself) though it was likely that he being a new Prince and environ'd with many difficulties, should rather desire Peace, than War in Italy. Sometimes they would not stick to be jealous of the very French, to whom they had wont to commit all their Affairs, firmly resolving to keep perpetual friendship with them. Whilst the Venetians were full of these doubts, and fears, the treaty of Peace was concluded at Brussels; for King Francis finding the difficulties did dayly increase, made friendship with Cæsar upon condition, that he should likewise make peace with the Venetians; and that there should be a suspension of Arms between them, and him, for the space of eight months; to the end that the mean while such particulars whereby a firm peace might be settled between them for the future, might be more commodiously treated

treated of. *Farnes*, King of *Farnce*, and *Charles*, King of *Spain*, were to be Judges, and Arbitrators, to examine, and decide all difficulties; who were to meet together within the space of two moneths, to negotiate these things, and many others, appertaining to their own particular States: *Charles* was to come to *Cambrai*, and *Francis* to *S. Quintan*, within the time appointed, where they were afterwards to make choice of some convenient place between these two Towns, for them both to meet in.

But before all other things, it was established that the Towns of the *Venetians* which were in *Cesar's* possession, should be restored unto them, *Cesar* being by particular agreement bound to put the City of *Verona* presently into the hands of the *Catholick King*, and to take away the Garrison, and after six weeks the French were to receive the same, that they might deliver it unto the *Venetians*. But as soon as *Verona* should be delivered up into the hands of the *Catholique King*, or his Ministers, the French and *Venetians* were to remove all their men both from the City and from the Territories of *Verona*; that the City should not be munit the mean while, neither with new works, nor victuals; The Souldiers were to abstain from all injuries both in the City, and Country: The Dutch were likewise to quit the Territories of *Verona* and all the Towns that were therein except *Riva*, and *Roveredo*, which though they did formerly belong to those Confines, should notwithstanding be in the Emperours Jurisdiction: For the present both *Cesar* and the *Venetians* were to keep possession of such Towns as were now possess'd of in *Friuli*. The Souldiers of the Garrison which were in *Verona*, were to be permitted to return quickly to their own homes; and to carry all their goods along with them; and moreover 200000 *Ducckets* were to be paid to *Cesar*, at three payments, within the space of one year, for the expence he had been at in the War, the one half whereof was to be disburs'd by the French, the other half by the *Venetians*.

All things being thus agreed upon between *Cesar* and the King of *France*, *Lautrech* was to see them executed, who was particularly inform'd of all things that had past at *Brussels*. The *Venetians* moved thereunto by the irksomness, and inconveniences of so long a War; as also out of a desire to please the King of *France*, whom they had clearly found to be well minded towards them, did by approbation of the Senate approve of all that he had done, and promised to stand to the agreement that the Town of *Riva* and *Roveredo* did of right belong to them, and had been under the power of the Common-wealth for above 100 years, yet to satisfy the King they were content that they should remain in the hands of *Maximillian*. The Bishop of *Trent* was then sent to *Verona*, to receive that City from the Emperours Ministers, in the name of *Catholique King*; but at his first meeting with *Lautrech*, out of a difference in opinion that arose between them, all things went topsie turvy; the Bishop would have it, that the time of restoring that City should begin from the day that it was delivered up to him, and not before.

Lautrech counting the six weeks from the time that the agreement was made at *Brussels*, said that the time prefixed was already at an end, and

and therefore demanded that the City should be presently delivered up to him. Thus the business being left undecided, they departed. But when the Bishop return'd to *Verona*, the Souldiers seeing there was no provision made for their pay, and that the business drew out into length, began to mutiny, and threatened the Bishop as the Author of these difficulties.

The Imperialists were therefore content that the City should be immediately deliver'd over unto the French, to the end that receiving the monies which by agreement was to be paid unto them by them and the *Venetians*, the Souldiers might be pacified. Wherefore meeting together again at the Town called *Dosso Cuono*, and *Lautrech* having given in security to pay the aforesaid monies; the Bishop promised that the Town should be delivered up unto him the next Tuesday, which was the 23 day of *January*. Things being thus ordered, the Citizens of *Verona* sent *Niccolò di Cavalli* and *Leonardo Lisio*, Doctors of the civil Law, to congratulate with *Lautrech*, and the *Venetian* Commissaries: Who, accompanied with 400 select *Curassiers*, and 2000 Foot entred the City the next day, and were met with unspeakable joy by all the people, and with such a concourse of men of all conditions, and of all ages, as they could hardly pass through the Streets; and being come to the cathedral Church, had much ado to get in at the Gates. Here *Lautrech* having received the Keys of the City from the Bishop of *Trent*, did at the same instant give them into the hands of the *Venetian* Commissaries, *Andrea Gritti*, and *Giovann Paolo Gradinigo*. Then some of the chiefest of the Citizens did together with the Commissaries, and in the name of all the rest, congratulate the return of that City to under the command of the Common-wealth; attesting the Citizens constant good will towards her, and promising Loyalty and Obedience thereunto at all times.

These things being ended, and the French assistance being to be dismissed, the Senate, that they might not omit to shew their respects and love to so gallant a man, and one who had deserved so well of the Common-wealth, as *Lautrech* resolv'd to present him honourably in the name of the publick, and charged Commissary *Gritti* to wait upon him to *Millan*. When he came to *Lodi*, he found *Giovann Giacomo Trivulcio* there, who was come to meet him, and to bring him the Order of *S. Michel* from the King. Then after the passing of many complements on both sides, *Gritti* left him; who according to orders received from the Senate went to visit the other Cities belonging to the Common-wealth, to provide for all things necessary for them, and to confirm the people in their love to the Common-wealth.

And at last, after having for so many years perform'd his faithful service with much applause to the Common-wealth, having won much love amongst the Citizens, and glory amongst Forreigners, he return'd to *Venice*. Great joy and general Feastings was had throughout the whole City: Every thing seem'd to smile, and to echo forth joyful acclamations. But chiefly all due praises were render'd to God, and solemn processions devoutly made by publick Decree for many days; thanks being given to God for his great goodness in having granted them a desired peace, after so long and troublesome a War. Great

alms were given to Monastries and to Alms houses, and such Citizens, and Forreigners as had served the Common-wealth faithfully were well rewarded.

The Common-wealth being thus restored to her pristine greatness, after having suffered for many Calamities, and the Affairs of *Italy* being put (as it was thought) into a firm and settled condition, the Venetians hoped they had been freed from all Fears for many years.

The End of the third Book.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK IV.

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THE ensuing years contain more prosperous successes, and will afford me more delightful matter to write on. Wherefore I hasten thereunto, as abhorring the memory of the past calamities; and as weary as if I had had a part in those troubles and dangers. The Common-wealth after the past Wars, enjoy'd three years quiet, in which time being healed of her so great labour and grievous adversity, she began to hold up her head again; and to resume her ancient power and reputation. The Wars therefore which we now shall write of, made by the Common-wealth on *Terra firma*, though they be no less remarkable for the Grandests of Princes, for famous Commanders, Forces, length of time, and other circumstances, yet were they more prosperous, and of less danger; the Common-wealth having taken up Wars for the space of almost ten years, no less to defend the Affairs of her friends and confederates, then her own; and more for glory then safety.

In the beginning of the year 1517, all Truces being solemnly published, as you have heard in the former Book, and all men hoping that secure peace would assuredly ensue, all the Cities on *Terra firma*, which before the late War were under the Dominion of the Common-wealth, were returned to her obedience, and sent their Deputies to Venice to congratulate with the Senate, that Arms were laid down with Honour, and the State recovered: And they did also willingly offer all their means, forces, and fortunes, to be at the Common-wealths service. The Senates first and chiefest care was, to ease the City of Venice, and all the other Cities and Castles on *Terra firma* of many grievances, which were imposed upon them in the more troublesome times of War, by reason of the scarcity of publick monies; to the end that private mens means being restored unto them in the time of peace, they might be the readier to assist the Common-wealth at another time of need. It was likewise provided that the places of Magistracy, as well of the whole State as City which were formerly granted upon certain loans of money to the publick, should be disposed of without any such loan, consideration being had to every mans worth and merit; and likewise that all such as did serve the Common-wealth in any place, should be paid their full stipend; part whereof was formerly made bold with for the greater occasions of War. Nor were such things forgot as tended to the convenience

nience or splendor of the Common-wealth. Study was renewed in the City of Padua, which had been given over for the space of eight years, and many famous men in all sorts of learning were brought thither. This University, famous throughout the world for the excellency of all learning, for the number and quality of Professors, and for the abundance of Scholars, was a great adornment to the Common-wealth, and a great convenience for all other Nations; for to this place came many from all Countries, to be instructed in the learned Arts.

But the pleasantness of peace, had not made them forget the occurrences of War, nor lessened their care in things belonging to the preservation of the State. The wise Senate thought that whilst their thoughts were not employ'd elsewhere, it became them in wisdom to provide for such things, which being ordered and disposed of in peaceful times, do either keep the storms of War far off, or if they shall happen, make the State the stronger, and more able to resist them. They were chiefly careful in seeing Padua, and Verona well munit, the soundest foundations of their Empire on *Terra firma*. The Senate spared therefore neither for cost nor labour, to make these very strong Fortresses; to the end that for the future, the Enemy despairing to win them, might not think of assaulting them. Andrea Gritti and Giorgio Cornaro were appointed to take the care hereof; who going to those Cities, were, with the advice of Trivulzio, and the other prime men of the Militia, to deliberate, and do whatsoever should be requisite for the exact and secure defence thereof. Many things were there renewed, which had been destroy'd by the War; and many new works were added: Great Bastions were built in several places of the Wall, according to the modern fashion. Many noble Gates were also made, not only for safety and convenience, but even for ornament. And certainly if we shall justly consider with what *Grandezza*, what illustrious shew, and what regal expence these strong holds were in these times built by the Common-wealth, we shall find that the Venetians ought to be as much admired for the magnificence and stateliness of these, as were the ancient Romans for their hot Baths, and Aquiducts, and other rare Fabricks. And because the friendship and safe commerce with the Ottoman Empire was of great importance for the preservation of the peace and quiet of that City by means of Traffique, the Senate chose two Embassadors Luigi Mocenigo, and Bartholomeo Contarini, to send to Selino to congratulate the victories which he had won; who inflamed with the glory of War, after his prosperous success in Persia, had assaulted the Empire of the Mamalucchi with a puissant Army, and overcome in Battle Campsone Gaurio King of Memphis, had chased and routed his Forces, and subjugated great and rich Provinces which had been long under the Empire of the Soldans of the Mamalucchi; whereby he had much enlarged his confines. Therefore his friendships was for these respects much the more to be desired; his power being so much increased and become formidable, and since the Venetian Merchants exercised great Traffique in those Countries which he had lately won. To this was likewise added, that the pretensions of a certain Tribute paid by the King of Cyprus to the King of Egypt, for which the Common-wealth paid 8000 Duckets yearly to the Soldans of Caire, as the Lusinian Kings had wont formerly

merly to do, were now together with the Empire of the *Mamelucks* past over to the Ottoman Princes. These Embassadors failed therefore first to Cyprus, and from thence went to *Damascus*, where *Selino* winter'd with all his Army. Their commission was chiefly to endeavour,

That the Venetians, who by reason of their merchandizing, had wont to keep in Alexandria, Tripoli, Baruti, Damascus, and other places of Marchandize in those Regions, might enjoy the same rights and privileges which had been long granted them by the Lords of Egypt and Soria: And that the Common-wealth might likewise be permitted to keep her Magistrates in those places, with the same authority and dignity as they had done formerly, who were to have a care of the Venetian Merchants Goods and Persons.

These things were easily granted by *Selinus*, who having at this time turn'd his thoughts, and forces elsewhere, desired friendship with the Venetians, and in the beginning of his new Empire to increase traffique in that Province; for his own particular good, for the convenience of his subjects, and for the Interest of the publique Revenue. They were at the same time likewise to treat of the like Affairs with *Charles* King of Spain; to wit, that the commerce and traffique which had been long before held in his Kingdomes and States might be confirmed; and that also the Venetians might be suffered to go into those parts, and to contract Merchandize, as they had always been allowed to do in King *Ferdinands* time: Wherein it seemed there was now some interruption; for *Charles* his Officers, he being but newly come unto his Kingdomes, had perswaded him, that he might easily, and much to the advantage of his customes, transfer all the merchandizing which was had in divers Maritime Cities of *Africa*, into the sole City of *Oran*; which was in *Charles* his possession, it the Venetian Vessels which were wont first to touch there, and then to pass into the Spanish Rivers, should be forbidden to enter upon any such occasion into the Havens of his Dominion, when they had tarried to contract any Merchandize in any of the Moores Cities. By which prohibition it was hoped that those Inhabitants might be necessitated to come to *Oran*; and to furnish themselves there with divers sorts of Merchandize, which cannot be brought them from elsewhere; many whereof they keep for their own use, and make much advantage by carrying many others to the Ethiopians. Moreover the Spaniards had laid new Imposts upon our Merchants; for whereas formerly one only tax of ten in the hundred, and that only of such things as were exported, was wont to be paid, now two tenths of all things, as well imported as exported were exacted, and that according to a price limited by them. But the business was much otherwise then the Spanish Ministers represented them; for neither would the Moores have thought they could traffique securely in those Towns which belonged to the Spaniards, whom they held to be their bitter and perpetual Enemies; neither would the Venetians have run the hazard of so long navigation, if their profit should have been so much lessened by new impositions; and if they should not have been permitted to merchandize with the Moores, and make their best advantage in all places. Wherefore experience soon shewed that the Spaniards were much prejudiced, and did quite lose that Traffique, by which they thought to have increased their publique Revenues. And since so fair

an occasion is now offer'd, I think it may stand with my intended purpose, who have undertaken to record to memory the Venetian Affairs, that I say something of their Maritime Negotiations, to the end that the chief reason of that Cities wealth may be the better known. The ancient Founders of this City, and their Law-makers, took special care that the Citizens should exercise themselves in Voyages, and Traffique at Sea, and that they might by their industry endeavour to increase the riches both of the private and of the publique; and at the same time make the name of the Venetians famously known to far distant countries. The situation of the City did invite to this manner of life, and exercise, and did almost of it self administer such thoughts to the Inhabitants; for the City not having any Territories of her own by land, by the fertility whereof, or by mans diligence, she might enrich herself; nay, wanting such things as were necessary to maintain life, they were first necessitated to exercise their industry, and afterwards got abundance of all things. The antient custom was to sayle with great Gallies, built for Merchandize, into many Countries both Christian and Pagan; and to bring many things from thence which might not only serve for the use of their Citizens, but might be sent into forraign Nations, and great gain might be made thereby. Many of the young Nobility had wont to go in these Gallies, as well to practise Merchandizing, as to learn the Art of Sayling, and the knowledge of Maritime Affairs. Others of them continued many years in Forraign Nations, and almost in all those places wherein they did traffique, to deal for themselves, and for others: So as hereby they did not only acquire riches, but experience in many Affairs; and that being to be employ'd in the Government of the Common-wealth at their return, they might not appear rude or unexpert in managing publique employments. Hence it was likewise that frugality, modesty, all goodnes, and the like, were better observed in that City, wherein the youth being employ'd in honest exercises, were not corrupted by idleness, and all that first age was voyd of Law-sutes, and ambition. The wise Authors of these good orders knew very well that the desire of honour and power did imprint it self early in our souls; and that as our age increaseth, it getteth to such a growth as it findes no bounds, and does sometimes grow immoderate, and plots things prejudicial to the State: And that in idleness youth grows effeminate; and that those are sooner corrupted by evil customes, who never parting from home, spend their lives in abundance of all domestical Affairs. But that we may not digress too much from our first purpose, we will re-assume our discourse where we left. The voyages made by our aforesaid Gallies, that were commonly called Gallies of traffique, were these. When they put from *Venice*, their first voyage was to *Taragosa*, in the Island of *Sicely*; from thence they went to *Tripoli*, in *Africa*; then touching at the Island of *Gherbe le Sirte*, to *Tanis*: Here they turn'd their course towards the Kingdom of *Tremisine*, making their chief aboad at *Tusen* and *Mega*, which now are called *Ona*, and *Oran*, as in the fittest and most frequented places of those Regions. Lastly, they went to divers Towns in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, called in their language *Fez*, to *Bedis* of *Gomiera*; and having already touch'd all the Havens of *Barbary*

bary, which were anciently tearmed *Mauritania*, and *Numidia*, they went to *Spain*, trafficking in *Almeria*, anciently called *Abdara*, from thence to *Malaga*, *Valence*, and *Forera*. But they did not use the same traffique in all places; for they carried many sorts of Mettals, and much linnen cloath from *Venice* to the Moores of *Africa*, to buy the which the Moores came at a certain time of the year to the aforesaid places, bringing much gold with them. Then passing with this gold into the Rivers of *Spain*, they bought there divers sorts of Merchandize, as silk, wooll, grain, and other things which that Country produceth, and all these they brought to *Venice*. This Navigation, which was long used by the Venetians, and was of great advantage to them, began to be disturb'd by the reasons we have before spoken of; and divers accidents supervening afterwards, the State of Affairs being altered, it is wholly given over and lost. But let us now re-assume our interrupted Narration.

A good part of the time of Truce was now past, and the year 1518 began, wherefore it behoved them to come to a new agreement with *Maximilian*. The Pope endeavour'd as he had often formerly done, that this business might be transacted at *Rome*; but the Venetians considering more in the King of *France*, desired that it might be handled at his Court, whither *Cesar* was to send his Embassadours with authority to assent unto, and to observe what should be agreed upon. The Treaty was begun by the procurement of the most Christian King, but things could not be brought to a settled compofure; for the Venetians wearied with so long War, and no less cloy'd with *Maximilian's* dubious and suspicious counsels, cared little for any other agreement save such whereby they might be put into an assured condition of peace and quiet. But the Emperour, according to his accustomed and natural inconstancy, that he might always have a loop hole for new designs, as also hoping to get a greater sum of money from the Venetians by these frequent agreements, propounded a treaty rather of Truce than of Peace. At this very time Pope *Leo* was very earnest in procuring an universal Truce, whereby all Christian Princes might lay down their Arms, to the end that true amity and sincere peace ensuing, they might by a general consent establish and conclude a powerful and firm League against *Selino*; for the Ottoman Empire being so mightily encreased both in State and Power by the acquisition of *Egypt* and *Soria*, it was evident that great mischiefs were threatened to all Christendom by a powerful Enemy. The same immoderate desire of Reign which had made *Selino* wage War with the Soldans of the *Mamulacchi*, would always be the like in him, towards all Christian Princes. Therefore mature care ought to be had, that the Turk might not arrive at such greatness, as that without any impediment or gain-saying he might hereafter make all other Provinces subject, and Tributaries to him.

These things being thus represented to the Venetians in the Popes name, and many principal Prelates of the Court of *Rome* being sent to all the Princes of Christendom to the same end, were a great means of moving the Senate to agree with *Cesar* touching a new Truce; since greater and longer difficulties appeared to be in the establishing of a Peace: To the end that they might not be thought to disturbe so great a good to all

all Christendom, out of any particular respects unto themselves. But as for the motion which was particularly made unto them by *Leo* of making War against the Turks; they answered, when things should be hopefully begun, and that they should be prosecuted with like fervour, the State of *Venice* would be readier then any others for such an Enterprize; nor would they at any time be wanting unto themselves, to whom they knew the care of these common dangers did more particularly belong, as being most concern'd therein: Nor would they be backward in the good of all Christendom, nor in obeying the Popes pious and earnest entreaties. But that notwithstanding by reason of the condition of their State by Sea, which was every where environed by the confines of this powerful Enemy; and not being able with their much weaker Forces to withstand the first Onset of the Turks, nor to sustain the War in their own Territories, before the Ottoman Empire should be assaulted by the Armies and Fleets of the Confederates; they could not be the first in declaring themselves Enemies to the Turks. But Truce with *Cesar* being treated of by *Antonio Jusliniano*, who was Embassadour for the Common-wealth, with the King of *France*, it was at last concluded upon these conditions.

That all Arms should be suspended for five years: And that people might live peaceably in either State, without either doing or receiving any injury. That it might be lawful for Cesars and the Common-wealths Subjects to travel and traffique safely in each others Country, as in time of Peace. That each of them should keep such Towns as they were now possess'd of; that all Prisoners of War should be released, except Christopher Frangipane, who was to be sent into France to be kept there; that during the time of the Truce the Venetians should pay Cesar 20000 Ducquets yearly: And that the Venetians should pay the fourth part of what they had got by the Revenues of such as had followed Cesars party, to the former Owners.

And the differences concerning the confines being many, and hard to decide, and chiefly in *Friuli*, they could not as then come to any determinate end; *Cesars* Commissioners saying that they had no orders nor power to treat thereof; but the settlement in this point, as in all other difficulties, was left to the King of *France*, as to the Author of this agreement: Wherein he afterwards decreed; that the Emperour and the Venetians should chuse Commissioners, who meeting in *Verona* (whither he would likewise send one who should represent his name and authority) should treat upon, and resolve the business of confines. The State of *Venice* chose *Francisco Pesarò* for them, and acquainted the King of *France* therewith; saying that they would be ready to send their Commissioner to the place appointed, as soon as they should hear that *Cesar* was about to send his. Whilst these things were a doing, the Emperour *Maximilian* fell sick and dyed in the beginning of the year 1519.

Whereupon the Souldiers that were in Garrison at *Gradisca* and *Marrano*, entering licentiously into the confines of the Common-wealth, plunder'd many of the Venetians Subjects Houses, and committed many other Hostile Acts; wherefore the Senate wrote Letters to the Viccars of the Empire, telling them, that for their parts, they would not violate the Truce, nor innovate any thing for *Maximilian's* death, provi-

provided that the Commanders and Souldiers of the Empire should abstain from doing injuries: Which being by them praised and embraced the Truce was afterwards inviolably observed on all sides. Now they began to treat of chusing the Emperour, whereunto Francis King of France, and Charles King of Spain, did chiefly pretend, Princes of rare endowments of mind, and very eminent for Fortune, but very formidable by reason of their great power. The Princes of Italy were not a little troubled at this Election, considering that whether of these two should be exalted to the Dignity of the Empire, when they should have the reputation of the Empire added to the already potent Forces of their own Kingdomes, and be made much greater then the other by the help of Germany, he would endeavour to drive the other out of whatsoever he posses'd in Italy, and so this Counterpoise being taken away, they would at last bend their thoughts upon making themselves Masters of all Italy; for ambition does always increase in great Princes, together with new acquisitions and the unquenchable thirst of Government grows greater. Therefore such an Election could not but be bad for Italy. Yet ballancing all things well, it was thought less dangerous for Italy that the King of France should be made Emperour, then the King of Spain; for they considered that the former, as being a Stranger, would be of much less power in Germany; and that the French Nation, as it is very hot and violent at the first, so not being very constant to its purposes, often times neglects and gives over those very things which it did before so much desire, and endeavour; wherefore the French are commonly thought better at getting, then at keeping. The Italians hoped that the Empire of the French in Italy, though it were great, might by some accident decline, and at last be extinguished. Which was not to be hoped for in the Spaniards; who when they have once much enlarged their Dominions, and laid a good groundwork for it, all labour and endeavour to drive them out would be but in vain. These were the reasons which did chiefly move the Pope, and the Venetians to favour the King of France in this his standing for the Empire. His Embassadours which he had sent to Rome and to Venice for this purpose, were therefore willingly listned unto. But to boot with all this, Monsieur de Taligni, who was sent by the King for this purpose to the State of Venice, made several other propositions.

He desired the loan of a good sum of money, that his King when he should be declared Emperour, might have wherewith to supply many gifts, and great expences which he was to be at; and moreover that the Venetians would forthwith send some Souldiers into Germany, to secure the Electors from any violence: And that the Senate would declare what was to be done, if Charles should enter Italy with an Army (as it was given out he would do) to go to Rome, and force the Pope to free him from the Oath, which he took from Julius the second, when he was invested in the Kingdom of Naples (note that it was decreed by Pope Urban, that whosoever should possess that Kingdom, should not take upon him the Imperial Dignity) which was the chief reason why Leo used means to the Electors, to keep Charles from being chosen Emperour. To which demands the Senate answered, That the Commonwealth was so highly obliged to the King, as that they wish'd him all prosperity; for they had always thought, that whatsoever addition of State or Honour should

should befall the Kingdom of France, would be of no small importance for their security; wherefore they would employ all their endeavours and power for the aggrandizing of the King thereof; and that though the publique Exchequer was very much emptied by reason of the long Wars, yet if need should require, they would overcome all difficulties, to accommodate him with the sum of 100000 Duckets. But as for sending their Forces beyond the Mountains, nothing could be of less use to the King, nor of more prejudice and danger to themselves; for they should shew a great will to do harm, where they could do none. That all the strait and difficult passages, by which their Souldiers were to pass into Germany, were posses'd by the Dutch, and well guarded and garrisoned by them. That as it would be very hard for their men to pass over the Mountains, and to get into Germany, so it would be easie for the Dutch to fall down from several parts into the Confines of the Commonwealth, and put their Affairs into great confusion. But if thus Charles, being unprovoked by any injury, should come armed into Italy, and should attempt to violate the sacred Majesty of the Pope of Rome, the Senate of Venice would not differ from what their Ancestors had ever proved themselves to be; to wit, DEFENDERS of the ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTY and DIGNITY, which name of Honour and true Glory was always held by them in high esteem, and should be prefer'd before the Imperial greatness.

Whilst King Francis treated thus by his Embassadours, Charles, who partly by favour, making large promises to the Electors, partly by fear, having already got many men together, had got the good will of the Electors, he was declared King of the Romans. Almost at the same time, Soliman, only Son to Selino, his Father being dead, posses'd himself quietly of the Empire, and was put into the Seat of the Ottoman Princes, without any contention. Only one Agazzelle a Captain in Soria, proved contumacious, and a Rebel to the new Emperour; but his Rebellion was soon suppress'd, and all the Provinces of the Empire became obedient to Soliman, in whom there appeared evident signs of an high and great Spirit; so as being come to the Empire, there was no doubt but that he would flye high, and plot great mischiefs against Christendom. Yet the Christian Princes not minding so great a danger, whilst the want of experience in the young Prince, their innate Enemy, might somewhat allay his power, having other thoughts, suffer'd the greatness of the Ottoman Empire to increase and be better established. Only Lodowick King of Hungary took up Arms, and endeavour'd help from all parts, whose Kingdom was likely to partake first of the mischiefs of War; for Soliman would not renew the Truce with Lodowick, which when it was formerly offer'd him by his Father Selino, was by him refused, being thereunto advited by the Emperour, and the King of Polonia, because Selino was then buisied in Wars far off, which was perhaps a generous, but no good counsel. Lodowick sent therefore his Embassadours to all Princes Courts, chiefly to Rome and Venice, admonishing what danger others were in by his ruine.

To this the Venetians answered, that the Ottoman Empire was a good while since grown very formidable to all men, but more particularly to their Commonwealth, by reason of the neighbourhood of their States:

That for their parts, they had never refused such invitations, but had oft times both by words and example excited other Princes to withstand the growing power of so great an Empire. But what were they able of themselves to do?

They therefore chose *Marco Minio* for their Embassadour, whom they sent with their accustomed presents to *Constantinople*, to confirm the Articles of peace after the same manner as they were concluded a little before by *Antonio Justiniano*, as you have heard; adding thereto those things which *Selino* after his conquering of the Mamaluchies Empire, had lately promis'd to grant. To wit, that the Venetian Merchants might enjoy the same privileges, and immunities in their goods, in *Egypt*, and in *Soria*, as they had anciently done. Which *Soliman* was to ready to grant, as the Eastern Seas being then much infected by Pirats, he offer'd to send out his Fleet against them if the Common-wealth would do the like, to the end that the Seas might be kept open, and that the Venetian Merchants might continue their trafique by Navigation into Nations which were under the Ottoman Empire; of which his ready will, and desire of peace and friendship, *Soliman* had given testimony, having at the same time that *Minio* prepared to go for *Constantinople*, sent *Acmat Ferrat* on his behalf to *Venice*, to acquaint them with his accession to the Empire, and that he would continue those conventions and friendly offices with the Common-wealth, as his Father *Selino* alwaies had done.

This peace with the Turks was very opportunely made, to the yet unsettled condition of *Italy*: and for the quieting of those suspicions which the Senators were full of, the beginning of this year, by reason of News that was spread abroad of a great Fleet that was to put forth from *Constantinople*; wherefore the Senate not thinking it fit to be at the discretion of a barbarous Prince, naturally ambitious, and grown insolent by new victories, had been very diligent in furnishing all their Sea-Forts with great Garrisons, and added 50 Gallies to their Fleet, wherein the Common-wealth's chief hopes seem'd then to lye; and they made *Andrea Gritti* Captain-General of the Navy: Moreover the order of the Militia, of the men of that same Country, was instituted in the Kingdom of *Candia*, as it was done some years before in the State by *Terra firma*; to the end that upon any sudden occasion, the Garrisons of Cities in Countries far off, and which it would be hard to succour speedily, might be increased. The charge hereof was given to *Gabriele Martinigo*, who was honour'd with the title of Governor of that Island. But these provisions proved unnecessary for that occasion; for *Selino* had by his death, put a period to these thoughts of War, and *Soliman* did readily confirm the Articles of peace, as hath been said; wherefore the Venetian Fleet, the other dangers being removed, went into the Seas of *Barbary*, which were infected with many Pyrats to secure their great Gallies, which Sayled through these Seas not without great danger of Pyrats; by the taking of many of whose ships, the Sea was much cleansed, and the way was opened for those Voyages.

Thus did the Venetians temporize with the Turks, and kept friendship

ship with them, since there appeared no hopes of overcoming them: For that the Christian Princes kept still at enmity within themselves, little minding the much greater common danger. The King of *France* being greatly scandalized at the conferment of the Empire upon *Charles* of *Austria*; and fearing least his Forces and Authority being so much increased, he would suddenly fall into *Italy*, and bereave him of the State of *Millan*; had signified to the Pope, and to the Venetians, that their States would be in great danger, if the new Emperour might be permitted to pass Armed into *Italy*; he therefore propounded that a firm League and good Intelligence, might be established between them three, whereby each of them should be bound to defend the Honour, and Territories of the rest, against whosoever should go about to injure them, and particularly to oppose *Charles* his Forces, if he should come with an Army to *Rome*, to take upon him the Imperial Crown, as it was thought he intended; which could not be done without much danger to whosoever had any State in *Italy*, as well by reason of all Emperours ancient pretences, as for what was discovered to be in the mind of this new *Cesar*. The King of *France* did so much apprehend this, as he perswaded the Pope to send *Charles* the Crown of the Empire, by way of Bull, before he should be resolved to come into *Italy*; which being better examined by the Venetians, was found to be rather prejudicial then good for the common Interest; for this would not have been sufficient to have altered *Cesar's* desire; that indeed was not to take upon him the Ensigns of the Empire, but to get more Territories in *Italy*. The Venetians readily assented to the proposition made by the King of *France* of a new confederacy, having the same fear, and the same desire to secure themselves from *Cesar's* getting farther footing into *Italy*: And these were increased by the mischiefs they suffered in the late years, by being of themselves to resist the Forces of so many Princes. They therefore said that as it had alwaies been their firme and constant resolution never to part from the friendship of the Crown of *France*, so upon this occasion they were to set the higher value upon it, as that by which they might receive the greater advantage; wherefore they would still adhere to his counsels. But the Pope being irresolute; was assailed by variety of reasons, and diversity of affections; for he thought himself not safe from the fear of *Cesar's* Forces, without the favour and friendship of the King of *France*, having manifestly opposed his Election, by shewing his incapability of receiving the dignity of Emperour, he having sworn at his being invested into the Kingdom of *Naples*, that he would never endeavour it, nor accept of it, of which Oath the Pope had not as yet freed him.

On the other side, the Dyet at *Worms* being intimated, wherein *Martin Luther's* doctrine was to be treated of, not only concerning the Tenets of faith, but even of the Popes authority, *Leo* thought it imported much upon this occasion, to keep *Charles* his friend, at least, not to incense him with new Leagues, lest he might become less diligent in proceeding against *Luther*, and in condemning his Tenets, whereby his authority might encrease, to the great disparagement of the church of *Rome*. The Pope was likewise much troubled, that the reputation

and

and power of the French should be encreased, whereby they might be confirmed in their possession of the State of *Milan*: Proceeding therefore slowly, and irresolutely, he seemed desirous to joyn with the King of France, and with the Venetians, in defence of the common cause: but when the business drew to a conclusion, he would not yield that any agreement should be made in writing, saying, That it was not good to expose themselves to danger by writing, whereby the business, wherein secrecy was chiefly requir'd, might the more easily be made known: That the words of Princes, to do what was agreed upon between them, might suffice. The business drawing thus out at length, and the King of France growing with time somewhat more cool in his former fervency, the Venetians began to grow jealous, lest he might hold some secret intelligence with the Emperour, which might be the chief cause of the Pope's irresolution, and of the so long delay in confirming the things agreed upon. This suspicion was fomented by many things; as the certain knowledge that Monsignor *di Chiuras*, a Spaniard, was gone from Cesar's Court into France, to agree of an Interview with the King of France, as was by them given forth; and that in this Interview, the Peace should be confirmed which was made some months before between the King of France, and the King of England, wherein *Charls* being named as one of the chief contractors, he had not as yet ratified it. Moreover, the articles wherewith the King said he had dispatched away Monsieur *di St Marcho* from France, were kept very secret, when he was come to *Rome*; and also the said *St Marcho* departed from *Rome*, before the League was established, when there was most need of his presence for the consummation thereof, and left none with the Pope in the King's behalf, but *Alberto Carpi*, who was so grievously sick, as he was not fit for any negotiation: These were things which argued strongly that the King had altered his mind: Yet the Venetians continuing their former resolution, of not foregoing the friendship of the French, acquainted the King with this their jealousy, but did not seem any way to resent it, nor to alter their resolution: Nay, they said, they did assure themselves, that if the King had an intention to make any new confederacy with Cesar, their Commonwealth should be mentioned and comprehended in the agreement, whatsoever it should be; so as whatsoever differences they had had with *Maximilian*, should now be accommodated with *Charls*, and all occasions of new troubles should be laid aside.

But on the other side, *Charls*, when he was declared King of the Romans, having peradventure his thoughts bent upon the affairs of *Italy*, as hath been said, and knowing it would become him chiefly to hold fair with the Venetians, seemed very desirous to agree those differences with them, which had been formerly between the Commonwealth, and his predecessor *Maximilian*: and that his actions might correspond with his words, he had sent his Commissioners to *Verona*, with full power, not only to Treat of the things appertaining to the last Truce of five years, but also to accommodate all those other particulars which in the former agreement made two years ago, were not yet decided. Commissioners on all sides being met, *Francisco Pefaro* for the Commonwealth, who was chosen many months before for this employment,

ployment, and four of the chief Councillors of *Ispruch* in the Emperours behalf, to whom he had particularly committed the business, and *Johanni Pino* being likewise sent thither as Ambassador from the King of France, who (as hath been said) was made Arbytrator in the differences which were by reason of the last Truce: The Venetians propounded that all Towns which were taken in the last War, should be restored by both sides, and that all things should return to their former condition; alledging, that only such an agreement could put an end to all past differences, and bring a certain and a long peace. But the Imperialists finding out sometime one difficulty, sometimes another, spun out the business, not concluding any thing, and sometimes making new demands; as, That all such as had been banished from their Country by the Venetians, should be thereunto restored; together with some other such like things, whereof no mention had been made in the articles of Truce, and whereby a firm agreement might be rather kept off than made. Some months being thus spent in vain, Cesar's were sent for home by their fellow Councillors of *Ispruch*: Yet at this very time the Ambassador of *Venice* had great hopes given him at the Emperours Court, of a good issue of this business, promise being made, that new Commissioners should be chosen, who should be sent with better Instructions to *Friuli*, that being near the places of most important differences, they might decide them the sooner, and with more ease. All *Charls* his chiefest Ministers of State, shewed that he had a great desire to live neighbourly with the Venetians, and to make a firm peace with them; whereby it was clearly seen, that Cesar desired friendship with the Venetians, and that he cunningly prolonged the accommodation of differences with them, so to get them to make a stricter League with him, and forgo their respects with the French, whose friendship they seemed to value so highly, as he had but little hopes to agree with them answerable to his need and designs, unless they were moved thereunto out of some such necessity. But the Venetians replied, that they much desired peace and quiet; that the institution of their Commonwealth had always been such, and that they would use the same means; but that it became them in honour to keep their plighted faith: wherefore they must profess clearly, that they could not, nor would not do any thing, which might any ways cross their League with the King of France.

But since I shall several times have occasion to discourse of things that past between these two most famous Princes, both in this, and in other ages, and with whom the Commonwealth had both War and Peace, and several Treaties of things of very great importance; it will not be far from the purpose of this our discourse, to know some thing of their natures and customs: for as they were both of them very desirous of Empire and Glory, so they took several ways to arrive at this their end. *Charls* was very wary, quick of foresight, mature at deliberation, grave at business, wonderful patient, and much given to perseverance; whereby he knew how to wait for time and opportunity, and to make use of them to his best advantage. But *Francis* was of a magnanimous spirit, which made him willingly embrace any thing whereby he might purchase the applause of being generous, and honour

in war; he desired to overcome his enemy rather by true valour, than by advantages, and craft. His words and countenance discovered his most inward thoughts: *Cesar* loved men that were wary and warlike: his words were few, his thoughts deep, he was very ambitious, but not very open therein; striving still to cloak his aspiring after greatness, under the pretence of uprightness, and common Interest.

But *Francis* favour'd and embraced all such, and was very liberal unto them, who were rare at any profession; he affected to be thought eloquent, affable, civil, liberal, and was chiefly desirous of warlike glory: Neither did he conceal this his desire, but discover'd his will and thoughts by his words and actions. These two Princes did at the same time, but by several ways, endeavour friendship with the Common-wealth, that they might make use of her Forces in their Affairs in *Italy*, in which businesses this year was spent, without coming to any conclusion in any one thing.

In the beginning of the next year, which was the year 1520. the peace of *Italy* began not only to be disturbed, but even Christendom in several parts to be molested with great mischief and dangers: Which though they were fore-seen by all, none did seek to prevent; for *Soliman*, finding himself very prosperous, and not willing to grow effeminate through idleness, nor to degenerate from the Worth of his Ancestors, resolved to wage War, as it was formerly suspected, in *Hungary*, hoping thereby to reap the greater glory, for that the fame of that Nation was very great for War, and because though that Enterprize had several times been undertaken by his Predecessors, it was not as yet brought to a good end.

Therefore the year 1521. being begun, *Soliman* march'd with a powerful Army from *Constantinople*, himself in person into *Hungary*. At which great warlike Preparations King *Lodowick* being much troubled, not finding himself able to support so great a bulk of War, and the danger growing every day more apparent, he did again by new Embassies sollicite all Christian Princes to succour him in the defence of his Kingdom, and therein befriend all Christendom. To this purpose he sent *Philip More*, Bishop of *Agria* to *Venice*, who being brought before the Duke and his Senators, spoke to this purpose.

My King, most Illustrious Prince, and you famous Senators, doth so much confide in your faith, humanity and power, in the strait conjunction which for these many years hath been between your Common-wealth, and his Crown, as that for the common Interest of both States, for the Justice of his cause, and out of the usual custom of your selves, and your Ancestors, you will favour what is just, and assist him with your help, who in this eminent War of the Turks would make his chief recourse to you, and communicate his Affairs, and Needs first to you: Hoping not only to find you ready in your selves to do what you are able for the defence of his Kingdom, but that by your power and intercession you will apply your selves to other Princes, and facilitate their assisting of him; and truly reason tells us that the first applications belong to this Common-wealth, when opposition is to be made to the increasing of the Ottoman Empire; for as her opportunity is great of troubling this Enemy, by the power she hath at Sea, so for the neighbourhood of so many of her States, she ought to covet the abasing of it, and

to be careful that together with the ruine of others, her own danger do not encrease. Therefore if you my Lords will be the first who shall move other Princes to take upon them the defence of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, so as the courage of this new, and fiercely minded Emperour may be allay'd, who will leave nothing unattempted whereby he may hope to purchase Glory and Empire, you will reap the fruit of real and true Honour, of great safety, and of the increasing of your State. Consider Gentlemen to what an height the Ottoman Family is risen of late years: And chiefly (if I may be permitted to say so) through the negligence of Christian Princes; for meeting with no obstacle, he marcheth on apace to Supreme Monarchy; if Constantines entreaties and protestations had been listned unto when Mahomet assaulted Constantinople, assuredly the Grecian Empire would not have been destroy'd: Nor would the like of the Mamalucchi have now fallen, if that had stood. These two joyn'd together did so counterpoise the Turkish Forces, as their safety would have freed now the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the rest of Christendom from danger. He who shall well consider the progress of the ancient Monarchs, will find that their chiefest difficulty lay in getting to such a pitch of power and force, as no one Potentate could of himself alone give a just counterpoise to their power. Other acquisitions have been the sooner, and more easily made by reason of the almost insuperable difficulties which have been still met withal in getting many Princes joyn in the destruction of one alone. The Romans spent many years in conquering *Italy*, but being by the Conquest thereof made stronger then the rest, they in a few years vanquish'd so many Princes, as they subjugated the greatest and farthest distant Provinces. It is therefore evident, that the longer Christians defer to oppose the Turks, they make the danger the greater, and the remedy more difficult. I will not say that to take upon them the defence of *Hungary* is a glorious thing for Christian Princes to do, nor that it is a duty which they owe to their Religion, to their profession, nor that it makes for every one of their Interests, but I will more truly say it is necessary for the preservation of their States. This Kingdom being lost, which hath for so many years withstood the violence of the Turkish Forces on this side, and retarded the course of their Victories, what remains to keep them from over-running Austria, from disturbing all Germany, and from entering into the Confinnes of this your State? This very Kingdom, which hath hitherto been the great Bulwark to hinder their advancing, if this be lost (which God forbid) it will be of great opportunity for them, to the subjugating of other Nations, and to the ruining of other Kingdomes. But this being defended, as it is necessary it should be, so is it neither impossible, nor yet very hard to withstand their farther progress, if Princes do not rather want will then Forces. The Hungarian Nation by ancient custom, and almost by nature, hath always been warlike, our Princes and our people have won great and particular praise and honour in War; nor hath my now King and Master, nor his Subjects degenerated, nor are they to degenerate any whit from the Worth of their Ancestors: They have minds, and for as much as is possible for men to have, Forces ready to defend themselves. But alas how can one only Kingdom, not very great, not very rich, find men, monies, munition, and so many other requisites for War, to withstand the numerous Turkish Armies, gather'd together out of so many Provinces? Marry if it be assisted

listened and succour'd by other Princes, the Kingdom of Hungaries Forces will not only be so increased, but even the Honour and Courage thereof, as we no ways doubt to frustrate all the Enemies designs made against us, nor will we refuse if occasion shall be offer'd, to give him Battle in a pitch field, so to secure by our own dangers (if God shall please to favour) as we are to hope he will, our pious and generous boldness not only of our own Country, but all the Kingdoms and Provinces of Christendom for many years. But I find I have transgress'd my bounds by my too long speaking: I speak of things that are well known, and to those that understand them better than I do. The sum of all is this. Our Kingdom is one of the out-wards of Christendom, against the fury of the Turkish Forces, Common safety, and common defence, ought to be provided for by common Forces and Counsels: Your wisdom and piety makes you foresee, and consider dangers, and your power and authority endows you with means to give a speedy and opportune remedy therewith.

The Embassadour was very attentively listned unto, whose speech made the greater impression in all that heard him, because they were all very well minded to the business, it was therefore resolved, that endeavours should be made with all the Princes of Christendom, by means of the Commonwealths Embassadors, to make them all joyn with common consent and force, to assist the Kingdom of Hungary, and to provide against such great dangers, to the which they readily offered their best assistance, and the power of the whole Commonwealth: But these Treaties wrought no better effect then they had formerly done; so as the danger growing daylie greater, and King Lodowick thinking himself necessitated to fight the Turks, for the freeing of Belgrado, a strong and important City, and the Frontire Town of that Kingdom, from the fury of the Turks, before which the Turkish Army was already incamped, he sent Iovan Stailio his Embassadour again to Venice, to borrow some monies of the Senate, by which he might increase his Forces, and put himself with better hopes upon the fortune of Battle. The Commonwealth had formerly many times furnished the King of Hungary with monies, to assist him against the Turks; and they thought themselves now more obliged to abbet that Kingdom out of the particular strait conjunction which they held with King Lewis, and for that by reason of the greatness of the Ottoman house, those respects were grown more considerable, for which he had endeavoured the preservation and prosperity of that warlike Kingdom. The Senate therefore resolved to send thirty thousand Ducats to King Lodowick, together with greater promises and offers, and not concealing the friendship which they held with him, they ordered Lorenzo Orto, who was their Embassadour in Hungary, to follow his Camp. Bet the King's forces had ill success, Belgrado was lost, nor were the other Cities of the Kingdom free from fear of the Turkish forces; for Soliman left his Artillery, and part of his Militia in Hungary, intending to return thither (as he told the Venetians by one of his Chians, whom he sent to Venice, to acquaint them with this his victory) and subdue that Kingdom. At this time, to the great grief of the whole City, Duke Loredano died, who had governed the Commonwealth very prudently for the space of twenty years, and

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who encouraging others by his invincible spirit, had overcome the malice of Fortune, and reduced the City to a peaceable and quiet condition. He was of a great wit, and natural insight into Affairs, and of much experience in the world; having spent his youth in continual Navigations, and his ripper years in managing the most important Affairs of the Common-wealth, exercising the chiefest places of Magistracy both within the Common-wealth and abroad. He dyed being almost 90 years old, having even till then had vivacity in his Intellectuals though his body was subject to divers infirmities. His Encomium was made by Andrea Navaghiero, and he was buried with great pomp in St John and St Pauls Church. Antonio Grimani was chosen to succeed him, a man famous for his wealth, and for the honours he had attain'd to in the Common-wealth, and one who had often times tryed both prosperous and adverse fortune; and who was lately return'd to his Country, after having been many years banish'd, for that being General at Sea, he had not made good use of occasion in fighting, and in overcoming the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto. Grimani took upon him the place of Duke, the Common-wealth being (as you have heard by what is past) in Peace and Tranquillity. But such seeds of discords and war between Princes were already sown, as it was to be feared they might bring forth new troubles in the Common-wealth, and perhaps necessitate her to take up Arms again; for Cesar (who was already gone to Aquisgrane in Germany, where he took upon him the first Crown of the Empire) had still a great desire to come into Italy, wherefore he had often times sollicitated the Venetian Senate to joyn with him; thinking that the Friendship and Forces of the Common-wealth, would be of great importance for his designs. Therefore amongst other things, he promised to invest them fully with all those Towns and Territories which he then possess'd, and unto which the Empire laid any claim, or pretence; which the Venetians, who knew that by just title and right they had long belonged to them, did little value; and therefore this was of no greater force then his other promises, to make them alter their first intentions. Wherefore they delay'd sending to congratulate with him, according to custom, for his acquired Dignity; and having chosen Francisco Contarini, for their Leiger Embassadour, in the place of Gaspero Contarini, who had stay'd at that Court the usual prefix'd time; lest they might give any the least suspicion to the French, of their joyning with Cesar in any undertaking, they retard-ed his expedition. Wherefore Cesar despairing to make the Venetians forego their friendship with the French, he took a new resolution, which was to send Monsieur Philiberto, Embassadour to the Court of France, with a resolute intention, as he would have it believed, either to agree with the King of France touching the Affairs of Italy, excluding the Venetians; or else that they being jealous thereof, might at last be moved to joyn with him, so to shun the greater evils which they had a little before had tryal of, by the joyning of those two Crowns against the Common-wealth. And that he might leave nothing unattempted, he, by his Embassadour, who was then resident in England, complained grievously to the King thereof;

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(whose Authority was then so great, as he was made Arbitrator and Moderator of all the important businesses which past amongst the Princes) accusing the *Venetians*, for that, not having observed what they had promised in the Agreement made with *Maximilian*, they had refused peace, when he had offered it them.

But the Princes did the less believe these things, for that *Cesar*, at that same time that he seemed so much to desire peace, was known to prepare for war. Therefore King *Francis*, acquainting with great sincerity the *Venetians*, with this whole Treaty, would not listen to *Cesar's* Proposals; but growing rather every day more and more desirous, either to fall foul upon *Cesar's* Territories, or else to defend his own Dominions from being assaulted by him, he applied himself to confirm his friends, thereby to increase his power and reputation: he therefore spoke with the King of *England*, at *Ardes*, a Town in *Picardie*, to confirm the peace made between them but a little before; and having a daughter born unto him, he desired the Senate, that the might be held at the Font by their Ambassador, and proceeded very civilly in all things with the Commonwealth. But for all this, the League, which had been long treated of at *Rome*, was not yet concluded: but the Articles being drawn up by common consent, and the *Venetians* having sent sufficient Commissions to their Ambassador, then resident at *Rome*, to ratify them, the Conclusion was deferred by reason of new difficulties which arose: For the King of *France*, who was at first content that the League should aim only at the peace and safety of *Italy*, to the which, the other *Italian* Princes being invited, there was place reserved for such as would Confederates; to the end that they might join in the Common cause, made, now new proposals, which aimed at other ends; moved thereunto, either out of new desires, or out of some new occasion, seeing *Cesar* busied about many weighty affairs; for there were many Commotions in many of the chiefest Cities of *Spain*, which in a tumultuous manner sought to withdraw themselves from *Charles* his Government; and constituting a popular Government, to enjoy Liberty, as many Towns in *Germany* did: Besides, many of the Princes and people of *Germany*, shewed themselves to be but badly satisfied with the new Emperour, for divers of his actions; especially, for *Martin Luther's* being banished, by Imperial Proclamation, at the Dyet at *Wormes*; so that, he had reason enough to be troubled. Wherefore the King of *France*, thinking that those dangers were sufficiently secured, which had first made him endeavour the League, being little satisfied therewith (as humane minds, especially those of Princes, disquieted with new longings, are easie to give way to new desires) he more fervently coveted greater matters; thinking, that he had now a fitting opportunity offered him, to oppose *Cesar's* greatness, which did already grow too immoderate; and particularly, to drive him out of his Territories in *Italy*, wherefore he made his forces move towards *Navarre*, to assist the King, and repossessed him of his ancient States, which were formerly taken from him, by King *Ferdinando*; and did little less then discover his intentions openly, in the Treaty of League with the Pope and *Venetians*.

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The Pope moved by these or by some more hidden reasons, he likewise being full of new cogitations, began to propound new Articles in the conventions of the League; desiring, that it might be specified, that all the Colleagues should be bound to assist him, in punishing the Churches contumacious Subjects; whereby it clearly appeared, that his ancient desire of driving Duke *Alfonso d'Este* out of the Dominions of *Ferrara*, was risen up in him again; which was nothing else, but to kindle a great combustion in *Italy*: for the less able the Duke knew himself to be, to resist the power of the Colleagues, by reason of his small forces, and the little love his Subjects bore him, the more he should be inforced to have recourse to Foreign aid for his defence, and to leave no stone unturned.

The *Venetians* knowing that whereas they desired to procure quiet and safety, both to themselves, and to all *Italy*, the way would, by these new Obligations, be opened to new troubles, and to greater dangers; they began likewise to proceed more slowly in concluding the Agreement: For they maturely considered, that it made not for their good, wholly to break the Truce for five years, confirmed by *Cesar*; and to anger the King of *England*, who they knew would not be pleased with the new Confederacy; he having done many friendly offices to the Emperour. Whilst the business of the League, for these Respects, was delay'd, and doubtfull; it was known by a new, and unthought of Accident, which did alter the whole course of affairs, and was cause of grievous and important Tumults, that the Pope, after having shew'd so great a desire for the peace of *Italy*, and after so many negotiations had with the *French*, to oppose such as should go about to disturb it, had secretly agreed with the Emperour, to assault the State of *Milane*, by their joint forces. All men, especially the *Venetians*, did strangely wonder, and were very much confused, that the Pope, by taking away the Counterpoise of the *French* Forces, should by his forces and authority increase the Emperours power in *Italy*, which he himself had, but a little before, made appear to be so suspicious and formidable to the Church, and to all the *Italian* Princes; and that it ought to be suppress'd, or at least moderated. By the Pope's consent and counsel, several secret practices were held by the Imperialists with those that were outlaw'd in *Milane*, whereof there were many principal Noble men, of great attendance, and authority; that, by their means, tumults should be unexpectedly raised, at one and the same time, in several Cities, to drive out the *French* of Force, who feared nothing less; whose Garrisons were already much lessened, and when *Lautrech* was absent, who was gone a little before to *France*. But these consultations coming to the knowledge of *Monsieur de Lerce*, brother to *Lautrech*, and to whom he had left his Lieutenant in *Italy*, before the time was ripe, to put them in execution, he speedily raised so many men as did suffice to suppress these Plots; and many of the Outlawed being by him driven out of the State of *Milan*, where they had secretly hid themselves, and fled to the City of *Regio*, where they were received by him that was governour for the Pope, who, as hath been said, was conscious of what was formerly agreed on with *Cesar*, and knew all these

these Designs. And these men being pursued by the *French*, even to the gates of *Regio*, the Pope complained grievously, that the *French*, bearing so little respect to his dignity and authority, and to the friendship which he held with the King of *France*, should go to his Force, and seek to use violence; anticipating by these complaints, which were chiefly made to the Senate of *Venice*, those which were rather to have been made by the King of *France*; that the Pope, contrary to the agreement which was made between them, should suffer that his rebellious and contumacious subjects, and who were Out-lawed, should be received into the Cities belonging to the Church, just when they sought to disturb his affairs.

But the Venetians being desirous (as much as in them lay) to appease these tumults (for the Pope's more resolute will, and his condescendency made with *Cesar*, though it were ratified by him, was not as yet publicly known) laboured to free the Pope of these suspicions, shewing, that the proceedings of the Kings of *France*, had always been such towards all Popes, and that upon their knowledge, the now present King bore so great a respect to the affairs of the Church, and such observance to this Pope's person, as a contrary opinion was not now to be grounded upon so slight an occasion; nor ought so continued, and so good an Intelligence betwixt that Kingdom and the Apostolique See be broken upon such a cause: They therefore earnestly desired *Leo*, that before he should settle in such an opinion, as might produce many pernicious effects, he would be pleased to write to the King, to know his mind, and to be better informed of what had happened. But it was in vain to persuade the Pope, who though he seemed to put on new resolutions upon this new accident, had notwithstanding, for certain established his agreement already with the Emperour, wherein it was accorded,

That when the State of Milan should be recovered by their joyned Forces, the Cities of Parma and Piacenza should return to the Church, and all the rest of the State of Milan should be assigned over unto Francesco Sforza: That the Pope should forthwith absolve Charles of his oath, which he took at his being invested into the Kingdom of Naples, that so he might with the better Title hold the Empire.

All Treaties of agreement being then despair'd of, the Venetians resolv'd to be by no means failing to the obligations which they had to the King of *France*, touching the preservation of the State of *Milan*. It was known that many souldiers were assembled by order from the Pope and Emperour, to the end, that since they succeeded not in their secret practises, they might forthwith betake themselves to open force: To which purpose the Pope, though under other pretences, had already taken six thousand Switzers into pay, and *Prospero Colonna*, who was declared Captain General of the Enterprize, went to *Bologna* to raise a great many souldiers, and the Viceroy of *Naples*, with the Cavalry of that Kingdom, and *Marquis Pescara*, with the Spanish Infanterie, were come to the banks of the River *Trento*, to be ready to pass over upon the first occasion. Wherefore the Venetians hastid to take six thousand Italian foot into pay, and mustering all their Horse in *Brescia*, they ordered their Governour *Theodoro*

Trivulzio

Trivulzio, to march with them to the banks of *Adas*, and that if the *French* affairs should require it, he should pass over it. They likewise commanded *Paolo Nani*, who was then Commander of *Bergamo*, that he should wait upon the Governour, and follow the camp, executing the place of Commissary. This news being this mean while come to *France*, *Lautrech* returned speedily into Italy, began to provide for the succouring of the State of *Milan* in time, there not being sufficient Garrisons there in it, to defend it, if it should be fallen upon by a powerful Army: His chief care and diligence was, to keep the new succour which the enemy expected (who had already about a thousand Curassiers, and eight thousand foot) from joyning with them. The Pope had lastly taken three thousand more Switzers into pay; for half of his former number of them were diminished: And at the same time, *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles*, being come to *Vilaco*, to raise six thousand foot in those parts, prepared (as soon as his number should be full, to pass with them into Italy, for whom *Cesar* demanded passage from the Venetians: They answered, they could by no means satisfy him in that his desire, by reason of the agreements which they had made with the King of *France*; wherein to fail, was to falsifie their words: But to be sure that they should not enter against their wills, they gave order for the stopping of all passages, and placed diligent Guards in them: And because there were several Passes whereby the Dutch foot might fall down into the Territories of *Verona*, and joyn with *Colonna's* men, so as it would be a difficult matter to secure them all, by putting sufficient Garrisons into them, the Venetians were minded to erect a Fort between *Peschiera* and *Lonato*, whereinto their Forces being put, which were then eight hundred Curassiers, six hundred light Horse, and six thousand foot, they might hinder the enemy from advancing any further; whatsoever way they should come, which it was thought they might easily do: for those Dutch foot had neither Horse nor Artillery with them, nor any warlike tackling, whereby to force their passage. This advice was at first much applauded by *Lautrech*, who affirmed, that he would come himself in person, with his men, and joyn with the Venetian Army, confessing oft, that this was the securest way to defend the State of *Milan*; yet altering his mind not long after, he desired the Venetians, that leaving the thought of hindering the enemies passage, which he thought to be impossible, they would send their men to joyn with the French in the Territories of *Cremona*: So the Venetians leaving the Passes, Guarded the best they could by the people of the Country, ordered *Trivulzio* to go with all his Horse and Foot towards *Cremona*; and for that *Lautrech* desired that he might have some Venetian Gentleman with him, of authority and experience, with whom he might advise what way that way was best to be managed, the Senate sent forthwith *Andrea Gritti* to the Camp, continuing *Paolo Nani* there still, to provide for all things necessary for the Army. *Ferdinando da Pescara*, was moreover chosen Commissary General on *Terra Ferma*, to whom the care and custody of the Forts was particularly commended; where into were put 2000 foot newly taken into pay, and some Curassiers to secure themselves upon all occasions.

occasions from danger. Moreover the Senate resolved at *Lautrech's* intreaty, to take 3000 more Foot into pay; and gave willingly way likewise to the contributing of maintaining some Horse and Foot, with whom the Duke of *Ferrara* promised to march in behalf of the French: To the end that the King, and all men else, might acknowledge that nothing was wanting one their side for the safeguard of the State of *Milan*, nor to the ready, and sincere maintaining of the agreement which was made between them and the French.

But the French were more diligent in exhorting the Venetians to make good the Articles of the confederacy, then to make requisite provisions themselves, wherein they proceeded but slowly; which is very prejudicial to the essence of War: For though *Lautrech* did continually affirm that Monsieur *di St Vallier* was to pass immediately over the Mountains with 6000 French Foot, and that 10000 Switzers being already raised by the King, would soon begin to march, yet they were never seen to appear.

On the other side the Enemy, being already grown very strong, the Dutch Foot being joyn'd with them, passed safely into the Territories of *Mantua*, and from thence to those of *Millan*; and knowing what advantage it was for them to make hast, they went to Besiege *Parma*, the taking whereof would be of much safety and honour unto them. But *Lautrech*, who when he first saw them begin to move, had some suspicion of the business, and had sent his brother Monsieur *di Lescur* thither with a good Garrison; which did not, notwithstanding, keep the Césarians, and Ecclesiastick Commanders from pursuing their first intention, hoping to take it, since the Town was but weak of itself, and their Army very strong: Which they had done, had not *Lautrech*, to whom a great recruit of men was come from *France*, resolved to march nearer up to the Enemy with his whole Army, by whose coming and because the Duke of *Ferrara* had raised a great many Foot, threatening to Assault *Modena*, and *Regio*; *Colonna* was forced (as he himself said afterwards) to rise from before *Parma*: Which the Pope was wonderfully displeased at who in his joyning with *Cesar* did chiefly covet the getting of that Town. The bad success of this first enterprize begat (as it usually happens upon such like occasions) no small jealousies between the confederates; for the Pope complained of the Imperial Commanders, as if cunningly prolonging the taking of *Parma*, they had taken an occasion to rise from thence to enforce him, whom they knew to be so desirous of that place, to contribute readily to all the expences of the War. And on the other side the Emperour, finding the Pope so ill satisfied, grew more confirm'd in his former suspicion, that he would either forsake him, when he should have achieved his end, in getting by the confederacy all that belong'd unto him; or else that failing that hope, and being soon weary of the expence and danger of War, as also being naturally given to change in opinions, he might as easily forego his Friendship, as he had done the like of the King of *France*. Therefore thinking it necessary, for the well grounding of his designs, to draw the Venetians into the confederacy, because the Pope, by reason of the Authority and Strength

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that they would add unto the confederacy, would be more cautious in breaking it; and because the Common-wealths Aids would be readier, and more constant then those of the Church; he resolved to send *Francisco Laus* to *Venice*, to reside there as his Embassadour: And by him he did again very much press the Venetians to joyn with him and the Pope. Saying that this was the only way to that peace which he desired no less then they; and that this was his intention might easily be proved, by his ready consent to invest *Francisco Sforza*, Duke of *Bari*, in the Dukedom of *Milan*, thereby to reduce the affairs of *Italy* to a peacefull condition, when he might lay just claim thereunto. But the Senate, not altering their first determination, partly because they thought *Cesar* would not be as good as his word, partly calling to mind the last actions done by the French in service of the Common-wealth; thought it stood not with their faith and honour to abandon them, upon the first occasion of danger. The War went therefore on, and more men were daily raised, as well in the French and Venetians Army, as in that of the Emperours and Popes, by the coming of many Switzers to both Camps; for Cardinal *Sedunense* went into *Switzerland*, where he took many of that Nation into pay in the Popes name, who finding the opportunity of some Barks, passed therein over the River *Oglio*, though the Venetians had endeavour'd by all means possible to hinder their passage, and to guard the Banks, and so entered into the Territories of *Brescia*, and not without great harm to the Country people, got to the Emperours Army: And the 10000 Switzers which had been so long expected, came at last to *Lautrech*. Thus both Armies being very strong, so as they gave a just counterpoise one to the other, they did nothing for a good while, but stood doubtful, till at last *Colonna* was the first that moved, to pass over the River *Ada*, and marched towards *Milan*. Which when *Lautrech* heard of, he resolved to depart immediately from the Territories of *Cremona*, where he had tarried a good while, and marched towards *Cassano*, to hinder the Enemy from passing over the River, but they preventing the Frenchmens design by their speedy March, past the River safely between *Riva* and *Cassano*, and continued on their March towards *Millan*: So as *Lautrech* failing of his first hopes, followed the Enemy with more diligence, intending, if he conveniently could, to give him Battle; but *Prospero* who loved not much to hazard himself upon Fortune, kept him from doing so; and *Lautrech* at last brought his Army into *Millan*, leaving the Venetian Commissary with the Artillery, and part of his men at *Lodi*. The rest whereof being led on by *Trivulcio*, entered *Millan* too. But *Colonna* thinking that he might attempt *Millan* without much danger, came speedily to the Suburbs, rather to try what he could do by an unexpected assault, then out of any hope of good success: Advancing therefore a Band of select Souldiers, he assaulted one of the Gates of the Suburbs after Sun set, when the Defendants did least fear it, giving order that these should be readily succour'd by a greater number, if the first assault should prove prosperous. *Trivulcio* had the guard of this Gate with some companies of Venetian Foot, who (such Orders being given as the shortness

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of time, and the unexpected action would permit) made stout resistance, and adverted *Lautrech* of the sudden accident, and of what danger he was in. But many Harquebusiers coming in to assist the Enemy, and no supply coming to the Venetian Foot; for the Switzers being commanded by *Lautrech* to go thither, would not stir; and the Gualcons who were sent afterwards in their stead, came too late; *Trivulcio* was inforced to retreat with his Souldiers, and to give way to a greater Force: So as the Imperialists entring the City, where all things were full of fear and confusion, they fell to plunder the Houses with such fury, as there was no distinction made between those that were for the Imperialists and the contrary party. In this tumult *Trivulcio* was taken Prisoner, *Mercurio Bua* Captain of the Venetians light Horse, *Luigi Marino* Secretary to the Commonwealth, & many others, *Lautrech* minding nothing else but how to save the Cavalry, wherewith he got safe and entire out of *Milan*, and got quickly to *Como*. The Venetian Curassiers, who being gone from *Lodi*, were coming towards *Milan*, were stript by the way, and the greatest part of them got into *Bergamo*. And the Switzers who first began the mutiny, the tumult increasing, valued not their Captains commands, but returned to their own homes. *Milan* being thus taken, and the French Army in so great disorder, *Lodi*, *Pavia*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, yielded suddenly to the Imperialists, as did *Cremona* soon after, though a great number of French arriving, who made good the Castle, it was soon recovered. Thus the French, not having received any rout, nor having so much as struck a stroke, being very strong, were by a very slight accident put to great disorder and confusion, and lost so large and so fair a State, the winning whereof had cost them so dear. This is the change and uncertainty which all humane actions are subject to, wherein we often labour in vain, the labour of many years being lost in one day, in one moment. *Colonna* endeavouring to make use of this good Fortune, and to defeat the remainder of the French Army, pursued *Lautrech*, who leaving *Como*, was gone towards *Lodi*, but not making any stay there, he went with his Curassiers into the Country of *Geraddada*, and not tarrying long there neither, he went to *Leonato*, in the Territories of *Brescia*. Which though it were very grievous to the Venetians, by reason of the inconvenience which would thereby redound to that Country, which had been already exhausted by long War, being to find food for so many Horse, whereof *Lautrech* had 5000. Every compleat Lancier having 10 Horses, yet being unwilling to refuse the admittance of the French into their State, they made other proposals to them. They put them in mind of carrying their men into the parts about *Ferrara*, which indeed the Duke did desire for his own ends; for that being a very fat Country, and not toucht upon by the War, they might be there fed commodiously, and it was very opportunely situated; moreover it might be advantagious; for the Pope, who was still apprehensive, being by reason of the Neighbourhood of so many Warriors, jealous that *Bologna*, and the State of *Urbine* might run some hazard, had caused the Army of the League to come into those parts; so as this might be a means of some good success.

success. But *Lautrech* refusing this and all other proposals, the Senate was contented to please him, by suffering him to winter his men in their Dominions; at which, when the Emperours Embassadors seemed to be troubled, answer was made; that in case of such misfortunes, not onely friends and confederates, but even enemies ought to be assisted: that therefore, both in respect of their Articles of capitulation, and out of meer civility, they could not but assist the French in this their adverse Fortune, and afford them all convenience, for the preservation of their men, which were to serve either for the defence, or recovery of the State of *Milan*, to the which the Commonwealth was by particular agreement bound. It was therefore ordered, that the French, and our men also, should forbear molesting the enemy, whilst they tarried in those Territories; least the enemy might take occasion to pursue them too within the Venetian Confines, which would be very prejudicial to the Country.

But *Bartolomeo di Villa Chiara*, and Monsignor *Visconte* being past over the *Ada*, and entred with some of their Troops into the *Bergamasco*, to infect the Country; Commissary *Gritti* gave leave for the defence thereof against the Imperialists; so as some Troops of light Horse, and some Gentlemen that were banished out of *Milan*, coming out of *Crema*, and passing likewise over the *Ada*, they assaulted some of the Enemies Curassiers at unawares, plundered them, and did them further harm. This mean while *Lautrech* propounded to go with all the men he then had, to *Cremona*, intending to throw a Bridge over the *Po* at *Pontinico*, near the greater *Casal*, that he might be master of the country on both sides of the River; and might hold intelligence with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was come into the field with no small forces to attempt the taking of *Modena* and *Reggio*. This Seat was likewise thought very opportune to fall upon the Territories of *Mantua*, and particularly *Viadana*, a very rich and opulent Town, from whence they might get good store of Victuals for their Army: and the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was in the Leagues Camp, as Captain General of the Churches forces, would be forced to depart from thence, and come to defend his own affairs. But the Venetians not thinking it fit to make any attempts before they had greater forces, nor to draw new enemies upon them in time of ill fortune, not being thereunto necessitated, dissuaded *Lautrech* from this: When things were in this condition, Pope *Leo* died, whereupon the face of things did soon much alter.

This Pope was famous for many vertues, particularly for his Princely liberality and munificence, wherewith he cherished and befriended the *Litterati*, and all such as were excellent in any knowledge: But he would have left a better memory of his Popedom behind him, if he had not obscured his glory, by busying himself and others in troublesome Wars, and suffering himself to be sometimes transported by his affections: He seemed both by his words and intercessions, to be well affected to the Commonwealth, and to desire her greatness; yet covering his contrary proceedings, by various pretences, he was alwaies a back friend to her. It was evidently seen, that the reputation of the Colleagues would be much lessened by the Pope's

death: for the *Switzers*, who by reason of their confederacy, renewed (much to their advantage) with the King of *France*, were always troubled to be led on against him, having already begun their wonted tumults, when they heard that *Leo* was dead, they presently left the Camp, and the State of *Milan*; and it was thought that the College of Cardinals would at their first meeting, recal the Churches forces out of *Romagna*, whereby great opportunity appeared to be offered for the recovery of the State of *Milan*, with as much ease as it was lost before, the City not being over-well Garrison'd, and the Enemy not having sufficient forces in the field to succour it. Moreover the Town was full of confusion, the people were very ill satisfied with the Imperialists, by reason of the many mischiefs done by the *Switzers*, Spanish, and Dutch foot; hating them and their Nations, almost as much now, as they had formerly done the French; and the Cardinals of *Medices* and *Sedunences* were gone from the camp, that they might be present at the election of the new Pope; and by their absence, the authority of the League, and all mens observancy thereof was much lessened. Out of these respects, as also to free their Territories from the expence of feeding the French, the *Venetians* hastened to raise souldiers every where, taking the greatest part of the Garrisons from their Cities; they chose also new Commanders, for *Malatesta Baglione*, and some others; had foregone the Venetian pay, that they might recover their particular States in the vacancy of the Apostolike Sea. But the hopes of good success consisted chiefly, in the Protection which the *Switzers* had taken with much fervency of the French affairs, and of the recovery of the State of *Milan*, in the last Dyet of *Lucerna*; to which purpose, they had, by resolution of the same Dyet, sent some to *Venice*, to desire the Senate, that they would continue their forwardness in favouring the affairs of France, and to make good their Articles of confederacy; promising that they would take upon them, to defend those who should in this case help, and adhere unto the king of France: wherefore *Lautrech* reassuming courage, resolved, though it were in the very depth of winter, to move with those men which he had got together, and to enter the Territories of *Milan*. But *Colonna* this mean while minded the mending of the Rampiers, and enlarging the Platformes, and the securing of *Milan*, by many other works: the Garrison whereof (which consisted onely of Spanish Foot, was much increased by the Dutch, who were first brought from *Como*, to *Marignano*, and from thence to *Milan*. The Marquess of *Mantua* was no less diligent in *Lodi*, where he had 200 Horse, and but a few Foot.

The French and Venetian Commanders falling to consult what they had best do, at first, many things were propounded, with some difference of Opinion. *Frederico di Bozzuolo* propounded, the sudden assailing of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, wherein there were but weak Garrisons, and those made yet the weaker by the uncertainty of the *Switzers* Loyalty, it being gathered by some discourse which had been had with them, that they would pass over to the French camp, But it being necessary, that to effect this, the whole Army must be carried beyond the River *Poe*, it was openly gaind by the Venetian

Commissary,

Commissary, as a thing wherein there was more danger, then hopes of good success; especially, since they could not very well guard the Pope, so as they might at their pleasure retire. He therefore was for carrying all their men to *Cremona*, and for getting the country thereabouts, the greatest part whereof held for the *Spaniards*, and that then they might make use of time and occasion, in falling upon other enterprises: Thus both of them persisting in their opinion, it was resolved, that (neither of these counsels being fully allowed of, nor yet fully rejected,) *Frederick* should pass the *Poe*, with part of the forces, and draw near *Parma*, but without any artillery; because, if his design did not succeed, he might retreat the sooner, and without danger: and that the rest of the French Army, and all the *Venetians*, should return to *Cremona*. But affairs not falling out successfully about *Parma*, *Bozzuolo*, without making any attempt upon *Piacenza*, returned to joyn with *Lautrech*, who was already gotten into the Territories of *Cremona*; and this was all that was at that time done, and wherewith the year 1521 ended. But the two great Princes, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Francis* king of France, were still set hot upon war, which foretold great combustions in Italy, and other Provinces, in the beginning of the next year.

The French Army being now very strong, for many *Switzers* were come unto their Camp, and the *Venetians*, who were then 6000 Foot, 600 Curassiers, and 800 Light-horse, being already thereunto joyned; *Lautrech*, by the consent of the other Commanders, resolved to attend the final issue of the Warr, and to march towards *Milan*. Being therefore advanced with the whole Army, the French encamped themselves at *Cassano*, and the *Venetians* at *Binasco*, upon the Road that leads from *Pavia* to *Milan*, to hinder the Victuals which were brought by that way. Whilest they were in these quarters, some Companies of *Switzers*, and some Troups of French Horse, were sent to *Novara*, which place, not being time enough relieved by the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was come out of *Pavia* to that end, it was easily taken and sacked by the Assailants, and *Philip Torniello*, Commander of the adverse Partie, was made Prisoner. *Novarra* being taken, *Vigevano* soon surrendered; which purchase was thought the greater; because it opened the way for Succours, which were expected from France, to come and join with the Camp: in hopes whereof, they did the more easily bear with many hardships, which the camp began already to undergoe, for want of monies, and through other inconveniences; there being no hopes of bringing the War to a final good end, without other new and important succours; the King of France had given out, that he would come himself into Italy: and being gon in the beginning of April to Lyons, hee sent the Admiral there forwards to *Grampse*, and gave order for the levying of 12000 Foot of several Nations, being very solicitous in ordering such a preparation for war, as became his forces, and such an enterprise, on which his heart was so set, as he would often times say, That rather then to give it over, he would hazard his own person, and his kingdom. Hee therefore indeavoured, by many fervent solicitations, to keep the Venetian Senate in their first and constant resolution,

tion, of not foregoing his friendship, for any offers that *Cesar* could make them. Hee writ likewise particularly to *Gritti* the Commissary of the camp, as to one that hee knew very well, and esteemed very much, recommending the business to him, and assuring him, that he might safely build upon his coming into *Italy*, and upon the Forces which he would bring with him, which should be certain, and sudden: which made the *Venetians* concur the more readily to the charges of the war, not only for what belonged unto themselves, but in the concernments of the *French*, assisting them at their needs with much amunition, and many other things; and with good sums of money to pay their souldiers.

For all this, provisions came not from *France*, answerable to what was requisite, and to their promises: But after long expectation, *Monsieur de Lesne* came, without any men, and but with little monies. Therefore thinking that they should doe no good by tarrying longer about *Milan*, they resolved at last to remove, and to come with their camp before *Pavia*; hoping, that the strength of their Army, and the weakness of the Garrison which was in that City, being considered, they might get a sudden, and a safe victory; for though, out of some such suspicion, the Marquess of *Mantua* was entred the Town, with some souldiers, yet there was not, at that time there, more then 12000 *Italian* Foot, 500 *Curassiers*, and some few *Light* horse: wherefore it was thought, that when the Marquis should see the *French* Army draw nigh, he would come out, and forgoe the defence of the City, as a thing too hard to be done.

The whole Army, both of the *French* and *Venetians*, being incamped before the walls, they began to batter, and having already thrown down about 40 foot of the wall, the *Switzers*: who are naturally impatient of delay, desired the *French* Commanders, that they might be led on to the assault. But they thinking it better to let the business grow more ripe, till they might be more sure of victory, differ'd the doing so, till a Mine might be accomplished, which was preparing to be made by the invention of *Petro Navarra* under a great Bastiome, by the downfall whereof, the assault might be the better given. And the mean while, a bridge being made over the *Tessino*, the *Light*-horse made inrodes, even to the very gates of the city, keeping the enemy from either coming in, or coming out. Yet all passages could not be so diligently kept, but that some Foot sent with succour from *Milan* got into the City, by the way of *Marignano*, though many of them were kept back by the Cavalry, and many brought prisoners into the camp. But businesses went slower forward then the present necessity required; for *Navarra's* Engines required length of time, and were hard to compass; and some pieces of cannon were expected from *Lodi* and *Crema*, wherewith to renew the battery. By this delay, *Colonna* had opportunity given him, to draw forth his whole army into the field, and having taken up his station in a strongly situated place, upon the way to *Pavia*, the *French* were very jealous, lest he might advance farther, and indanger them, whilst being busie about assaulting the City, they were the less intent upon other business: Therefore they placed

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10000 *Switzers*, and 600 *French* *Curassiers* on their back, who if need should be, might sustain the brunt of the enemy, who should come to assault them. In this interim, some *French* horse which were gone out to over-run the Country, advancing too far, fell upon the Enemies Van-guard, by whom they were chased, and many of them taken Prisoners; *Colonna's* men leaving their first Quarters, came and placed themselves in a strong situation at *Binasco*, about 8 miles distant from the *French* Camp, which made the *French* Commanders more jealous and afraid; for to tarry long idle about the Walls of the City, without using any violence, redounded much to the ill-reputation of their Army, and there was much danger in making an assault; for if they should be beaten back, they feared lest the *Switzers*, having made this trial in vain, despairing of good success, might quit the Camp, not being well satisfied that they had not received the pay which they had already deserved. Moreover, being of some days past much straitened in victuals, they could not have been able to refresh their wearied and afflicted Souldiers, nor supply their greivous necessities.

But say that things should have succeeded luckily, and that they should have taken the City, how could any Commander hope to keep his Souldiers, especially the *Switzers*, from plundering; where-in being busied without either any Order or Government, the whole Army was in danger of manifest ruine, having so powerful an Enemy so near at hand.

These things being considered, *Gritti* advised that they should raise the Camp from before *Pavia*, and go to some strong and safe place, where they might expect the coming of the King of *France*, which they were informed by new messages from *France*, would be very soon, and with great Forces. And it is most apparent that his presence accompanied with such a strength of men, would have brought so much reputation to that Army, and have won so much favour from some, and infused so much terror into othersome, as they must have been sure of a notable Victory. Nothing pleaded against this commendable and wholesome advice, but the *Switzers* sickleness, who not admitting of any reason, did obstinately demand either to be dismiss'd, that so they might return home, or else brought to fight the Enemy: And it was the harder to appease them, for that the scarcity of Victuals was now grown greater, because the Country being overflowed by very great rains, and the Bridges over *Tessino* being broken down, whereby Victuals was brought from *Navarra*, and *Vegivene*, they had much ado to get provisions for the Army.

Whilst these doubts and difficulties were disputed in the *French*, and *Venetian* camp, they understood that the *Imperialists* being risen from *Binasco*, were marching forwards with all their Forces. Whereupon *Lautrec* resolved suddenly to meet them, and to fight them. He was very diligent in putting his Army in good order, behaving himself like a valiant, and well experienced Commander. But the Enemy hastening their march, got into a strong Station, so near the

Chap.

Charterhouse, as *Colonna* and the Marquis of *Pescara*, were quartered in the very Monastery of the Carthusians; a place very Famous for the lately and excellent Building: *Lautrecb* not being then able to do what he first intended, moved to march forward, and get beyond the Enemy, and to settle in some fitting place upon the way to *Milan*, thinking to make *Colonna* dislodge, and draw nearer *Milan*: But this being argued in the counsel of War, and many difficulties being found therein, it was resolved that they should go to within two miles of the Emperour's camp, and that the Switzers and French should Quarter on the outside of the Park of the Charterhouse, and the Venetians within the Park; but yet so as both parts of the Army might commodiously succour each other through some gaps which were made in the Park wall. And before the camp was settled, *Lautrecb*, to try the Enemy, ordered that two Batagions of the Switzers and two great bodies of Curassiers, should advance neare the Enemy, against which none appearing, it was thought that the Imperialists were suddenly removed, and returned to their former Quarters of *Binasco*, whither they came two days after; *Colonna* having the mean while, much to his praise, relieved *Pavia*, and made the Enemies camp to rise from before it. But the French camp were in great disturbances, by the Switzers mutinying, who thought they knew that the Moneys destin'd for their pay was come to *Arona*, yet they continued still to mutiny, refusing to go any whither, save where they might soonest, and most commodiously receive their money. Wherefore they propounded that the whole Army might go by the way of *Biagrasa*, towards *Vigivene*, and that making a Bridge over the *Ticino*, a safe convoy might be sent to bring them their Moneys. Which *Gritti* did openly gainsay, saying, he would not go so far from the Territories of the Common-wealth, and expose his men to so much the greater danger, as that the Switzers being in a better, and safer way homewards, might the more easily forsake them. After divers debates, it was at last resolved that the whole Army should march towards *Monz*; to which the Venetian Commanders consented; having first caused *Lodi* to be well manned, and thrown a Bridge over the *Adas* at *Trecco*, that they might upon all occasions have a way to retreat safely, and to secure their Men and their Country.

When the Switzers were come to *Monz*, they would presently have passed over the *Ticino*,

Openly blaming the French for their irresoluteness, and backwardness, and complaining grievously, that they, who were a Valliant Nation, should be put to suffer so many inconveniencies so long, without receiving their just, and well deserved pay, and without being brought to try their Valour in War. That they had several times offer'd to be the first who should go on in assaulting Pavia, that they had often times desired to come to a day of Battle with the Enemy, who were more encouraged by the fear, and cowardliness of others, then by their own Forces. That they had never refused any danger, labour, or military action, wherein they might serve the Crown of France; but that yet they would not be held to be safe,

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and servile, such as would doe their work, without such reward as their Valour and Labour did deserve.

And though the French Commanders did what they could to appease this tumultuous proceeding,

Shewing that the Kings service (which was the thing they ought chiefly to respect) required them to do what they had done, and what at least would redound to their glory, and secure the Victory; that the delay of their pay proceeded not from any want of care in the King, or negligence in his Ministers; but from unavoidable impediments, all the passages being block'd up by the Enemy.

Yet they had much ado to appease the tumult, and to keep them in the Camp.

The Cæsar's Army which was come to *Bidpoca*, a place about four miles from *Milan*, was in great disorder for the same cause: For the *Lanschenets* mutyn'd, demanding pay; and many Italian Foot, who were not paid, passed over into the Enemies Army, and were taken into pay by the Venetians; and some of the Spanish companies had let our Commanders understand that they were ready to doe the like, if they might be received. Moreover there was no good correspondency between the chief Commanders; for *Pescara* being high minded, scorned to do any thing by any other mans order, or counsel, or to depend upon *Colonna's* Authority.

But so great was the Switzers impatency in the French Camp, as it marr'd all good resolutions, and would not suffer the Commanders to make use of time, or to draw any advantage out of these the Enemies disturbances. So as the Switzers affirming still that they would go over the *Tessino*, and *Gritti* being necessitated therefore to say, that then he must need depart the same day with his men towards *Lodi*; *Lautrecb*, partly disdaining these Proposals which were made on all sides, partly to shun the being thought a Dastard (for the French are always naturally friends to sudden counsels, though not safe, more then to long expectation, though with more security) resolved to try the Fortune of Battle, though upon great disadvantage, being to assault the Enemy within their Quarters, which were naturally strong, being environ'd by many waters, and made the stronger by many works which the Imperialists had raised with much industry, for their better safety. The assault was so ordered as all the Switzers went in the first Squadron, being divided into two great Battalions, with 14 pieces of Artillery, and they were attended by *Babon di Naldo*, with 800 Venetian Harchebuffers on Foot: After these were the French Curassiers to follow, and then the whole body of the Venetian Foot with 9 pieces of Artillery, backt by their Curassiers divided into two parts. The Switzers marching thus apace, but in great good order, went boldly on to the assault; and though the badness of the place appear'd to be far worse when they were at it, then they had conceived it to be, yet not at all abating their fierceness, they strove to beat the Dutch Foot back, who did defend the Rampiers: Who making use of the advantage of place, fought the more courageously, to the end that they might not dispute the business with

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the Enemy upon equal terms, if they should be suffer'd to win the Ditch. At the same time the Switzers were play'd upon on the Flanks by great abundance of Musket shot, by the Spanish Foot; but all of them readily encountering the danger, those who remain'd alive, soon revenged their companions death. Whilst it was thus stoutly fought on all sides, on the Front of their Quarters, *Monsieur di Lescu*, wheeling about with the French Horse, assaulted the Enemies on the back, and finding the field open on that side, he advanced a good way in, committing great slaughter, and put the Enemy into great fear and disorder: So as it was generally thought, that if he had been followed by good store of Foot, the French and Venetians would that day have easily routed, and defeated the Imperial Army. But the Switzers, who after five hours fighting, found they were in vain to overcome the disadvantage of the place, began to retreat by little and little to within their Squadrons in a stupendous order, carrying off all their Artillery, and being more encouraged in their orderly retreat, because they saw themselves backt by the Venetians, who making good the Rear, secured them from being prest upon by the Imperialists. Of the French Army there perished in this assault more then 2000 men, all of them Switzers; but the loss was peradventure greater in the Imperial Camp, they having lost many men of good condition. Though this action had no very good success, yet as being full of confidence and courage, it was likely rather to have added unto, then to have lessened the reputation of the French Army, and to have invited them to other undertakings, had not the same impatiency of the Switzers, which formerly perswaded them against reason to attempt the Battle, disturb'd all their designs, and frustrated other hopes by their returning to their former tumults; *Laustrech* loaded the Captains of the Switzers with gifts and promises, and pray'd them that by their entreaties, reasons and authority, they would endeavour to keep their Foot in due obedience, which they all did: But amongst the rest *Altherto Pietra*, a man in much favour and authority with his Nation, calling them all together, spoke thus unto them.

You gave yesterday, My valiant Fellow Souldiers, so noble a proof of your daring, and military experience, as that action is not to be numbred amongst the least of praises which by common consent are given to our Nation, in all that appertains to the Militia: But to arise to the height of glory, it is requisite that we persevere in the same purpose of beating and quite conquering the Enemies Army: And that we return to try the fortune of War, lest it be thought that by yielding to the first no very fortunate encounter, it was sickleness, not true valour, which made us expose our selves to the dangers of Battle: Or else that we confess we are overcome, though in truth we be rather Conquerours, having assaulted the Enemy even without their works, done them much harm, and retreated safe and in good order, not any one of the Enemy having dared to come out of their Camp, and pursue us: No not so much as to shew any resentment, or that they do equal us in Force and Valour. But if we do first quit our Quarters which we now are in, it will assuredly be said, that the Imperialists got the Victory,

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and that we are gone, not of our own wills, but driven away by the Enemy. Whereas on the contrary, if we tarry here, we may get many notable advantages; we shall confirm all men in the opinion, that the Victory was really ours, we shall not a little encourage those that adhere to the French party, we shall infuse such terror into the Enemy, as to avoid the danger of more assaults, and of more certain ruine, now that they are aware we are better acquainted with the situation of their Quarters, and with our advantage, and disadvantage, they will retreat to within the Walls of Milan, and will leave us Masters of the Field, and free to fall upon whatsoever Designe we shall please: We have understood by express Messengers, that it is the will, nay the express command of our Masters and Governors, that we continue during this Militia, in the service of the King of France, How can we disobey what they command? Or, wherefore ought we to do it, in a business, which for our own glory and profit, we ought to seek and pursue, yea, though we were forbidden? We must not then certainly refuse to do it, when it is enjoy'd us under pain of disobedience. We are assured that the King will very shortly come into Italy with a great warlike preparation, nor can I see what forces the Enemy have to withstand so great a Force, or how they can oppose our Designs. The whole State of Milan will assuredly fall suddenly into the King's hands, who to revenge himself of the City for her rebellion, and of those his Subjects for their many injuries, and to reward the valour of his Army, will give the prey and plunder of them and it, unto his Souldiers; and you who have hitherto shared in such labours, and in so many dangers, will you lose the advantage thereof, and not be at the sucking of so many, and so rich Cities; for the very hopes whereof, though you were in Countries far off, you ought endeavour by all means possible to be present at this Militia, that you might receive fitting rewards for your military actions? What consideration can there be of so great moment, I beseech you, which can counterpoise so great glory, so great advantage? What else is it that can make you forego such hopes? You complain for want of pay, and in resentment thereof, will revenge your selves upon your selves: Consider better what the injury is that is done you, what it is you can with reason complain of: The King hath not provided monies time enough for your occasions: his Ministers may peradventure have been negligent therein: Can you doubt that your Pays are stopp'd, or that there is any doubt to be made of your receiving them? We know for certain, that the monies are already in your masters hands, and that the delay of payment, is only because the passages are so shut up and guarded by the Enemy, as the monies cannot without manifest danger be brought unto the Camp: If you will resent this, revenge your selves upon those that are the true cause why they are detained. Think of beating the Enemy, and so all the ways will be open, the Country will be ours, all things will depend upon us, and not upon the will of others: These are more useful, more generous thoughts, and more answerable to your former actions, then to think of returning home, as chased by your enemies, to whom you have been a terror, and will be so still, if you be not wanting unto your selves.

These words unwillingly listned unto, made no impression in the Souldiers, as being contrary to their already resolved will; who persevering obstinately in their former refractoriness, required that the Camp might be removed from thence, and that they might be dismissed the Militia: wherefore *Lautrech*, to shun further danger, was forced to rise, and went with his whole Army towards *Trecco*, where finding the Bridge already made, he lodged upon the Banks of *Ada*, his men being quartered, some on the one side, some on the other side of the River; the Venetian Commanders desiring it should be so, for the better security of their affairs: Where having stayed a few days, the Switzers disbanded, and went several ways to their own homes; but most of them took their way towards *Lecco*, where they understood the monies for their pay was come; The Grand Maître, Monsieur de *Mommorancie*, Monsieur de *Palissa*, and other Frenchmen following them, with their companies, since neither words nor actions were able to prevail with the Switzers, to make them tarry any longer; for it was so provided by the Venetians, that they should be defrayed by them without monies, till their pay was come from *France*: For the Venetians were very much troubled, and damned by the Switzers departure; *Lautrech* affirming, that he must be enforced to return with all his men to *France*, together with the Switzers, and thorow their country, if they should resolve to go, so as the parts about the *Ada* being left unguarded, the Imperialists might freely at their pleasure enter in hostile manner into the Territories of the Commonwealth. But if the French should stay in *Lombardy*, they desired the Senate that they might be permitted to quarter in the Territories of *Brescia*, against which there were many objections to be made; the country was wholly ruin'd by so long Wars, and by so many Garrisons, and it was to be feared, that it might afford the Imperialists occasion of passing into the confines of their State, who did already complain, that they had exceeded the bonds of their confederacy, in favouring the French; so as in many considerations, several inconveniences and differences and difficulties arose by the departure of the Switzers; who not being by any means to be detained, the Senate resolved to satisfy the French in their desire, and to receive them into their State, that they might not lessen their past deserts with the King, and because the preservation of those men made for the common safety, and facilitated the business of *Milan*, against the King should come into *Italy*. But *Lautrech*, and the other Commanders, being perswaded either by the reasons formerly alledged by the Venetians, or out of no small fear of what might ensue, if they should so suddenly abandon the whole State of *Milan*, resolved that part of their men should go to *Cremona*, whither also *Lautrech* himself went, and the rest to *Lodi*, with *Frederico da Bozzuolo*, and *Giovann de Medici*; though *Medici* not being able to make his men move without money, came not time enough thither: and the French Garrison which was in *Trecco*, not being sufficient to defend it, the Venetian Commissary sent *Giovann dal Saracino* thither, who was under the pay of the Commonwealth, with two companies of Italian Foot: But

Lautrech

Lautrech seeing that nothing came from *France* but fair words, and news of great warlike preparations, things which did little avail the present business, resolved to pass over the mountains, and to go himself to Court, to give an account of the affairs of *Italy*, leaving his brother Monsieur di *Leiscue* in *Cremona*; whither *Colonna* coming with all his Army, and no succour appearing, *Leiscue* was forced to yield up the City unto him, he having taken *Lodi* but a little before by an unexpected assault.

The End of the fourth Book.

THE



THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK V.

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Renzo

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THE Fortune and reputation of the French being much declined, by their being driven in a short space out of the State of Milan, and by Forces not greater than their own; it was generally thought, that the Venetians, whose Army was defeated, and the greatest part of their Horse by them dismist, they having likewise given leave to their Commissary Gritti to return from the camp, and come home: having largely made good their Confederacy with King Francis, though they got but little good thereby, would at last follow the victorious Fortune of Charles the Emperour: who as he had formerly seem'd to desire their friendship, so did he now more then ever endeavour to draw them to side with him; hoping, by reason of the low condition which the French were in, to be able to separte them from King Francis; and believing that the preservation of the State of Milan, and the good end of all the war did chiefly depend upon this new Confederacy, and upon the assistance and forces of the Venetians; for it was very certain, that king Francis made great preparations to pass into Italy with a powerfull Army; and that if he should be assisted by the Venetians, the Imperialists and Sforzas would not be able long to maintain the burthen of so heavy a war: As on the contrary, if the Venetians should joyn with the Imperialists, it was thought, that the French would be kept from retiring into Italy, being they were to meet with so stout resistance: and that King Francis, seeing himself deprived of the Venetian's aid, would lay aside all thoughts of coming into Italy, as despairing of good Success. Cesar therefore laboured hard to effect this; and did not onely treat thereof at his own Court, with Gasparo Contarini, who was Embassador there, for the Commonwealth, acquainting him with many reasons, wherefore the Senate should be perswaded to joyn in like Confederacy with him, to defend the States of each other, as they had of late years done with the King of France; but he likewise interposed the authority of the King of England, with whom Charles having had speech at his return from Spain, he had had much discourse thereupon; and the Cardinal of York had the copy of the Capitulations, drawn up by the Emperour's Lord

Chancellour;

Chancellour; and having acquainted Gasparo Contarini with them, offered to moderate them, and to make them such as the Commonwealth (which had complained thereof, as being too severe) should have reason to accept them. But the business requiring some length of time, by reason of this distance of place, a League was concluded between Charles and Henry, reserving room for the Venetians to be comprehended therein, if they would declare within three months; and if they would accommodate their affairs first with Cesar, either by way of Truce, or Peace: which being communicated to the Senate, produced as then no other result, save onely fair correspondency in general, with a shew of being much inclined to peace, and to friendship with Cesar, so it might stand with the honour and safety of the Commonwealth: and that, since the Cardinal of York had already offered himself to be a Mediator, and stickler in the business of greatest difficulty, it was requisite, to hear what he would propound, before any resolution could be taken.

But the news of the French preparations for the affairs of Italy increasing dayly, and greater doubts arising in Charles, and Henry, by reason of the Venetians delaying to put on any resolution, that their State would continue their confederacy with France, they resolved to send Embassadors to Venice, to accelerate the conclusion of the League which was propounded by them. The King of England's Embassador came thither first, which was Richard Pace, who having received his Commission from his King, whilst the said Richard was at Rome, discharged his trust, together with the Emperours Embassador, which was resident at Venice; desiring in their Prances name, that the Senate would declare, what they intended to do, when the King of France should return with an Army into Italy, to possess himself of the State of Milan. But the Emperours Embassador proceeded further, desiring that the Commonwealth would wage war against the King of France, if he should not desist from troubling Cesar, and from disturbing the peace of Italy: alledging, that the Venetians were bound to do so, by a particular Confederacy made two years before at London, wherein by particular consent of their Senate, the State of Venice was named amongst the chief Contractors.

The Venetians proceeded very maturely in this Treaty; weighing how pernicious any resolution they could put on might prove to the Commonwealth, according to the various events which might happen in the affairs of Italy, and by the secret Counsels of Princes: for it was certain, That if the King of France should, through any accident that might happen, delay sending a powerfull army on this side the Mountains, his reputation would be so much less'd; and the Forces and authority of his enemies so confirmed, as the adherers to the French would be expos'd to eminent dangers: and, on the other side, to forego their Friendship, to boot, that it went against their general inclination, brought with it no lesser difficulties: For it was rather to be believed, both in respect of the power, and wealth of the Kingdom of France, and out of the immense desire that King Francis had to get the State of Milan, that the French would return with

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powerfull Forces on this side the Mountains, and regain his former power, and authority, so as they might have means to revange themselves of the *Italian* Princes, for any injuries received by them; which if they should not be able to do, they might peradventure joyn in League with their own enemies, against the Common-wealth; as King *Lewis* had done some years before, which was the beginning of her so many and so heavy calamities. Out of these and other such respects, the Senate being resolved not to make any new confederacy, unless necessitated; and being unwilling either to forgoe Friendship with the *French*, or to make *Cesar* despair of what he was in treaty with them; acquainted the King of *France* with these practices; and answered *Charles* and *Henrie's* Embassadours, in general terms: seeming to be as desirous of *Cesar's* friendship, as he was of theirs: But the present condition of Times, and the many late afflictions of the Common-wealth did require, that being to make any new agreements, they should aim at putting their State into a quiet and peaceable condition, and shun whatsoever determination might (though upon like, or greater hopes,) be an occasion unto them of new disturbance and danger: That therefore, if the King of *France* should come into *Italy*, they would so keep their Confederacy with him, as they would have a care not to violate the Truce, and their Promises made to *Cesar*; nor would they the mean while be wanting to do all good offices, as well for the common service of Christendome, as for their own particular good; to the end, that armes might be laid down, and injuries cease to be done on all sides: But, that if this might not be compassed, they had not any just pretence to make war with the *French*, with whom they had so long had Friendship, and that Friendship confirmed by many obligations: The League made at *London* not being any wayes valid to that purpose, as well, because it was never compleatly perfected; as also, that *Leo* being dead, who was one of the chief Contractors, it became invalid, and null.

Whilst the Imperial and English Embassadours could get nothing but general answers, though they labour'd that the Embassadours of the Common-wealth who were resident at their Princes Courts, might have Commission given them to come to some conclusion concerning this propounded League: *Girolimo Adorno* the Emperours Counsellour and Chamberlain, came to *Venice*, sent by *Cesar* with Commission, to treat upon and conclude those things wherein there lay any difficulties between him and the Common-wealth; knowing that to treat thereof at his Court, or at the Court of *England*, as was begun to be done, would require much length of time; a thing very unfit for the present business. *Adorno* labour'd in a long speech to perswade the Venetians to quit their Friendship with *France*, and to embrace the like of *Cesar's*, which was offer'd them upon honourable, and advantageous terms. But the Senate still moved by the aforesaid respects, continued in the same answers, neither resolving nor dissolving this Treaty, but looking to find out in process of time what would be best for the Common-wealth to do; they excused their delay by the Importancy of the business, by the condition of the times, and of the state wherein their Common-wealth then

then was, and by the form of their Government; where all things being to be sifted, and resolved by the liking, and judgment of many, which are most commonly (especially in such things as are hard and difficult) several, and sometimes contrary. Affairs could not be so soon, nor so easily ended, as in Princes Courts, where they pass through the hands but of one only, or but of a few.

This mean while the number of Spaniards increased very much in *Giaradada*; wherefore the Venetians raised many Foot, and increased their Garrisons, which begot many jealousies in the interested Princes (for mindes contaminated either by too immoderate desire, or fear, use to judge of things according as their affections lead them, not as they are in themselves) *Cesar*, and *Henry* thought this raising of men to be made in favour of the *French*; and on the other side, the King of *France* being already grown jealous of these negotiations, though he were made acquainted with them, began to think that the Imperialists might be entred into *Giaradada*, by the consent, and counsel of the Venetians; and that the Souldiers raised by the Venetians, might be to effect some new confederacy, which they might have made privately with the Emperour. The one and the other of them being much troubled hereat, they all of them indeavoured to make the Venetians side with them, or at least, to declare themselves.

The King of *England*, to add necessity to his endeavours, made two of the Venetians great Gallies, which were full fraught with rich Merchandize, and which chanc'd to be then in his Havens, to be unloaded, under pretence that the Emperour would make use of them for his navigation: But notwithstanding all such occasions being over, the vessels, and goods, were still detained in that Island, to the great inconveniency of particular Venetian Merchants, and to the offence of the publique dignity.

On the other side the King of *France* did often advertise the Venetians of the very great preparation for War which he made to come with, into *Italy*: Touching which, he desired to receive the Senates opinion and counsel. To which, answer being made in very affectionate terms, but without any particular expression concerning the Enterprize, they commended much the Kings wisdom, saying, that he knew best the fittest time, and the condition of Forces wherewith he might securely effect what he had designed; but that it was to be believed, it was speed which was to do him most good therein, so to prevent the counsels and preparations, of the Enemy. At the same time that these things were in treaty, News came that *Soliman* prepared a powerfull and numerous Fleet, to assault, as was better known afterwards by the effect, the Isle of *Rhodes*, the seat and peculiar habitation at that time of the Knights of *Jerusalem*.

The News of this preparation made the Venetians make *Dominico Trevisano* their Captain General by Sea, they increased their number of Gallies, and the Garrisons of their Islands, minding chiefly the security of the Island of *Cyprus*, which, according to no slight suspicions which were given out, *Soliman* intended to assault with this Fleet. *Trevisano* was ordered to advance towards *Cape Malio*.

to observe the ways of the Turkish Fleet, which if they should make towards *Cyprus*, that then he should go first to that Island, and should possess himself of the Haven of *Pamagosta*; and that if the Turks should intend any prejudice to the Common-wealth, he should by all means possible endeavour the safety of the State, and the indemnity of its Subjects: But that if he should see they bent their Forces elsewhere, he should carry himself so, as *Soliman* might know, that their Fleet was intended for the safety of their own affairs, and not to hinder his designs: Thinking it no wisdom to expose the Common-wealth, which was hardly as yet freed from the malignity of fortune, and from so many cross and calamitous events of War on *Terra firma*, to greater, and more grievous dangers, for the safety of others, at a time when the other Christian Princes, being bent upon their private and present Interests, did not mind the publique cause of Christendom. *Adriano Piovino*, by Nation a Low Country man, was now chosen Pope, a man but of mean Parentage, but highly esteemed by all men, for his goodness and learning, as also by reason of *Charles* the Emperours grace and favour, whose Tutor he had been: He took upon him the name of *Adrian* the sixth, and departed soon by Sea from *Spain*, where he then was, to *Nise*, and from thence to *Rome*: Whither many Prelates and Embassadors from Princes, flocked from all places, to do their wonted obedience: The Senate of *Venice* sent six of their chief Senators in a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, to present themselves according to custom before the Popes seat: To wit, *Marco Dandolo*, *Luigi Mocenigo*, *Vincenzo Capello*, *Antonio Justiniano*, *Pietro Pesaro*, and *Marco Felsari*. Who being gone as far on their way as *Bologna*, staid there, because the Plague was grown very hot in *Rome*, and the infection still increasing, so as the Pope himself was forced to quit the City, they after a few days returned to *Venice*.

The Pope wish'd very well to concord and general quiet, and was very zealous of the welfare of Christendom; for as soon as he took upon him the Popedom, he set himself wholly upon accommodating of differences between Princes, and sent Briefs unto them all, wherein he piously and efficaciously exhorted them, all to lay down the arms which they had taken up one against another, that they might turn all of them jointly against the Turks, the common Enemy, who threatened grievous and instant danger to Christendom; and had now assaulted *Rhodes* with too great a power, threatening ruine to others. He gave many grave and fatherly admonitions in particular to the Venetians, exhorting them not only to dispose themselves to peace, but that they would, together with him, endeavour to accommodate the differences which were amongst other Princes; to the end, that they might at last joyne all of them in a firme League, and oppose the power and greatness of the Ottomans.

But finding the Princes very slow, and cool in embracing his remembrances; and on the other side the dangers of Christendom increasing, for the Island of *Rhodes* was already taken by *Soliman*, with a powerful Army; the Pope thinking it became him to proceed more severely in this business, he made his Legates who were resident

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at all Princes Courts, to present them with Monitories, whereby he made all such lyable to Ecclesiastical censures, who did not within the space of 3 Moneths, apply themselves to accept of the universal Truce, which was propounded and treated of: And because the differences which were between *Cesar* and the Venetians, was a principal impediment to the bringing of this business to a good end, he offer'd to take upon himselfe the care of accommodainge all their difficulties. The mean while, he desired that a League might be made between the Church, the Emperour, Venetians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, for the defence and quiet of *Italy*. Which thing though it was known to be of it self very good and advantageous and was willingly listned unto by the Senate; yet there arose some difficulty in the manner of the Popes propounding it, whereby it was clearly seen, that the end of this League aim'd at the taking up arms against the Turks; by which vaine rumour, the Venetians feared lest they might provoke the anger of a most powerful Prince against them; who was now more proud, and puffed up then ever, with his new victory: So as they might be the first, and peradventure, those alone, who were to withstand the violence of his Forces. The aforesaid Embassadors were therefore more speedily dispatch'd away from *Venice*, to doe their obeisance unto the Pope; and that they might inform him with their rational respects, and therewithal ascertain him of the Senates good will, alwaies ready, and disposed to peace, and true quiet with Christian Princes; and no less ready to wage War with the Turks, when they should see it might be done jointly, and with Forces fitting to suppress their power.

The Embassadors were honourably received by the Pope, who commended the Senates good intention, promised to enlarge their priviledges, and that he would so handle the League, as that it safely might be embraced by the Common-wealth; hoping (as he said) that when he should have any earnest of the other Princes good will, the Venetians would be the forwardest, and most fervent in providing for the safety of Christendom, and in preventing so many eminent dangers. The Venetians did not this mean while intermit the treaty of agreement with *Cesar*, but to the end the particulars thereof might be more commodiously treated of, the Senate deputed three Senators, of several orders of the Colledg, to wit *Luigi Mocenigo*, Counsellour, *Giorgio Cornaro*, Savio of the Counsel; and *Marco Antonio Venier*, Savio di *Terra firma*: To negotiate all things thereunto belonging, with *Adorno*. The chief difficulty lay in finding how to accommodate things which were taken by all sides in time of War. *Cesar* propounded that all parties should keep what they were then possess'd of, but the Venetians desired that all places which were usurped should be restored, and that all jurisdiction should returne to the same condition it was in before. Whereunto was added that *Cesar* would have the Venetians bound by vertue of this confederacy, to defend not only the State of *Milan*, but the Kingdom of *Naples* also, generally against all men, the which the Venetians refused to do: For to oblige themselves to take up Armes against the Turks, seemed so dangerous, as the safety of this League did not counterpoise it; and

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and that by sending their men so far from the State, would more weaken their affairs, then *Cesar's* friendship could secure them. Moreover this League aiming at the defending of *Charles* his Territories in *Italy*, from being offended by the French, the Kingdom of *Naples* was thought to be safe enough, by defending the State of *Milan*: the condition of times, and the Commonwealths occasions required, that before all other things, regard should be had to keep friendship with *Soliman*, who had a great Army ready to assault *Hungary*, as he did afterwards; so as it was wisely done to shun all occasions of irritating a powerful Prince, whose friendship they might make use of to the singular advantage of the City, by reason of the great good it reaps in time of Peace, by its many negotiations to the Levant: and the Commonwealth having at this time particularly sent *Pietro Zeno* to *Constantinople*, by reason of the success at *Rhodes*, he was honourably received by *Soliman*, and had quieted some former distastes, occasioned by certain depredations made upon the confines of *Dalmatia*; and had obtained very large orders to the *Sangiacchi* of those neighbouring places, that they should deal friendly and neighbourly with all the subjects of the Commonwealth.

But to return to the Treaty of the League. Many things were urged by *Cesar's* Agents to obtain their intent: That it was not reasonable, that since *Cesar* did prefer the friendship of the Commonwealth before his other conveniences and interests, he might also make use thereof for the preservation of his own States; nor ought it to be esteemed so hard a thing, nor so prejudicial to the Venetians, to send their Armies into the Kingdom of *Naples*, since there was an example thereof, when not many years since, they sent the Marquis of *Mantua* with their men, to assist the King of *France*. To satisfy which particulars in part, the Senate resolved to promise *Cesar* some Gallies for the defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, provided that in time of such need, they should not be busied in the Turkish War.

The slow and irresolute counsels of *France*, concerning the affairs of *Italy*, made the Venetians the more inclinable to agree with the Emperour; which affairs they thought the French to be far from thinking upon; for that it was said, all their forces would be turned upon the Kingdom of *England*: and truly, if no other accidents had intervened, the confederacy with *Cesar* had then been concluded; for Embassadors came from the Archduke *Ferdinand*, in whose name *Cesar's* agents had formerly treated; who brought word, that their Princes pleasure was, not to come to any certain agreement of Peace at that time, but only to a renewing of Truce for five years: for being but newly entered (as he said) into the Government, he was not so well informed of the State of his affairs, as was requisite, to come to such an agreement: so as the Archduke being excluded from this confederacy, whereby the chiefest difficulties which were between the Commonwealth, and the House of *Austria*, were kept on foot, the Venetians resolved not to conclude any thing with *Charles* the Emperour. Moreover, the Pope had at this time sent *Campeggio*, Bishop of *Felice*, to the Venetian Senate, to exhort them to embrace the Universal League, and to put all other differences which were between them

them and *Cesar*, into his hands; alledging for this his request, that he feared if the Commonwealth should first confederate with the Emperour, and so forego the friendship of the French, the French would the more hardly be brought to joyn with the other Christian Princes in the general League against the Turks: This gave the Senate a just cause of new delay: but of all things else, *Adorno's* death did chiefly impede the conclusion of this business, who died in the beginning of the year 1523. A wary and wise man, who by his fair carriage, had won favour with the Senators. *Marino Caracciola*, the chief Apostolique Notary, who was already gone from *Spain*, and destined an Embassador for *Rome*, was sent to *Venice* by *Cesar*, to supply his place.

The King of *France* having certain knowledge of these practices, who did much suspect them before, sent *Renzo da Ceri*, and soon after *Ambrogio da Fiorenza*, and Monsieur di *St Valerio* to *Venice*, that they might assure the Venetians of the many preparations for War, which were making in *France*, and of his resolution of coming himself in person into *Italy*; and that consequently, they might solicit the Venetians to order their forces for the sudden attempting the enterprize of *Milan*; thinking hereby to remove the chief cause of the Senate treating of a new confederacy with *Cesar*, which the King and Court knew to be, because they feared that Forces would not come so soon, nor so strong from *France* as was requisite: But all these endeavours were of less efficacy, because little belief was given to the words nor promises of the French, of whom they had heard so much, and seen so little. Wherefore some colour for delay being made, by reason of the endeavours of an universal Truce, as hath been said, which was so much put for by the Pope, the Senate answered the Embassadors, That they neither could, nor would do any thing, till they saw an end of this business, lest they might seem to trouble the peace of *Italy*, and spoil the hopes of great good to Christendom. But the King of *France* having reasons for Truce propounded to him by the Venetians, and by the Pope himself, said, That he was not disinclined to lay down Arms, nor that he did desire to enjoy what belonged to another; but that his honour would not permit him now to desist from the recovery of the Dukedom of *Milan*, which was his; wherein if the Pope and Venetians would assist him, they should finde him very ready for the future, to do any thing which might be for the common peace and safety: but that it was in vain to attempt the union of the Christian Princes, and the settlement of the affairs of *Italy*, without this. To which purpose, and in witness of his good will, he sent *Lodovico Canosa*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, to *Rome*, and to *Venice*. But howsoever, there was more noise of Wars heard, then effects seen: so as many months being spent in these transactions, with great variety of counsels and opinions, Peace and League was at last with great solemnity concluded between *Cesar* and the Venetians, the particulars whereof were these;

That the Venetians should possess the Cities, Towns, Villages, and other places of their Dominions, in the same Jurisdiction in which they did. That they

they should pay two hundred thousand Crowns to Cesar within the space of eight years. That the Citizens of their State, who had adhered to Cesar, should return into their Country, and should be received into favour, all faults being forgiven to such of their Citizens as had followed Cesar's party, to whom (in lieu of their confiscated goods) five thousand Ducats of yearly Revenue should be assigned. That restitution of all places taken, should be made by all parties, as was agreed upon at Worms; which, as soon as it should be performed in its other parts, the Venetians should be bound to disburse thirty eight thousand Ducats, as was likewise determined by the agreement at Worms. That it should be lawful for the subjects of the Venetians, as also for Cesar's subjects, to live freely, and commerce in either of their Dominions, and that they should be civilly and lovingly treated, as subjects of the same Country. That for the defence of Milan, Sforza (for whom Cesar engaged his word) should be bound to maintain continually in time of Peace, five hundred Curassiers, and that the Venetians should maintain as many; but that in time of War, the number should be increased to eight hundred Curassiers, five hundred Light Horse, and six thousand Foot, with an answerable Train of Artillery; and that Charles should be obliged to do as much, for the defence of the State of Venice: and they all of them promised to hinder, for as much as in them lay, the coming of any victuals to any Enemies Army, which should come to the prejudice of their States. It was also added, that the Venetians should be particularly obliged to defend the Kingdom of Naples in time of War, with five and twenty armed Gallies; which defence was intended to be made against Christian Princes, and when the Commonwealth should not be busied in any Turkish war. The Kings of Poland, Hungary, and Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, Commonwealth of Florence, Antonio Adorno, Duke of Genoa, the House of Medici, and the Marquis of Monierato, were included, as friends to all parties concerned in this confederacy; and the Pope and King of England were named as Keepers and Conservators of these Articles.

The Peace being thus concluded, Lorenzo Priuli, and Andrea Navagiero were chosen Embassadors to be sent from Venice to the Emperor, and Carlo Contarini to the Archduke, Cesar's brother, to congratulate this renewed confederacy, and to witness the Senates desire to continue in friendship with the House of Austria. And because Trivulzio, Governour of the Venetian Militia, depended much upon the French party, that charge was taken from him; yet they were very civil to him in their words, and seemed very well satisfied with his service, offering him a pension of three thousand crowns a year, if he would live in the Commonwealth as a private man, till a better time and occasion should happen. But he refusing all offers, would return to France. This place, under the same Title of Commissary General, and upon the same conditions as Trivulzio had served, was given to Francisco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, he and his State being protected by the Commonwealth, against whosoever should molest it. They discharged themselves to the King of France, answerable to the time and occasion, excusing this their resolution, partly by reason of the slowness of his provisions, by which their hopes,

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which were grounded upon his forces and assistance, were too much weakened; and partly by reason of the Pope's commands, that they might no longer hinder, nor delay the Treaty of universal peace, which he did to affectionately propound and desire.

But the resolution the King of France put on, when he was assured of the League made between Cesar and the Senate, was certainly very strange, differing from the common opinion of men, and very void of reason: Whence it may be conceived, how hard it is to know the secret thoughts of Princes, by any force of argument, or by the rules of ordinary reason; or to foresee their actions before they be done. King Francis, who being entreated and solicited by the Venetians to come into Italy, when he might hope to be received, and assisted by the Commonwealth, which he in his own judgment knew to be of great concernment, was either averse thereunto, or at least, but cool therein: now when he wanted such friendship and aid, when he was sure to meet with great opposition in Italy, where all were become his enemies, when the dangers and difficulties appeared to be greatest; resolved to undertake the business of Milan: But the Duke of Bourbon's rebellion being at this time discovered, so as he had reason to apprehend danger at home, he was forced to forbear that his fervency at that time; so as tarrying himself with part of his forces in France, he sent Monsieur di Bonniette, Admiral of France, into Italy, with two thousand Lanciers, and twelve thousand Foot of several Nations. Though Prospero Colonna was not ignorant of these preparations, yet did he not so much consider them, as the importance of the affair required.

But when the French Army began to move, and that those suspicions proved true, which he would not credit before, he assembled speedily all the men he could, and came first to the banks of the Tescino, hoping to hinder the enemies passage; which quickly finding he could not do, he entred with part of his souldiers into Milan, and with the rest entreated the Garrisons of Pavia and Cremona, abandoning Lodi; to the end that he might not weaken the more important places, by dividing his small forces into so many Garrisons. The Venetians being advertised hereof, that they might readily make good their new confederacy, ordered their Curassiers to go towards the banks of Oglio, and resolved at the same time to raise six thousand Foot, and four hundred Light Horse, for the defence of the State of Milan; and other three thousand to dispose of in the Garrisons of their Cities. They made Leonardo Emo Commissary General of the Army, and acquainted the Duke of Urbino, that he would come speedily into Lombardy, to execute the place which he had taken upon him. But the Admiral being quickly past over the mountains, and it being said that he advanced with his Army to pass over the Tescino, the Venetians resolved to bring their men into Giardada, to secure the Cities of Bergamo and Crema, and that they might be the readier to succour Milan. And because the Duke was long a coming, they sent a Secretary of the Pregadi to hasten him. But the French having taken up their quarters between Binasco and Bigrassa, twelve miles distant from Milan, and the Duke not being as yet come unto the Army, they

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were doubtful whether they should pass over the *Oglia* or no. Thinking it then the safer way to bring their Army (which they understood the French intended to assault) into some strong place upon the Banks of *Ada*, where it might be free from that danger. So the Venetian Camp was at last brought to *Pontivico*, whither the Duke of *Urbino* came within a few days. Not far from hence was the Marquis of *Mantua* encamped with other forces: Wherefore *Colonna* did earnestly desire both of them, that they would joyn together, and enter into *Lodi*, which was not yet possess'd by the Enemy. But they both of them refused to do it; the Marquis saying that he would go with his men to succour *Parma*; holding himself bound to do so, as being a Soldier of the Church; and the Venetians General, because he thought he could not do it without much danger. So as *Lodi* being abandoned by all, fell easily into the French-mens hands. Who having resolved to succour the Castle of *Cremona*, sent to *Marignano*, *Frederico da Bozzole* with 6000 Foot and 400 Launciers, wherewith they began to straiten the City; which having within it 4000 Foot, and 100 Curassiers, did manfully defend it self, and beat back the French several times. Yet *Cesar's* Embassadour and the Duke of *Milans* did earnestly intreat the Senate of *Venice*, that their men might pass as soon as might be over the River *Oglia*, and incamp in some strong situation in the Territories of *Cremona*; that so by raising jealousies in the French, they might keep them from persisting in the Enterprize of *Cremona*. But the French intended nothing but *Milan*, before which they were set down, and that they might keep it from being relieved, endeavour'd to hold those forces which might assist the Besieged, busied else where. For which their intention it made much that they should keep their men at *Caravaggio* and *Mentia*, in the Territories of *Cremona*: Whereby the Venetian Army was troubled much to advance.

This the Enemies counsel being discovered by the Emperours Commanders, who did not justly weigh the dangers and difficulties, was the reason why they did greatly sollicit the Venetians, that their men passing suddenly over the *Ada* at *Trecco*, might place themselves somewhere, whereby the City of *Milan* might be succour'd. Whereupon many things being discuss'd by the Senators, and knowing that the best resolution to be put on therein, consisted in the particular condition of places, and variety of accidents, they committed the whole business to the opinion, faith, and diligence of the Duke their General, leaving him to do what he thought might make most for the advantage of the Enterprize, and for the satisfaction of the Collegues: Having a convenient regard to the preservation of that Army, on which the security of their State did chiefly depend. But the Duke, having maturely considered all the situations, resolved to quarter his men beyond the River *Oglia*, between *Romano* and *Martinsingo*: at which the Imperialists being but badly satisfied, they desired that the Venetian Camp might be brought nearer *Trecco*, and that if the Duke should not think fit to pass with all his men then over the *Ada*, he should at least send 3000 Foot, 200 Curassiers, and 100 Light horse to relieve *Colonna*, when they should be desired by him to do so.

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Which thing being very hardly to be done, the Duke sent *Baldifera Signorelli* to *Milan*, to inform himself more particularly of *Colonna's* pleasure and designs, and of the Enemies proceedings. This mean while other succours came to defend the State of *Milan*; for 400 Lance Knights, whom *Cesar* had taken into pay in the Arch-dukes Country, came to the Territories of *Verona*, by the way of *Trent*; and the Viceroy of *Naples* was already on his way with an Army: To whom for his greater honour, the Venetians sent their Embassadour *Carlo Contarini* to meet him, and to be assistant to him. The Duke of *Barbone* was likewise speedily expected, whom *Cesar* had declared to be his Lieutenant General, in *Italy*, and to whom he had committed the whole management of the War. Yet amidst the fury of arms, the business of agreement between the Emperour and the most Christian King was not pretermitted. The Arch-bishop of *Bari*, who was once Nuntio from the Pope in *France*, was at this time gone into *Spain*, to treat upon the conditions of peace. Which though of it self it was pleasing to the Common-wealth, in relation to the general agreement, yet could they not but be troubled thereat, by reason that by former example they could not be totally free from fear that these two Princes might agree, leaving them out, and peradventure to their prejudice. Yet the Senate unwilling to be faulty to the obligations of confederacy, without some more evident reason, gave commission to their Commissaries, that if the Imperialists should have a mind to go into the field with all their Forces, they should joyn with the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and pass over the *Ada*: But so as they might leave good Garrisons for the security of their Towns, and be sure to quarter themselves in some strong and safe place, and that above all things they should shun being necessitated to go into *Milan*.

But however, the execution of this Order was delayed; nor did the Army pass over the *Ada*: For the Duke of *Urbino* thought it not safe, to go into the field with those men, till the Lance Knights, and the Marquis of *Mantua's* forces were arrived: and especially, having understood, that more *Switzers* were come into the French camp, so as they now amounted to the number of 10000. Wherefore, being desired by the Imperialists to go with his Army to *Belisguarda*, he refused to go; for, that quarter being but bare four miles from the French camp, he had reason to fear, that being so near the Enemy, he might be forced to fight, against his will, and upon disadvantage: He was moreover troubled, to think that the Territories of *Crema*, or of *Burgamo*, might be assaulted by those of *Lodi*, whether 2000 *Switzers* were lately come: which Country was threatened also with another danger, it being given out, that 6000 *Grisons* were sent by the King of *France* to endamage it; who, just at this time, had dismissed the Venetian Embassadour his Court. But at last, the Viceroy continuing to sollicit the joyning of Forces, the Senate, to avoid the giving suspicion of any distrust, resolved to send again to the Duke of *Urbino*, to joyn with the Imperialists; having, the mean while, taken into pay 3000 Italian Foot, & 400 Light-horse in *Greece*, for the preservation and safety of their State; and the charge of these

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men was given to *Jovanni Moro*, who was then chosen *Pedesta* of *Crema*, with the Title of Commissary General in *Bresciana* and *Emo*, who was Commissary of the camp, being at that same time very sick, he got leave of the Senate to return to his own Country; and *Pietro Pefaro* was chosen in his place. But *Carlo Contarini*, after having staid a while with the Viceroy, was sent to *Milan*, to the end that a Publick person might be near the Duke, till such time as *Marc' Antonio Veniero*, who was intended to be sent Embadour to him, but was now sick, might go to perform his Embassie. By the *Venetians* drawing near to the Town of *Tracco*, the Marquis of *Mantha* being gone, to the same purpose, to *Pavia*, the French Army was brought to a great scarcity of Victuals; all passages being block'd up, by which provisions were formerly brought to the camp: in which the *Venetians* Grecian Horses did very good service: So as the Admiral fearing least his Army might be reduced to the same necessity, whereunto he had thought to reduce *Milan*, he resolved to enlarge the siege, and to take up his quarters 12 miles further off. The Apostolick See being at this time two moneths vacant, by the death of *Adrian*, a new Pope, to the general joy and satisfaction of all men, was chosen: For *Fulvio*, Cardinal of *Medici*, being called up to the Supream dignity, who was afterwards called *Clement* the 7th, and was held by all men to be of a mature Judgment, great Ingenuity, and of admirable dexterity, in weighty and important business; it was thought, that Christendome was fitly provided of such a head, as did become the conditions of those times.

The Senate, desirous to do all honour and reverence to the new Pope, resolved to send him eight Embassadors, all of them chief Senatours of the Commonwealth, to congratulate his election, and to do their obsequance to him: These were, *Marco Dandolo*, *Jerolomi da Pefaro*, *Dominico Veniero*, *Vicenzo Carepello*, *Thomas Contarino*, *Lorenzo Braggadino*, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, and *Luigi Bono*. Soon after, the Duke *Antonio Grimani* dyed, having had the Dukedome onely 22 moneths: His funeral Oration was made by *Frederico Valeresso*, a young man, very eminent for his learning; and he was honoured with a stately Tombe in *St. Antonie's Church*: *Andree Gritti* was created Duke in his place; a man of great worth and fame, who had for many years before been employed in all the most important businesses of the Commonwealth, both at home and abroad; as partly may be seen by what wee have related: So as it tell out very happily for the Commonwealth; that in time of so great commotions of Armes, a man of mature Wisdom, and of very great Experience should happen to bee their head. Thus ended the Year 1523.

The Year 1524 followed: In the beginning whereof, the Affairs of *France*, which did already begin to decline, fell into much greater, and irreparable ruine: For the Admiral being brought into great straits, both of Victuals and money, so as many souldiers left the camp every day, did notwithstanding still continue obstinately in his opinion, increasing rather the disorders thereby, then seeking to remedy them, by some new resolves, till such time, as he was glad to free the State of *Milan* from all danger, rather by his flight, then by his retreat, as shall

shall be said hereafter. By the enemies falling further off, the Venetian Army was advanced to joyn with the Viceroy, and with the Marquis of *Mantha*, who leaving a sufficient Garrison in *Milan*, were come before to those quarters; so as the Imperialists being very strong, came too within five miles of the French camp: and did not onely hinder them from making any further proceedings, but did much indammage them; hindering, and disturbing their victuals: and afterwards, assuming more courage, the Venetians and Imperialists passed over the *Tessino*, near *Pavia*, to make themselves masters of the Country, and to keep the Enemy from those things which it did furnish them withall. Which the French Commanders not having timely foreseen, they were likewise forced to pass over the River, to oppose the Imperialists designs: But the Duke of *Urbane* being gotten beyond the *Tessino*, began to possess himself of the Country, and much to the praise of the Venetian souldiers, stormed the Town of *Garlasco*, a place esteemed strong, both by situation and Art, and wherein there was a good Garrison, and did advance so gallantly with his Army, as many Towns did of themselves come in to the Imperialists; which harms the Admiral had hoped to prevent, rather by the forces and advice of others then his own; for having heard that *Renzo da Ceri* being already come to the confines of the State of *Venice* with 8000 *Grisons*, was ready to enter with them into the Territories of *Bergamo*, he thought that the Venetians, moved by this danger, would have recalled their Forces, to defend their own affairs: he hoped likewise that the *Switzers*, which were sent him by the King, would come quickly, whereby he might re-crate his Army, which was much diminished: but failing in both these hopes; for the Venetians provided sufficiently against the Invasion of the *Grisons*, who finding that they were likely to meet with opposition, and not with help, as was promised them, retreated quickly to their homes: and the *Switzers* being come to the River which they found so swoln, as they could not pass over it, were forced to stay on the other side of the River; so as the Admiral marched thetherward, but was still pursued by the Imperialists, and infected by them, and throwing a bridge over the *Sesia*, pass'd his whole Army over it, that he might joyn with the *Switzers*, and put himself into better order. But the Imperialists, finding in what disorder the French were in; (for in their March they had left many peices of artillery; and other amunition behinde them,) desired the Duke of *Urbane*, that he would together with them pass over the *Lesia*, and so make use of the occasion which was offered them, of destroying the Enemies Army totally: Which request the Duke did not deny, lest the enemy might have stayed there, if they had not been followed: But howsoever resolving to go no further, (for the Articles of confederacy were fulfilled on the *Venetians* part, in his having defend'd the State of *Milan*;) he ordered Commissary *Pietro da Pefaro*, that, the very day which was destin'd for the passing over *Sesia*, he should retreat with the Foot: and the Imperialists beginning to pass over the next day before day break, the Duke pass'd over likewise with all his Horse: which when the French understood, they quitted their quarters;

quarters, and hasted to return back over the mountains, lest they might have been slain upon by two Armies. The Duke after he had ridden a little further on with the Imperialists, told them the Commonwealth was not bound to do any more than what they had done, nor could he enter into the Duke of Savoy's Country without a new Commission; so passing back again over the River, he joyned with Commissary *Pesaro*: for which the Duke was very much praised; who, having shewed his wisdom, valour, and Loyalty, in this, as in all his other actions, the Senate, in acknowledgment of his deserts, though he had served but some few months of 5 years which he was to serve, honoured him with the Title of Captain General, gave him the command of the Curassiers, and added to his stipend; and his name grew very famous throughout all Italy.

While the *Venetians* were busied in this War, they were threatened elsewhere with great dangers, and were full of jealousy; which put them to many other expences: for they daily discovered more haughty and ambitious thoughts in *Soliman* the Emperour of the Turks, numerous Armies, great preparations of Fleets, and a mighty desire of Warlike glory. Wherefore their State being to be in continual jealousy, by reason of the power and ambition of so formidable an neighbour, the Commonwealth kept all her places by Sea strongly garrison'd; especially the Island of *Cyprus*, which they knew *Soliman* did very much thirst after. To supply so many expences, they were forced to take several extraordinary courses for the raising of monies; particularly, by many Lanes of particular Citizens, and Cities; who seing the occasion, did, with much readiness, offer some of them 10000 Duckets, some more, according to their several abilities. The difficulties with the house of *Austria* were not at this time fully ended, nor all the Capitulations agreed upon: Wherefore, *Guido d'alla Torre* was sent to *Venice* by the Archduke *Ferdinand*, with whom they treated, and concluded what belong'd to the restitution of the places in *Friuli*: But more difficulties arising concerning the parts about *Verona*, to put an end thereto, it was resolv'd, that Commissioners should be sent, from all parties concerned, to *Riva di Trento*; whether the Arduke's Commissioners being come first, and not finding those of the *Venetians* there, after a short stay, they departed, and left the business undecided: nay, new disputes arose to hinder the effecting of what was formerly agreed upon with *la Torre*: so as to the great displeasure of the *Venetians*, this root of disension between the Commonwealth, and the house of *Austria* remayned yet alive. At this time, the King of *France*, not having given over his thoughts concerning the affairs of Italy, for all his Armies unfortunate success; nor any whit abated his former fervency; but being the rather more incens'd, for that the Imperialists, not content to have defended the State of *Milan*, had endeavoured to trouble him in his own Kingdom, and to provoke the King of *England* against him, had been very solicitous, and carefull in providing all things necessary for his own coming very speedily, and very strong, into Italy: which he might the easier do, by reason that all his men were returned safe into *France*. The *Venetians* were much

much troubled at these mighty and important preparations of the French: Not only in relation to the great expences and disturbances, to which they were obliged by the League which they had made with *Cesar*, for the defence of the State of *Milan*; but for fear of their own affairs: The King appearing to be very much offended with them, not only for what they had at first done against him; but for that being afterward desired to re-assume their friendship with him, they would not forego *Cesar*: and for that *Marrino Bouolino*, being lately come to *Venice*, in the names of the Lords of the three Leagues, to intreat and exhort the Senate to renew their ancient confederacy with the French, the Senate persisting in their opinion, and justifying their last actions, by the necessity of the times, and by the Popes command, said they could not at the present satisfy their desires, by reason of their new League; which they could not be faulty to, without some marks of infamy, and peradventure not without some danger. Therefore things continuing in their former condition, and the French Army passing notwithstanding over the Mountains, the *Venetians* made all their Souldiers which were in the several Garrisons of the State, be brought to the Territories of *Verona*: and having thereof framed the body of an Army, they commanded the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Commissary *Pesaro*, to come speedily thither, and there to expect Orders from them.

*But the Pope, being more afraid, and full of jealousies, did continually sollicite the Venetians to keep inviolably in good intelligence with him, and in reciprocal good will, and to proceed always with one and the same advice and counsel, since the respects were the same in them both, for the defence of their own particular States, and for the common Liberty of Italy. He commanded their keeping fast to the Imperialists, and their minding the defence of the State of Milan, if they really thought they could do it; but that if they should see they were not able to resist the powerful Forces of France, they should begin betimes to reconcile themselves with the most Christian King, not carrying to make peace upon unreasonable conditions, when the King should use such insolencies towards them, as do usually accompany the victories and good fortune of Princes: That they must consider the power of the French was very great, and apt to turn the whole State of Italy upside down: Since to boot with the numerous Army which the King brought with him; his Forces that had defended Marcelles (now that that City was freed from danger) were imbarcked for Italy, and bent against the Kingdom of Naples: And on the contrary, that all the Emperours designs upon the Kingdom of France were proved vain, and no less then the rest, their hopes groundd upon the Duke of Burboncs rebellions. That the King of England growing apprehensive of the Emperours too much greatness, gave certain signs that he would not keep the capitulations made with him: Wherefore if it should be thought fit for the Church, and the Commonwealth, to think of an accommodation with the Christian King, they must not lose time, which was to their manifest danger and prejudice: But that they should rather send sufficient commission to their Embassadour *Marco Boscare*, who was at Rome, to interveine and listen to those Treaties, which were already promised by the French,*

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Which things though they were propounded by the Pope by the way of advice, yet it was evident that he was inclined to a new confederacy with the French, to secure the State of the Church, and State of *Florence*; which he had the greater care of, because the Duke of *Albany* being to pass through *Tuscany*, to the prejudice of *Cesar's* affairs, the Florentines were exposed to more certain and nearer danger. But the Pope, cloaking this particular Interest as much as he could, labour'd to prove that his only aim was at universal peace, and to free *Italy* from War, for the common good of Christendom; and that he labour'd to break the business to the King of *France*, to dispose him the easilier to an agreement with *Charles* and *Ferdinand* of *Austria*. To which purpose he said he would send (as he did afterwards) his Almner *Mattheo Giberto* to entreat the King to make peace with *Cesar*. But which commission even then, as was afterwards known, to negotiate particular conventions for himself, and for the Florentines; the Commonwealths interest, being neither wholly left out, nor wholly considered. But the Senate were of opinion, that no greater necessity appearing, they were not to forego their friendship and confederacy with *Cesar*, as unwilling to shew so much inconstancy, as also not to make the Emperour their Enemy; before they had more certainty of the King of *France* his good will: And therefore they had resolv'd that their men should enter in to the Dukedom of *Milan*, for *Cesar's* service. But the Duke of *Urbino*, not obeying this order suddenly, gave them to understand that it was very dangerous for the affairs of the Commonwealth, to pass at that time so forward with the Army; for by securing the State of *Milan* so early by their forces, they gave the Enemy occasion to turn elsewhere, and peradventure, upon their Commonwealth; that therefore they might expect till the French Army was pass'd over the River *Sisa*, and then put their resolution in effect. But the French without any delay, came into the State of *Milan*, before it was thought they would have done; so as the whole Army drew near the City; and got into the Suburbs by the Gate *Ticinese*, before the City; which was but ill provided of Rampiers and victuals, could be sufficiently succour'd. So as all the Imperial Commanders together with their men, that were within the Town, were glad to retreat suddenly: the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Viceroy, and *Sforza*, went to *Soncino*, and the Marquis of *Piscara* to *Lodi*: But their chief care was, how to Garrisonize the City of *Pavia* very strongly, which they thought might be better defended then any of the other Cities. They therefore put *Antonio da Leva* thereinto, with three hundred Curassiers, and five thousand Foot, part Spanish, part Dutch, all of them being old Souldiers.

Thus did the French easily get *Milan*, which was abandoned by the Imperialists. But the King would not suffer the Souldiers to enter the Town, to preserve it from sacking.

At the same time, *John Stuart*, Duke of *Albany*, sent by the King of *France* to assault the Kingdom of *Naples*, with two hundred Lancers, seven hundred Light Horse, and four thousand Switzers, desired leave of the Pope to pass thorow the State of the Church, and

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thorow *Tuscany*, to go to *Naples*; which the French did the rather endeavour, that the Imperial Forces drawing towards those parts, the State of *Milan* might be the weaklier defended, whereof many Towns did daily surrender, without making almost any opposition: But the main point of the War was brought to about *Pavia*, to the taking whereof, the King was come in person with his whole Army, firmly resolving not to rise from before it, till he had taken it; for he thought, that to leave a City of the Enemies behind him, so well munit with men, would be to the danger, and certainly, to the dishonour of that his Army, which was said to consist of above 24000 Foot, 2000 Curassiers, a great Train of Artillery, and wherein were all the famous Warriours of *France*: and on the other side, the Cesarians placed their chiefest hopes of good event, in the preservation of that City; wherefore all mens eyes were turned upon this business, whereupon other important effects were to depend.

The Pope and the Venetians were chiefly solicitous herein; fearing on the one side, that the French forces, who were but badly satisfied with them, might prove victorious; and on the other side, that if the Imperialists should beat the French, they would remain the sole Arbytrators of all Italy: So as it being hard to know which party it was best to take to, in so difficult a business, they spun it out in length, pitching almost upon a Neutrality; therefore neither did their men go to assist the Imperialists, neither did they come to any agreement, with the French; but expecting what the success at *Pavia* would be, which the Town being now besieged, would require some time, they thought to make advantage of time.

Yet the Pope, to the end that it need should be, he might come to better conclusion with the French, he by means of his Almner, who was already sent to the camp, did negotiate divers things tending to agreement. To the which the King of *France* seeming to be very well inclined, the business would have been soon agreed, had not the arrival of some new advertizements stop'd it on the Popes behalf; for News being come that 6000 Dutch Foot, which were sent by the Emperour to relieve *Milan*, were already come to *Ipsbruch*, with whom the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* was to come himself in person into *Italy*; and also that the Spanish Foot which were destin'd for the same purpose, were already embarked the Pope being somewhat incouraged, and thinking it stood with his honour (since he was not informed by any greater necessity) to seem that he had really (according as it was given out) sent his Almner to the French camp to treat of general peace, together with particular agreement; sent *Paolo Vittori* to the Viceroy, to witness unto him his great desire answerable to the place he was in, to make peace between the King of *France* and *Cesar*, so as they might both attend, according to their callings, to repair the present mischiefs, which were threaten'd Christendom by *Soliman*, who was already armed in the field. That having therein all fitting respect to *Cesar's* benefit and satisfaction he would propound very good conditions unto him, if, as he had often affirmed, his mind were inclined to peace.

To wit, that he might freely keep possession of the Kingdom of Naples, wherein he would oblige himself to maintain, and defend him: And that the French should possess the Dukedom of Milan, but upon particular promise, not to make any other attempt upon Italy, without the Popes consent.

Which negotiations being held on for a few daies, produced no other fruit, but divers jealousies, both in the French, and Spaniards; so as both parties did continue to sollicit the Venetians to favour them; Girelmo de Pij came to Venice, on the behalf of the French, endeavouring that the Common-wealth would renew their Friendship with the most Christian King, or at least, that he would not be against him. And the Vice-roy sent Charles of Aragon thither, desiring the Senate that they would cause their men to joyn with the Imperialists. The French Embassadour was answered in general tearmes, shewing that they had referred this whole business to the Pope; but they gave the Vice-roy many reasons why they had delayed sending their men. Thus they continued to proceed irresolutely a good while; till at last the Pope having made agreement, though very secretly, with the King of France, in behalf of himself and of the Venetians; reserving a caution unto themselves, and entering protestation likewise, that they did not enter into the League to interrupt the general peace; the Senate was necessitated to come to some resolution. Many things; and with much diversity of opinion were consulted hereupon. And the Senate being met upon a day appointed, to put a final end to the business; Georgio Cornaro, Procurator, who had still been of the same opinion, spake thus.

I was never of their minds, who think that States may be always governed by the same Rule; and who are for the continuing in the same opinion on which they have once been of; without distinguishing of times or affairs. I very well know the uncertainty and variety of these affairs; that we busie our selves about in these our discussions, and therefore I do little rely upon my self or my own judgment; and I use not to be too forward in speaking my sense of things, lest I may say somewhat which I may afterwards repent: Which custom of mine I do now the more willingly follow, for that the business is dubious and difficult, and subject to various and important accidents. We speak of making a new League with the King of France, and of foregoing that which but some moneths ago we made with Cesar, which was published, and begun to be observed. I see that the State of the affairs of Italy is in a short time altered; and our desires, hopes, and fears, altered through new accidents; but I see also and very well know, that this fluctuation and variety is such, as we cannot ground any counsels we can take, upon assured foundations; nor can we presume that our this days results, though now good, will prove so to morrow; for the Fortune of War is still in question, and what the success shall be of the offence, or defence of the State of Milan, is uncertain: The whole condition of the affairs of Italy is most uncertain, she is shaken and disturb'd by the armes of two of the chiefest Princes of Christendom. Wherefore, to know whereupon we may with most safety repose our hopes, and our advices, we must accurately consider the State of affairs; bal-

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ancing the various, nay rather, contrary respects; but chiefly, we must lay aside all affection of love or fear, by which we may be yet more blinded in coming to the knowledge of this truth, which is of itself obscure, and hard to be found.

The King of France is come into Italy with a most powerful Army, contrary to the opinion of all men; and therefore finding the State of Milan for the most part unprovided, he hath so happily begun his Enterprize as by marching, not by fighting, by the bare name and reputation of his Forces, he without use of weapons, or exposing himself to danger, hath put the Enemy to flight, won a great part of the Country, taken the very City of Milan and found all things prosperous and obedient: But it seems this his too hasty Fortune is very soon at an end; and having now sat down before Pavia, he meets with expence of time, and unexpected difficulties, in compassing his end: so as the issue thereof is not only doubtful, but the whole fortune, and end of the War, depends thereupon. It is above forty days since the French sat down before Pavia; yet do we not finde their hopes of getting it, much increase, nor the courage and fervency of those that do defend it, diminish; nor the Imperial Commanders slacken in their diligence to relieve it: It is certainly a very hard business to foresee the event of this Siege; but it is easie to know, that all other successes will for the most part depend upon this: for the Imperialists having the Cities of Lodi and Cremona, whereinto they have put great Garrisons, and are very busie in fortifying them, if they can likewise defend Pavia, who (as we know) do expect a succour of Spanish and Dutch Foot to be brought them by the Archduke Ferdinand himself, they may easily maintain the State of Milan, and force the French to pass back over the mountains; and the more numerous their Army is, and full of all the Nobility of France, so much the more it may be doubted that it may disband, both by reason of the great expence, and inconveniences, which it will not be long able to undergo; as also, out of the natural custom of that Nation, not good at patiently supporting any enterprize long, as of late years we have had many experiences. If then this should happen, as it easily may, and that the French being either driven away by the Enemies Forces, or confused by their own disorders, should forgo the Dukedom of Milan, and should return to France, and that we shall have abandoned Cesar's friendship, not have valued our Confederacy, broken our Covenants, and by this our inconstancy and fickleness of faith, shall have purchased not only the Emperours displeasure, but shall grow hateful to all men, what is it that we may not have reason to fear: The Imperialists being so very strong, so ill satisfied with us, fit to offend us, and disposed so to do? Whereby our own troubles will not be a little increased, and our afflictions and dangers will be the less compassionated by others, since it is our selves who have been the occasion of our mischief, which God grant it may not prove very great; and thus (together with our own ruine) we draw not after us, the ruine of all Italy: For the Imperialists being armed, and strong in Italy, as they are, and the counterpoise of the French Forces being taken away, who knows not that they will not only possess the State of Milan quietly, but will be Arbitrators of all the affairs of Italy. For the prevention whereof, since the Forces of all the Italian Princes are not able to make head against him, and effectually oppose so great and formidable a Power,

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There is no other remedy against so eminent a danger, but to take all occasion of anger from the Emperour, by showing our selves ready and willing, whereby he may be the more induced to establish peace. But if we should be otherwise minded, it is not these reasons only which persuade us to continue our confederacy with Cesar, but even necessity does force us so to do. For, for us only to follow this advice, and to unheare our selves from the other Potentates of Italy, in the defence of common liberty, would be to take too great a weight upon us, with no small danger: For I know not what grounds we can have to rely upon the other Princes of Italy. The Pope is immoderately fearful, inconstant, irresolute in his Counsels, low in moneys, and ready to repose his safety rather in the reverence which is born unto his person, and in the respect which is to be had unto the Church, then in his own forces, or those of his confederates; The Florentines must do as he doth: The Duke of Ferrara, fearing to be bereft of the City of Modena by the Pope, and of Reggio, is ready to side with any body, and come what will come, to close with the most powerful; to save his owne stake: And the other lesser Potentates, not thinking that they depend upon the Authority of any others; so as they may by any means, preserve themselves will side with the Conquerour. But on the other side, if we shall continue our League made with Cesar, and that the French get the upper hand in this War; we are not to fear the like dangers, for our Counsels, and Actions, will be much excused by the tie of our League with Cesar, which is very well known to the French; and which they know it was necessity which forced us to no free will; nor was it without some fault of theirs, by reason of their slowness in making necessary provisions for maintaining War against Cesar. Moreover, as we being mindful of the friendship which for these many years we have had with them, those respects and dangers being over, shall willingly joyn with them; so it is to be believed that they will have the like inclination; which clearly shewn by their Kings having so often and so fervently press'd us to close again with him, and to renew our ancient friendship, and confederacy. But that which may better witness his will thereunto, is his owne interest, which will alwaies easily persuade him, to endeavour our friendship, and to put an esteeme upon it; either to keep what he hath gotten, or to make further acquisitions in Italy: For he shall happen to drive the Spaniards out of the State of Milan, he will not notwithstanding, have driven them out of all Italy: Nay, as long as the Spaniards possess the Kingdom of Naples, so Noble and so Principal a place, the French will still have new suspicions of their Forces, and new desires to possess themselves of that Kingdom; to the which they pretend as well as to the State of Milan: Wherein our Forces, and our assistants will be too useful for them to make them dispise us or to refuse our friendship. By all these reasons it clearly appears, that come what will come, we may more easily make friendship with the French, then with the Spaniards. Therefore, my opinion is, that whilst things are in this doubtfulness, and suspension, and the event of War so uncertain, we make not too much haste to have that with danger, which we may soon after hope to have with more honour, and safety, when there shall be a fitter occasion to treat: For the present, we may doe better to temporize, and put our selves

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as little as we can out of our own power; neither to agree with the French, nor totally to satisfy the Imperialists, but to wait the advantage of time: for a few days will shew us what we had best to do, for the safety of our Commonwealth, and for the Liberty of Italy.

Cornaro was willingly listned unto, and his wife counsel much commended: But to the contrary of his opinion, *Dominico Trivisan*, Procurator, and a Senator of great authority, spoke thus.

Our Commonwealth is at the present in such a condition, both in respect of the potent Princes, who set all their thoughts, and bend all their Forces upon Italy; and in respect of our own low and weak condition, by reason of long Wars, such expences, so many, and so grievous misfortunes, for so many years, as we are necessitated to accommodate our selves to the times, and to change often our opinions, our thoughts, our friends, and our enemies, to be jealous of all Powers, to fear much, to be but little confident, and vigilantly observing other mens ways, to govern our selves accordingly; having amidst this Inconstancy, a constant, and firm object in all our actions, to wit, the safety of our State, and the flourishing of our Commonwealth: By doing thus, we have freed our Commonwealth from many calamities, whereinto she was fallen of late years: By the like we may still preserve her, and bring her at last into a quiet condition. We have for many years past followed the friendship of the French, and therein made tryal both of prosperous and adverse fortune; but in these last days, finding that the King of France neglected the affairs of Italy, and that the burden of the War whereinto we entred to serve him, lay upon us, we were forced to close with Cesar, to provide in time for our own safety. When we were joyned with the Imperialists, we were not wanting in our duties; but by the assistance of our forces, and of our Armies, the Admiral was driven out of Italy, and the Dukedom of Milan secured: But if the Imperialists have drawn the King of France his forces again into Italy, by provoking him, and by assailing him in his own Dominions, and that through their negligence, and by their not having provided time enough for the affairs of War, they have left the way open and easie for a new Invasion into the Dukedom of Milan, Are we to make good their faults, or to supply their Omissions? He who shall consider all things aright, will always think, that the French first, and now the Spaniards, have rather been wanting both to themselves and us, then we to any of them: But such considerations are more esteemed of, by reason of a certain institution of this State, of preserving their Word and Honesty, then out of the ordinary reason of State used now adays by Princes, who measure all things by their own peculiar Interests. Let us then consider according to this true rule, what we are now to do; Whether (as the present condition of affairs stand, we may hope for greater security, peace, and quiet, by the King of France his friendship, or by the Emperors. We have always constantly held, that the chief means to preserve our Commonwealth, and the Liberty of Italy, in these miserable times whereinto we are fallen, is to keep these two potent Princes powers equally counterpoised, that, of the Most Christian King, Francis, and that, of Charles the Emperour. And that to endeavour that both of them may have some footing in Italy, since the power, forces,

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and intelligence of the Italian Princes is not able to drive them both out, is a good and wholesome advice: So as that there may be continual emulations, suspitions, and jealousies between them. This it is that makes them put an high esteem upon the Friendship of the Common-wealth, and endeavour it by all means: For he who can join with us, gets the better of the other, is more certain to keep what he hath, and confides more in getting what he desires. If we then shall continue in League with Cesar, and shall by our Forces make his weakness good, and when his Armies shall be grown stronger, and we joining with them, we shall endeavour to drive King Francis out of Italy, (as lately befell his Commanders, and his Army) are we not aware that we doe hereby draw great mischief upon our selves, and put all Italy under the Spanish yoke, and by confirming them in the greatest part thereof, make way for their immoderate ambition to become Masters of the rest. The French, if all these their so great Forces shall prove vaine, will dispaire of ever doing good in Italy; they will turne their Weapons, and their thoughts elswhere, especially when they shall see that all Italian Princes grow obdurate against them; it will be then too late to have recourse to them for help against so eminent slavery, or to curbe the Spaniards insolency; for all that is said by him who is of a contrary opinion, makes much for what I say: Since the greater Cesar's power grows, the more need have we to withstand it sometimes, by endeavouring to moderate it, and by not permitting, that, through our idleness, or (as some would have it) through our assistance, it grow more formidable. But if it be good for us at the present, neither to assist the Imperialists, as we are bound by our League to doe, nor yet to joine in new confederacy with the French, we must consider on the contrary, that this our slowness may produce the same effect, as our total alienation from the King of France would doe; for by prolonging the War, the end thereof will be alwaies doubtful: Which may the more easily happen, for that we are certaine the power of the Imperialists will encrease very much, who finding themselves at the present inferior in Forces to the French, we may assure our selves, that when they shall know that our Forces, wherein they do not a little trust, shall be turn'd against them, they will come to some agreement, and will yeild up the possession of the Dukedom of Milan; which is already in part lost, and so the War will be ended, and greater dangers for a time secured: So as by our speedy resolution the sole name and reputation of our friendship may be of more advantage to the French, and in my opinion, consequently to our selves, then our whole Forces will be able to doe at another time, if we do not retard our resolution: And if we shall forbear resolving anything, to the end that in so great a suspension and doubt of Affairs, we may be the better advised, and stay till we see an end of the War, or at least which way it is likely to lean, to the end that we may serve the time, and accommodate our selves to the fortune of the Conquerour; I am confident we shall be no less deceived therein; nay it may be our neutrality will be so much the more pernicious, for that we are secure on neither side, and come what will come, we are expos'd to the discretion of the Conquerour. For it is not to be hoped that Cesar seeing himself abandoned by us at his greatest need, will bear us any respect when he shall be at the highest pitch of his prosperity: Nor that King Francis, who hath so oft in vain sought our friendship, when his fortune,

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though favourable, was yet doubtful, will have us for his Friends and Confederates, when he shall be usually Victor, and free from the fear of his Enemies: It is then the best course by much, to side early with those, whom we may promise our selves we may make use of, as our truest friends and neighbours, who can most opportunely assist us in our affairs, and who we have reason to believe, will in this great action bear away the victory; and these are doubtlesly the French, with whom we have been joyn'd in Amity for these many years, between whom and us there hath past so many friendly offices, and reciprocal good will, who have the same affections, respects, and ends that we have, to allay Cesar's immoderate greatness. I am of opinion, that we ought to carry our selves much otherwise in these affairs, then he advised, who spoke last; for it is often seen, that greatest hatreds and enmities falls out amongst those, who have been nearest joyn'd in affection and love, which usually happens, because the omissions of a friend, who is tyed by many obligations to another, is held to be greater, then those of a stranger would be; wherefore if we, who have so many ties of obligation to the King of France, shall defraud his hopes, and interrupt his designs, by separating our selves from him, I know not how we can hope, if we let slip this occasion, to regain his favour; and though his own Interests may persuade him to embrace our friendship, yet we must think that Princes are but men, and subject to like affections as other men are, nay more then others, because they may the more easily satisfy their appetite. Anger therefore conceived by the King against us, may be of greater force, then any reason which should persuade him to the contrary: But that which more imports our present Resolves, is, we see that Fortune favours the French very much, and is ready to settle them in full possession of the Dukedom of Milan, the King himself is in Italy with a powerful Army, to the very same whereof, as many Cities have already yeilded, so must Pavia quickly do to its Forces, and whatsoever else the Imperialists hold in this State. Moreover, the Duke of Albeny is ready to pass with a great many men into the Kingdom of Naples, to molest the Imperialists also in those parts, who to succour it, will be forc'd to divide their men, and be the less able to defend the State of Milan: I see not therefore upon what foundation he groundeth his judgement, who sought on the contrary, to shew that Pavia may be maintained, and that the French Army will soon disband. We know by the last advices, that that City is brought into great straits of all things, and that the Dutch Foot, who were at first so ready to defend it, being now oppress'd by many sufferings, and not justifi'd for their want of pay, do daylie raise such tumults, as they make their Commanders despaire of any good success; the Viceroy and Duke of Bourbon confess, that unless Pavia be relieved within a few days, it must be lost, and then wishal, the whole Dukedom of Milan: And what hopes can there be of relieving a City environ'd with so great and so valiant an Army, there being but few men in it, and failing of its expected succour. I therefore think, that it may be feared with reason, that the Imperialists despairing to be able to defend the State of Milan, will make use of all their forces in the Kingdom of Naples, and the whole burthen of the War will rest upon us, if we do not early save off this danger: And certainly, it is too strait a precinct wherein he thought to save himself, and wherein to reduce our hopes, who dissuade us from friendship with the French, and sought this safer receptacle, affirming that the

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Kings Army will disband of its self, and will be ruin'd by its own disorders. On the contrary, me-thinks that nothing hath been attempted of many late years by the French Nation in Italy, which hath a fairer aspect of constant will, and of assured success, then this present business, wherein the King seems to be very fervent, wherein the whole glory, and warlike honour of that Nation is concern'd, there being therein the better sort of people, and the most cryed up Commanders that France hath; and it being assuredly known, that if their so great Forces prove vain this time, the Crown of France must for ever give over whatsoever it pretends unto in Italy, and much to its shame, and to its greatest dishonour, tolerate Cesar's so vast greatness, and the like of the Spanish Nation, which is very odious to them. Whence it may be probably argued, that the French will be very constant in their prosecuting this Siege of Pavia, and that finally, they must have the better of the whole war, the end whereof, as it becomes the wisdom of this State to foresee, so it becomes us in like wisdom to provide early against those evils into which our State may by such accidents fall, and to make use of those means, which God of his Divine grace, hath offered us, by suddenly concluding a Confederacy with the most Christian King, which hath been offered us by him himself, and propounded unto us.

These words of *Trevisano* wrought very much upon the auditory; and his reasons, together with the inclination which the Venetians have commonly had to *France*, in memory of their long friendship with that Nation, did at last prevail; but they were no less perswaded therunto, by the fear which they had, on the one side, of the present danger of the French, and on the other side, of *Cesar's* future ambition. Peace was then establish'd and concluded with the French, by means of Embassadours at *Rome*; and was afterwards confirmed in *Venice*, in the beginning of *January*, the year 1525.

It was said in the preamble thereof, *That Pope Clement, from the very beginning of his Popedom, had alwaies had peace between Christian Princes, for his principal object, but that he could not effect this his desire before now, by reason of divers impediments and difficulties; that the present condition of times would not permit the deferring of laying the groundwork of universal Peace, by accomodating the affairs of Italy; wherefore his Holiness, and the Venetian Senate, knowing that the most Christian King was well inclin'd to the quiet and safety of Italy, long vexed with perpetual war, which drew on also other wars, were come to agreement with the said King, not to offend one another, nor to assist or favour either others enemies; whereby some hopes of Peace was commenc'd: and moreover, the Venetians agreed to renew their former interrupted confederacy with the King; but with a particular condition, of not being bound to assist him in this present business.*

These things being privately concluded, the Senate excusing themselves for not making their men advance, answered the Emperour's Agents, who still press'd for a resolution, That they could not disobey the Pope, the rather, for that it was hoped, Peace would ensue thereupon; whereof the Pope, with *Cesar's* consent, had begun to Treat: they therefore would not interrupt it, by fomenting the War, or occasioning the prolongation thereof.

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The agreement being thus established, the King sent Monsieur *de Ron Casore*, to congratulate the concluded League, and to testify his continual good will towards the Commonwealth; though through the malignity of times, and through various accidents, their friendships had been interrupted. He exhorted the Senate not to trust the Imperialists, and promised that he would never forego the Commonwealth's friendship. He afterwards desired, that this League which was privately concluded, should be presently published: wherein he found the Venetians of the same opinion; thinking it would be a means, that when the Imperialists should know thoe Forces were now against them, which they hoped would have helped them, to make them quit the possession of that Dukedom, which they knew they could not keep, and so come to some agreement: whereas on the contrary, nourishing themselves with hope of being assisted by the *Venetians*, they would continue making provision for war, and growing in time stronger, it would be harder to come to any agreement afterwards.

But the Pope advised the contrary, alledging, That it was fit this confederacy should be kept secret, to the end, of reducing the Imperialists to greater necessity and danger; which they would be, when the *French* should be past over the *Po*, as they said they would do, promising that they would pass back again, whensoever the Pope should please; but he was forc'd almost to discover it, being to grant passage to the Duke of *Albenyes* men, who was sent (as hath been said) by the King of *France*, into the Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore the Pope seeming as if the Duke had violently usurped licence to pass with his men thorow the State of the Church, and *Tuscany*, and that he was wholly minded to stand a Neuter, and to endeavour a general Peace: He began to proceed with protestations, admonishing both the Princes to lay down Arms, and to put whatsoever either of them was possessed of in the State of *Milan*, into his hands, that so they might come to make a firm Peace; wherefore the Imperialists growing jealous that the Pope had agreed secretly with the King of *France*, as indeed he had, and might seek to bring over the Venetians also to the French party, they offered the Senate to refer the investing of *Fran-cisco Sferza* to them, and the pitching upon what sum of money the Duke should pay unto the Imperialists for it: which the Venetians refused to do, saying, That such a decision did not belong unto them, but to the Pope.

There were many things which pass'd at the same time between the Imperialists and the King of *England*, to move him to make War the next year against the King of *France*; to the which purpose, the Cavalier *Cassal* was come to the Imperial Camp; which made the Imperialists more fervent in their own defence; for that they hoped, the King of *France* being molested in his own Kingdoms, might be forc'd to pass speedily back again over the mountains, to defend his own affairs; the convention made between him, and the Pope, and the Venetians, being not yet published. For the news being confirmed of great preparations made by the King of *England*, which was thought would make the French turn their forces elsewhere, the *Venetians*

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netians did not much mind the divulging of it. But the event of the business of *Lombardy*, and of all those counsels, was finally to depend upon the success of *Pavia*, the Siege whereof continued longer then was expected: whereat the Pope and the Venetians were exceedingly troubled; not so much for that the length thereof did much facilitate the good end of the business, as that they feared, the French Commanders, impatient of so long delay, might periwade the King to come to a day of Battel with the Enemy; whereby, together with that Army, the safety of their States, and of the Liberty of all *Italy*, would be put to the arbitrament of Fortune; and *Italy* having no other means of making opposition, would be left in prey to the Imperialists, if they should prove victorious. Whereat the Venetian Senate being troubled, they did very much sollicit *Rome*, laying before him, that the interest of the Confederates, and the Kings own safety and glory, and victory, did wholly consist, not in hazarding any thing, but in making good use of time, and of his enemies disorders and wants. The like desires the Pope made likewise known to *Alberto da Carpi*, Embassadour at *Rome*, and did also send an express messenger with the same desires to the Camp: But all these endeavours did but little good, the King shewing himself every day more and more resolved not to rise from before *Pavia*; but rather, if the Enemy should draw nearer, come unto a Battel; whereby he was unnecessitated to hazard his own fortune, and the like of his confederates, which were all exposed to danger. Wherefore the Pope, the Venetians, and Florentines, resolved to joyn in a defensive League, for the preservation of their own States; being to this purpose to take ten thousand Switzers into pay, upon the common expence, and each of them to encrease their own forces as much as they could: which things whilst they were slowly, and with various resolutions discuss'd, the rout of the French Army ensued, together with the death of many of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and the imprisonment of the Kings own person. The Cesarians were come from *Lodi* to relieve *Pavia*, which was reduced to a great scarcity of all things, they being gotten to be strong enough, and for Foot, almost equal to the French Army, though far inferior to them in Horse; and drawing near to the French Camp, they forced the King either to suffer them to relieve *Pavia*, or to come to a day of Battel, the thing which they desired, that they might put their desperate affairs to the utmost tryal; and fortune favouring their forwardness, they had the opportunity of assaulting the King in the Park, where he, contrary to the opinion of his best experienced Commanders, would needs stay: So as the French, not being able to come into the field till it was too late, nor to make use of their Horse, wherein they did exceed the enemy, the whole Army was routed and put to flight, and the King taken Prisoner, Monsieur d'Alanson only escaping with the Reer,

This so great and signall Victory gotten by the Imperialists against the French, was cause of much trouble to the Venetians, knowing that a heavy load lay upon them; for the Counterpoise of the French failing, and all the other Princes of *Italy* being weak, and full of Terrour, by reason of this so mighty success, they were, almost of them-

themselves alone, to defend the liberty of *Italy*, against the power of *Cesar*, which was increased greatly by this, his late good fortune; nor could they hope, that he would contain his Forces within the Confines of the State of *Milan*; it was rather to be believed, that his Army, pursuing the victory, would enter into the neighbouring States; whereunto, their being so unprovided to make any stout resistance, might very well invite the Imperial commanders. The Venetian Forces were onely of some consideration: for they had 10000 Curassiers, 600 Light-horse, and 11000 foot; they therefore resolv'd to make use of these forces, and to increase them, and to exhort the rest of the Princes of *Italy* to do the like, and to arm themselves so strongly as they could. But their chief study, and care, was to joyn themselves with the Pope, for they believed, that all the Potentates of *Italy* would finally depend upon his Authority, and that there might be thereby some hopes of good. They therefore sollicit'd the Pope often; Shewing him into what great dangers *Italy* was brought; which, if they should not receive some sudden, and powerfull remedy, they would increase so fast, as all labour, and industry, and expence to prevent eminent ruine would be in vain: That *Cesar's* actions did clearly shew what his thoughts and intentions were; since he had not assigned over the Dukedome of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*, as by his Confederacy he was bound to do; but, that having defeated the French Army, so as there was now no more fear of any enemy; he did notwithstanding keep his souldiers still in that State, plac'd Garrisons in the Cities, and would have all things done by his authority, and in his name; and that certainly *Cesar* had so fair a way opened unto him, of making himself master of *Italy* (if the Italians would stand idle, and leave their affairs to the discretion of others) as one that were never so moderate, having so fair an occasion, could not abstain from turning his thoughts, and Forces upon the taking of Territories so ill defended: and that, in such a case the State belonging to the Church would be no freer from offence, then the like of their Commonwealth; but would rather be in more danger, because her weakness did the more expose her to injuries. Nor did such thoughts and actions as these want several appearances of a fair collour for war; Chiefly by reason of the League made by the Pope with the French; which being come to the knowledge of the Imperialists, they seem'd to be more troubled thereat; because it was made contrary to their opinion or sense: they put him in mind that it became not a wise Prince to think upon giving satisfaction, when he was able to take up armes, and to depend upon himself, and his own Forces: and that truly the most expert men thought it a more easie thing, for the Italian Princes to joyn together, and being joyned, to defend themselves against the Emperours Forces, if the Pope would declare himself to be head and author of such an Union; For the Florentines were always at his command, and had now particularly signified their will and readiness to defend themselves, by *Francisco Vettori*, whom they had sent to *Rome*, to that purpose, thereby to invite him, to take upon him the common defence: That the Duke of *Ferrara* would be ready to do the like, in consideration of his own State, and to free himself from the contumacy which he was run into with the Church, whereof he had already given sufficient signes, he having sent an express messenger to *Rome*, presently after the defeat of the

the French, to offer the Pope 250 Cuirassiers, 400 Light-horse, and all his other Forces, for the defence of the Apostolick Sea; and for the welfare of Italy: That the other lesser Princes could not, nor would not sever themselves from the authority, and from joyning with the forenamed; with whose joint forces the Duke of Urbane did promise to defend all their States: That it was to be considered, the Cesarians wanted money, and that the soldiers, chiefly the Dutch, being much behinde hand for pay, were readier to mutinie, and to return home, then to fall upon any other Enterprize, without being paid their Arrears: That the State of Milan was totally exhausted, and unpeopled: That the name of a Spaniard was now more then ever odious unto them, by reason of their many extortions: and since they now found themselves deceived in their hopes, wherein they were a while nourished, of having a natural Prince of their own: That the Emperours Army was already much diminished: and to conclude, That part of his men were sent from Lombardy, to resist the Duke of Albany.

These things, though they were very punctually represented by the Venetians, and diligently listned unto by the Pope, yet were they not able to infuse any hope into him; or to keep him from precipitating into an agreement, and from thinking of securing his affairs, rather unworthily, by receiving any, whatsoever condition, from the Conquerours, then by his own forces, and by the aid of other Princes, and Confederates: so as without so much as expecting Cesar's will, or any orders from him, he had begun new Treaties with the Viceroy; being hereunto induced by an immoderate fear, that the Emperours army should be necessitated to pass thorough the State of the Church, or else thorough *Tuscany*, and to bring either the one, or the other, and peradventure both of them into great trouble and danger. The Viceroy listned willingly to the Treaty of agreement promoted by the Pope; knowing that peace and union with him did greatly concern confirming the Victory, and freeing the Army of many necessities which it then suffered under; whose Authority being, as he believed, to be followed by the other Princes of Italy, the State that was won would be secured for the future from the French Forces; who could not hope to do any good in Italy, without the assistance of some Italian Prince: These considerations being discovered by the Venetians, who knew, that such a security would at last cause more danger to them, and could not notwithstanding keep the Pope from making this Agreement; they proceeded slowly in their Councils, not making the Imperialists despair, nor yet joyning in any tighter friendship, or confederacy with them: but they perswaded the Pope, that, to the end he might be provided for all events, in case the agreement should not be made good, he should forthwith send Monsignor *Venulano*, who was long before destin'd thither, into *Switzerland*, to make 1000 *Switzers* come in presently to the defence of the Liberty of Italy, the nation being greatly ambitious of the name of Liberty; and that he should, with the like diligence, dispatch away a Nuncio to *England*, whether the Common-wealth would at the same time, send *Lorenzo Orsini*, whom they had chosen for their Embassadour, to negotiate with the King thereof, who was in great esteem with all men,

men, and who was then Moderator in the weightiest affairs of Princes, touching preventing Italy from the eminent dangers, threatened her by Cesar's greatness: wherein they hoped to find that King the readier, because it was very like, that such a Victory would purchase Charles much envie, and might alienate the minde of Henry more from him; who, being haughty and ambitious, would unwillingly see him so eminent above all others, and to become Lord of Italy. Yet the Venetians, finding the Pope still inclined to accord with the Imperialists; they, as resolving not to part wholly from his courses, began to think upon some conditions: and therefore, the Viceroy having sent *Johan Sermentio* to Venice, to give them an account of the victory, they treated very civilly with him, seeming to bear good will to Cesar; and ordered *Lorenzo Priuli*, and *Ardrea Navagiero* (who being formerly dekin'd to be sent to Charles, had by publick directions started at *Genoa*) to pursue their journey, and go to *Spain*, to congratulate with him, for the Victory which he had wonne, and to excuse their slowness in sending their men to his Camp.

But Charles, when he had received the news of his Armies so prosperous success, though he did inwardly rejoyce, being inflamed with a desire of glory, and Empire, and hoped for better things, yet shewing great moderation in his words, and outward appearance, he said, he would) as it became him to do, use this signal favour, which God had been pleased to bestow upon him, to the service of Christendome, and to universall agreement. Wherefore he sent the Duke of *Sessa*, not long after, to the Pope, to proffer him peace, and to assure him, that he very much desired the Peace and Tranquillity of Italy. He made the like be done to the Venetian Senate by his Embassadour *Alfonso Saucer*, and by his Secretary *Caraciglio*, who was not as yet gone from Venice. But the more the Cesarians seemed to desire Peace and League with the Italian Potentates, at a time when they might rather expect to be desired, then to desire others, they gave the more suspicion, that their secret thoughts were pernicious to the Liberty of Italy. The Venetians did therefore temporize; neither concluding nor excluding these Treaties; and this the rather, because Propositions made unto them by the French caused them to suspend their judgements; *Gasparo Lormano* being come, at the same time, to Venice, being sent thither by the King's Mother, who was then Queen Regent of France: who shewing, "That the Kingdome feared no offences, that it had forces sufficient, and ready enough to be employ'd in the recovery of their King, desired the Senate, that they would not abandon so glorious a cause, and so advantageous for their Common-wealth, but that they would joyn with the Lords of France to set her Son at liberty, by force of Arms, whereby the safety and liberty of Italy would likewise be had.

To which desires the Senate, shewing first the great resentment they had of the Kings misfortune, and that they wish'd very well to the honour and welfare of the Crown of France, did not as yet give any positive answer; but reply'd only that the weightiness of the proposition, required time and advisedness to ground any solid resolution thereon. But in the mean while, the Pope, who had sent the Archbishop

Archbishop of *Capua* to that purpose to *Spain*, ratified the agreement which was formerly made with the Viceroy; including the Senate of *Venice* it they would declare their consent thereunto within twenty days. Wherefore the Senate was almost necessitated to dispatch the treaty by many, though unresolved endeavours with the Emperours Embassadors; and that they might accommodate the most important businesses (for some others remained undecided) *Pietro Pesarò* was sent to *Milan* to negotiate with the Viceroy. But the French did not for all this forbear pressing their desires, not having altogether quitted their hopes of making the Venetians joyn with them, though the Popes authority and advice had as then drawn them to be of a contrary opinion. They therefore sent the Bishop of *Baiosa* to *Venice*, and *Ambrogio da Fiorenza*, who in the name of the Queen Regent, and of the whole Kingdom, did upon more mature advice, make better grounded proposals than the first were touching the League, and freedom of the King; in which respect, but much more because every day new and clearer signs were discovered of *Cesar*s ambition, and of his Counsellours designs which were all bent to make him absolute Master of *Milan*, and to put a yoke upon *Italy*, the French Embassadors had attentive audience given them in the Colledge, and the business was taken into new consideration, and put into a way of Treaty. At this time the Marquis of *Pesara* was come into *Milan* with 3000 Foot, 200 Curassiers, and a good number of light Horse, and had desired the Duke that he would cause the Castle of *Milan*, together with the like of *Cremona*, to be delivered up unto him; publicly affirming that he was sent by *Cesar* to take possession of *Milan*, in whose name all exactions, expeditions, and the whole administration of Government was made; and he endeavour'd to make all the Cities swear Fealty unto him: Wherein though the Pope did appear very much, in striving to make *Cesar* keep his articles of confederacy, and assign over the State of *Milan* to Duke *Francisco Sforza*; yet it did no good; sometimes one reason, sometimes another, being alledged for the delay thereof; and amongst the rest, that he had treated of delivering up the Castle of *Milan* to the Venetians: A thing which was never to much as thought upon, much less negotiated by any of the parties.

These things did alienate the minds of the Venetians from the Emperour dayly more and more, and increased their jealousies, and made them not adhibere faith to what *Gaspero Contarino*, who was their Embassadour with *Cesar*, did inform them of, being made to do so by him; that *Cesar*s mind stood well affected to the quiet of *Italy*, and to a general peace. Therefore the Venetians seeking out an occasion to break off the treaty of agreement, proposed divers difficulties, the chief whereof was, that the Duke of *Milan* being one of the principal Contractors, the League could not be well concluded, if it were not first known what was to become of him, and of his State. The dispatch whereof was thought to be cunningly delayed; which made them believe, that these calumnies were forged, which were laid upon *Sforza*, thereby to bereave him of his State, with an intention to keep it, though large promises were made that

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it should be given to the Duke of *Bourbon*, or to any other that the Collegues should like of. The Pope likewise beginning to discover these artificial proceedings of the Imperialists, did no longer believe any thing they said: Wherefore to proceed speedily against the common danger, he resolved to joyn in a good and strict intelligence with the Venetians quickly, since there would be some difficulties in concluding the French in the League, which would cause longer delay, a thing very prejudicial to the present business. The agreement was then concluded by the Pope on the one side, who engaged himself for the Church, and for the Republic of *Florence*; and on the other side by the Duke and Senate of *Venice*. By which agreement it was said,

That these Potentates did joyn together to avoid the eminent dangers, as they had been taught by the experience of times past, and to lay more solid foundations for the quiet and safety of Italy; and for their own particular States: That each Prince should take upon him the protection of the other Princes States and persons; that all the Confederates should run the same fortune; that not any one of them should treat with any other Princes in any thing which might be repugnant hereunto; that they should succour each other with 4000 Foot, 400 Curassiers, 300 Light Horse, and with greater numbers also, according as their several needs should require. Hereunto was added, that the Venetians should be bound to protect the greatness of the Medici, and suppress such commotions as should be raised against them by any seditious Citizens; and particularly, to favour, and assist whosoever the Pope should place in the City of Florence as head of that Government.

These things being thus accommodated, the Pope beginning now to be more sensible of that true fear, which he slighted before, gave straightways order to the Marquis of *Mantua*, that he should go with the Curassiers into the parts about *Parma*, and was very diligent in continuing the Treaty of bringing the *Grifone* Foot, and the *Switzers*, which being formerly begun was but slowly prosecuted: And on the other side, the Venetians resolved to increase their Army, to the number of 10000 Foot, to raise 300 light Horse more in *Greece*, to bring other Commanders, and to provide for their own safeties in every thing; being much encouraged in all this by the King of *England*; who growing jealous of *Cesar*s greatness, and perhaps envying his glory, discover'd himself to be very much displeased with the success at *Pavia*, and with the King of *France* his being made Prisoner; affirming that he was ready to do any thing, whereby to free the King, and to keep *Italy* in safety.

The Italian Potentates being thus agreed, there was hopes of easie coming to an union with *France*; but the Treaty was proceeded in, in a diverse manner, and in somewhat a diversity of affection; for the Pope thinking that he had put some stop to the present dangers, by the already made confederacy, and that he might enjoy better conditions from *Cesar*, and have them better observed, proceeded coolly in the agreement with the French; the rather for that since the coming of the Duke of *Sessa* to *Rome*, who was sent thither by *Charles* to attest his desire of peace, and his willingness to restore the

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Dukedom of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*, always provided that he should prove innocent, and if he should be found guilty, he would invest his Brother *Maximilian Sforza* therein. But on the contrary the Venetians were very fervent in their endeavours, that they might come to a speedy agreement with the French, fearing lest the Spaniards proffers might tend to no other end, then to break the Treaty of the League; and to slacken the provisions for War: And fearing likewise lest the Queen, by reason of these slow and irresolute counsels of the Italian Princes, witnessing either their no very great good will towards that Kingdom, or their weakness in forces; and that being resolved to do all that she could for the release of her Son, she would at last make some conditions with *Cesar*, with whom some Treaties to this purpose were known to be already begun. Therefore the business with the French proceeded on with some diversity, and uncertainty, not coming to any settled conclusion. The quantity and quality of the forces which the Collegues were to put together for the common service of the League was already agreed upon: To wit 30000 Foot, 4000 Curassiers, and 3000 light Horse, to be employ'd in such service in *Italy*, as might prove more advantageous. The French were moreover bound to make War with *Cesar* upon the Confines of *Spain*; and other articles were in Treaty, when in the beginning of the year 1526. unexpected News came to *Venice*, That an agreement was made between the Emperour and the King of *France*, whereby the King was to be set at liberty, and peace and good intelligence was to be had between these two Princes, which was to be strengthened by the tie of Matrimony; the King being to marry the Lady *Leonora*, *Cesar's* Sister, and *Cesar* to marry the King of *Portugal's* Sister; and the Dukedom of *Milan* was to be given to the Duke of *Burbon*, who was likewise to marry the Lady *Renca*, the Kings Niece.

A thing which had been formerly feared, but not now so much as before, for that the Queen did constantly affirm, that she had sent her Embassadour *Alberto Carpi*, who was then at *Rome*, sufficient commission to conclude the League. The Pope and the Venetians were sorely troubled at these tidings, but this their trouble was somewhat mitigated, out of a common opinion that King *Francis* would not observe his articles made with *Cesar*. The which was the rather believed, because it was said, that he was departed very ill satisfied with his Treatment, whilst he was a Prisoner; and much worse with the agreement it self, whereby to purchase his liberty, he was forc'd to put *Charles* into the possession of *Burgony*. To know whether he was really disposed to do thus or no, and to increase this desire in him, the Senate sent *Andrea Rosso*, Secretary to the *Pregadi*, immediately away to *France*, to treat upon this important business; and the Pope taking the like course, sent *Paolo Vittori* thither with the same direction. Nor was it hard to draw the King thereunto, for at the very first speech which he had with these, he complain'd very much of *Cesar*, for having dealt severely with him in all things.

“He said, That he would not be wanting to the welfare and safety of

Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

“of *Italy*, if the Italian Princes would not be wanting unto themselves. Which he would quickly witness, being ready to joyn with them, and to make good whatsoever had been formerly negotiated, and for the most part concluded with the Queen his Mother and the Kingdom; that therefore they should exhort their Princes to send them sufficient authority there; for they should always find him ready and constant in this point, and in the same mind for what concern'd the common good. He said he hoped that the King of *England* would be of the like intention, and no less desirous to abate *Cesar's* greatness, and to provide for the defence of *Italy*. To whom he would speedily send his Embassadours, and could with the Italian Princes would do the like; for it would help the business very much, that the Emperours designs might be opposed by the full consent and forces of so many Potentates joyn'd together.

As soon as the Venetians heard these things, which were conformable to their wishes, they were not slow in sending commissions to *Rosso* to conclude the League; the heads whereof (some few things being alter'd) were already framed in the former Treaties. They also gave order to Secretary *Gasparo Spinelli*, who did then negotiate the Affairs of the Commonwealth with the King of *England*, *Lorenzo Orzio* their Embassadour being dead a little before, to be very earnest with *Henry* to make him enter into the League which was in treaty in *France*, much exalting the esteem that they put upon his authority, as desirous to have him for the Preserver and Protector of this agreement, and for the particular Defender of the Liberty of *Italy*.

But the Pope proceeded so slowly herein, as they were forced to go more hotly to work with him.

The Venetian Embassadour did therefore often lay before him the great opportunity that was now offer'd, of providing for the common safety, by disposing of the King of *France* his mind, who was wholly set to revenge himself for the injuries which he thought he had received from *Charles*. That if this his indignation should in time grow less, and that he should resolve to keep the Conditions which were agreed upon at *Madrid*, there remained no hope of ever freeing *Italy* from the bitter slavery of the Spaniards.

The Pope having heard these things, and being somewhat moved thereat, resolv'd at last, to send *Don Caplino*, a great confident of his into *France*, with Commission to joyn in the League; though *Don Hugo da Moncada* did at the same time labour the contrary, who was sent by *Cesar* to *Rome*, to confirm the Pope in his first resolution of joining with him, and to exhort him to condemn all other agreements and offers.

“*Don Hugo* laid before him the weakness of the confederates, with whom he was in Treaty to joyn; the natural sickleness of the French, the uncertainty of the Venetian Councils: and on the contrary, he magnified *Cesar's* power, his preparation for War, his abundance

abundance of Foot already raised in *Ispruch*, his expectation of lustily and opportune succours out of *Germany*, from the Arch-Duke, and told him that *Cesar* propounded peace unto him out of his desire of the universal good, and out of his particular respect un to the Church; not that he did any ways doubt his being able to resist solely of himself all those Potentates that conspired against him, being likewise confident to make them alter their purposes.

Don Hago signified almost the same by Letters to the Senate of *Venice*, whom he acquainted with his being come into *Italy* as soon as he arrived at *Milan*; and with the reason why *Cesar* had sent him thither.

But to all these pressures, he received the like answers, both from the Pope, and from the Venetians.

That when *Cesar* should have a minde disposed to peace, as by his words he seemed to have, he should find the like disposition, and reciprocal will in them: But that they desired this might be witnessed by some real effects which they would be readier to believe; and to this purpose, that he would cause the Siege to be raised from before the Castle of *Milan*; that he would restore the State thereof to *Francisco Sforza*, that he would observe what by his capitulations he was bound to do, and that he should then speak of laying down of Armes, and of restoring peace and tranquillity to *Italy*.

No answer was made to all this but in general terms, and actions to the contrary did still continue: Whence it might be clearly comprehended that the treaty of Peace was made use of to no other end but to keep back the preparations for War, and by these jealousies and tricks to alienate the French from the Italian Princes. And this began to have some effect according as was desired; for the business of the League began to cool very much in *France*; either for that the King did not much confide in the Pope nor the Venetians, thinking that they might be wrought upon by *Ugo*, all whole endeavours were communicated to him; or else (as some others believed) because being only intent upon the redemption of his Sons whom he had left with *Cesar* for Hostages, and to compose the business of *Burgundy* with some other recompence, he might make use of the name and of the reputation of the League, to make the more easie agreement; and not for that he had really any more mind to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, which he had so often and still so unfortunately attempted; or that he did any ways take the Interests of the Italian Princes into his consideration: Inasmuch as his Embassadour, the Bishop of *Bayosa*, who was sent by him to *Venice* for that intent, was there a whole moneth without hearing any one word from the King; neither of his resolution touching the League, nor of any forces which he should prepare to effect the things agreed upon. Others conceived this slowness of the French proceeded from some other designs of theirs, to wit, to reduce the Confederates (to whom every little delay seemed tedious and troublesome, by reason of the great scarcity of victuals that was in the Castle of *Milan*) to give them the Dukedom of *Milan*, if it should be recover'd by their common Forces;

Forces, bereaving *Sforza* of it, to whom, by all that had been yet treated on, it was to be restored. Therefore that they might leave never a stone unturn'd, but do any thing which might draw the French into *Italy*, the Pope and Venetians did consult of making this offer also, to the King; to the end, that he who had been always ambitious of this acquisition, should more readily, and with greater Forces embrace the business: thinking, that for what concerns the present occasions, that which was chiefly to be put for, for the recovery of *Italy*, was to drive the Spaniards out of the State of *Milan*: and thus they did the rather, for that, though the King should be bound by agreement to assigne it over to *Sforza*, they could not be sure that he would keep his promise better to him, then he had done to the Emperour, which would afford occasion of new wars, and of parting him from the Italian Princes. But, on the other side, considering that it would not greatly redound to the honour of the League, to give way unto this, but that it would rather leave a blur upon the Italian Princes, since that they had always given out, that their chief object was to restore the Dukedom of *Milan* to the Dominion of an Italian Prince, they resolved not to part from their first Propositions. But the King of *France* desiring that the Kingdome of *Naples* and the State of *Milan* might be both of them assailed at one and the same time, they endeavoured to give him some satisfaction in that point, by adding to the other Articles: "That, if it should appear, that, for the safety and quiet of *Italy*, it were requisite, the Government of *Naples* should be altered, the Colleagues should contribute such Forces as should be requisite to effect it: and that, when it should be gotten, the Pope should determine to whom it should be given, so as might make most for the quiet of *Italy*, and so as it were done with the satisfaction of the Confederates, without whose consent the Pope promised he would do nothing in that point: that the new King, who ere he should be, should pay the usual Tribute to the Church, and 70000 Duckets to the King of *France*, whose pretences should remain entire to that Kingdome, if it were not won now."

This being agreed upon, the League was finally concluded in *France*; *Don Capons* intervening for the Pope, and Secretary *Andrea Rosso* for the State of *Venice*. The end of this Conjunction was specified to be, "The freeing of the State of *Milan* from the oppression of the Imperialists, the Liberty of *Italy*, and the recovery of the King of *France* his children, adhering for what concerned particularities, and preparations for War, to what had been formerly treated on, and concluded with the Kingdome, before the King had his Liberty."

Yet it was not published, till they might know the King of *England's* resolution; who was desired to be one of the chief Contractors: For it was thought, that his name and authority might add much to the reputation thereof: It was therefore resolved, that some should be sent into *England* from the Colleagues, to request *Henry*, that he would quickly declare, in the behalf of the Confederate Princes, against *Cesar*. For the Pope, there went *Jovan Battista*

Santa, a man of an high spirit, and great with the *Dutario*: for the King of France, *Foan Joachins*; and *Mark Antonio Veniero* for the *Venetians*, who was intended before to be sent Embassadour thither from the Common-wealth. But the King of England, though he said he was very well inclined to this League, and not well affected towards *Cesar*, resolved notwithstanding, not to declare himself publicly, till he had desired *Charles*, that, to gratifie the Colleagues, he would set the son of the most Christian King at Liberty, and restore the State of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*; which if he would not do, he declared, he was to denounce war against him in all their names: which, though it was consented unto, yet the business was prolonged, and divers difficulties promoted: So as any longer delay being thought to be unseasonable; the League between France, and the Princes of Italy was published and proclaimed with great solemnity: and it was generally thought, that the Forces of this League would be able to quell the Imperialists, and to drive them out of the State of *Milan*; especially, since the Castles of *Cremona* and *Milan* held still for *Sforza*. There were at this time, in the *Venetian Army* 1000 foot, 900 Curassiers, 800 Light-horse, and a great many *Switzers* were suddenly expected, taken into pay, partly by the Pope, and partly by the *Venetians*, and partly by the King of France; who, when they should be arrived, it was resolved, that the Colleagues would go to succour the Castle of *Milan*, to attempt the taking of that City: and that, on the other side the Marquis of *Saluzzo* should fall down into the Dukedome of *Milan* with the French Curassiers, and 10000 foot, raised at the Confederates common expence, and assault the Cities of *Novarra*, and *Alexandria*: and that, in the mean while, the Maritime affairs should be prepared to molest the Imperialists in other places, and to divide their Forces. The *Venetians* gave order to their Captain General, and to Commissary *Pietro Pefaro*, to bring their Camp, as soon as might be, to *Chiari* in the Territories of *Brescia*, to begin the war: and the Pope ordered all his Commanders, and souldiers, to go into the parts about *Parma*; to the end, that being joyned together, they might do what should be thought best for the League. But this joyning of forces was unseasonably deferred, by reason of the difficulty in what place the Armies were to meet; for *Francesco Guicchiardini*, who was Lieutenant General of the Ecclesiastical Army, would not give consent, that the Pope's men should go to *Casale Maggiore*, as it was first resolved: alledging, that the State of the Church was not to be abandoned: though it was urged on the contrary, that, they being masters of the field, there was no cause of fear. This mean while *Malatesta Bagliose* came to *Lodi* with a Troup of *Venetians*, where he had private intelligence with *Lodovico Vissarlino*, a Citizen thereof, and though there were in it a good Garrison of 1500 foot, yet he easily took it, and held it in the name of *Francisco Sforza*. After this, the whole *Venetian Army* past over the *Poe*, and two days after, the Popes men joyn'd with them, and they went all to *Milan*: the Duke of *Urbane* had good hopes to get the City at the first assault, for he was informed by some of the *Milaneses*, that the people were up, and ready to side

with

with them, as soon as their Army should be come to the City: and that the Imperial Commanders, having already sent away their baggage, would soon be gone themselves, and give over the defence of the Town: This was so verily believed, as *Lodovico Count di Belgiojoso* had desired the Duke of *Urbane*, to give him 2000 Foot, with which he offered to relieve the Castle of *Milan*. The whole Army of the Confederates being advanced, they quartered in the Monastery of *del Paradiso*, toward the *Porta Romana*, with a firm intention to give an assault, hoping to win the Suburbe, and to lodge there: and the enemy, being often come forth to skirmish, were still valently repuls'd by our men: but soon after came the Duke of *Burbone*, with a good number of foot, and did not onely make good his station against such as skirmished with him, but indammaged them onundry parts: so as the Duke of *Urbane* failing of his hopes of getting the City by assault, and fearing lest he might fall into some greater disorder, if he should tarry long in those quarters, retreated with the whole camp in good order to *Marignano*, without receiving any prejudice. But, great hopes having been had by the Armies being drawn near *Milan* of good success in the Enterprize, and there being great necessity of relieving the Castle of *Milan*, the Senate, when they heard by their Commissary, that the camp was raised, were very much amazed and grieved: and the Duke, to justify this his act, sent *Luigi Gonzagato Venice*, who might by word of mouth give an account of what was done, and of the reasons which had moved the Duke thereunto: whereupon the Senate were satisfied: but the Pope was not so easily appeased; he did not onely complain very much of this action, but likewise of the manner of the Dukes proceedings; for not having acquainted those that employed him with his most important counsels; which *Guicchiardini* did aggravate to the Pope, by his bad offices done to the Duke, being displeased with him, because his Discourses were not well listned unto by the Duke, nor had in such consideration as he thought was due to his reputation and degree; but were rather despised, as coming from one of another profession, and who (as the Duke had wont to say) ought not to meddle in matters which belonged to military men: So, as to give the Pope satisfaction, the Senate ordered the Duke, that for the future, he should acquaint *Guicchiardini* with all business of importance which were treated of in the Camp.

All things appertaining to the Fleet were this mean while prepared for, that some attempt might be thereby made upon *Cesar's* Territories. The *Venetians*, to this purpose, chose *Luigi Armero* for their Commissary, and sent him to *Corfu*, where the other Commissary *Jovan Moro* was with the Fleet; from which *Armero* was to take 12 Gallies, and come along with them with all speed, to the Sea Coasts, near *Rome*, to joya with those of the Pope, and of the King of France; and then jointly fall upon such Enterprises, as might be for the service of the League. Divers things were propounded, touching whether the Maritime Forces were to go. The Pope desired, that they might go into the rivers of *Puglia*, to break the designs of the *Colloinese*, and to divert their Forces in those parts,

who,

who, having raised 7000 foot, and a good number of horse in *Naples*, began to be very formidable unto the Pope. But the King of *France*, and the *Venetians* thought it would be more advantageous for the League, to have them go against *Genoa*; as well for the fitness of that city for other actions, as for that, if they should succeed well therein, it would add much to the reputation of the League. *Pietro Navarro* was declared Captain General of the Confederates Fleet, a man of long experience in war, who though he were propounded by the King of *France*, yet he received stipend from the other Confederates, but the Gallies belonging to the Church, and those of the Commonwealth being already in a readiness, those of *France* were slow in coming with the Captain General, which gave them just occasion of dislike, and of no slight suspicion, that the King of *France* his ends aimed onely at his own advantage, despising the interests of the League; of which his mind, there appeared other signes: for but little of 40000 Duckers, which he was bound to send into *Switzerland*, for the levying of 10000 *Switzers* was as yet sent thither: whereby the League lost no little reputation. And, though the *Venetians* had sent Secretary *Sabbadino* thither, to sollicite the raising of those Foot; yet could he not much encourage them, nor hasten their departure; nor was there any news heard of any preparation made by the King, to make war upon *Cesar* on the other side of the Mountains, as by his Articles he was bound to do. But the King, besides some excuses which he made, finding how ill the Colleagues were satisfied by their pressing solicitations, or else being conscious of his own faultiness, and fearing, that therefore the Pope and the *Venetians*, laying aside his interests, as he seemed to have little valued theirs, might treat of peace with the Emperour apart by themselves, sent *Monsieur di Sange* into *Italy* to excuse his tardiness; with directions that he should first pass thorough *Switzerland* to sollicite the departure of those of that Nation, or at least, to make it be believed, that he had done what he could therein: He therefore coming first to *Venice*, and then to *Rome*, used the same endeavours in both places, laying the fault of the slowness of the French mens passage into *Italy* upon the Commanders, and other officers; and affirming the Kings very great desire to prosecute the war, and that he would not onely make good his Articles, but exceed them by increasing his Forces; for, besides the forenamed Fleet, he was rigging up many tall Ships in *Britannic*, that he might come forth the stronger, and suppress all the Forces that the enemy could make by Sea: and that he was no less carefull of levying the *Switzers*; and, that by his procurement the general Dyets were summoned, wherein all things should be resolved in favour to the League. But he chiefly assured them, that the King would not treat of any agreement, save such as should tend to a generall peace, and so as the other Colleagues should be content with. The King did likewise attest this his resolution to *Jovan Battista Sanga*, who, being sent, as aforesaid, by the Pope, to the King of *England*, stayed some dayes in the Court of *France*, for some business.

The *Venetian* Senate, taking these assurances very thankfully, and seeming fully to believe them, answered,

That

That they never doubted the King's good intentions towards the League, and particularly, towards their Commonwealth, as knowing both his wisdom, and his ancient affection to the *Venetians*; they therefore promised, That not only in this cause, wherein their common interests were concerned; but in all other things, and at all other times, their Will, and Forces, should be inseparably joyn'd to his: And as for any Treaty of Peace, they never wereaverse from it; nor had they taken up Arms to any other end, but that they might come to a safe peace: Therefore, as far as it might stand with the Dignity of the League, and the Confederates safety, they should be very glad of it.

Yet knowing that such a peace was rather to be desired then hoped for at this time, the Pope and the *Venetians* endeavouring to incite the King's mind the more to War, resolved to let him know, that if they should get the Kingdom of *Naples*, his Son should be King thereof; the Commonwealth retaining such a part thereof, as should be answerable to their deserts, labour, and expence: To correspond whereunto, the King made a new offer of other three hundred Lancers, and twenty thousand Ducats more monthly, for the service of the League, if the enterprize of *Naples* should be undertaken. The Commissary *Armero* was come from *Corfu* to *Tarracina* with thirteen Gallies, where meeting with *Andrea Doria*, who was come thither with eight Gallies for the Pope's service, they went in company together to *Cevita Vecchia*, and from thence to *Ligorn*, where they met with *Pietro Navarro* with sixteen of the King of *France* his Gallies; and being resolved to reduce *Genoa* to the King of *France* his devotion, to the great advantage of the Colleagues, they made *Frederick Fregoso*, who was Archbishop of *Salerno*, head of that Government, and came with their Fleet first to *Porto Fenera*; which Town, together with that of *Spetia*, and with all that part of the River, till you come to *Monaco*, yielded soon to the Colleagues. Then dividing the Fleet, *Doria*, and the *Venetian* Commissary, went to *Porto Fino*, twenty miles from *Genoa*; and *Navarro*, with the French Gallies, to *Savona*, which City willingly yielded unto him.

The first and chief designe of the Leagues Commanders, was, to keep *Genoa* from being victualled by Sea; and the City being but badly provided of victuals and not knowing well how to come by any, they hoped to reduce it by way of siege to such a scarcity, as it must fall into their hands. To this purpose, there was six Gallies deputed, two for every Colleague, which being to keep the Guard, took some Ships, and divers other lesser Vessels, which were bound with victuals for *Genoa*, so as the City began soon to be incommodated: but it was supplied by those of the River, who brought them corn, which under divers pretences was permitted to be carried to neighbouring places, though not without some complaint against *Doria*; who, as either envying *Navarro*'s glory, by whom his Country was won and subdued, or out of some other designe, was suspected to have proceeded with but little sincerity, and misbecoming means, to bring the enterprize to a speedy conclusion: But the *Genuefes* by way of defence, had been very careful in securing the Haven, placing some great Vessels in the mouth thereof, loaded with Artillery, and more-

over,

over, six small Gallies, commanded by *Gobbo Justiniano*, which came forth sometimes to skirmish with those of the Enemy, putting so far into the Sea, and no further, then they might be safe under the shelter of the greater Vessels, which lay in the mouth of the Haven, and under the like shelter of *Castello della Lanterna*, all which were furnished and fraught with Cannon: So all the hopes of gaining the City, lay in the Siege, which was still continued, the Popes and the Venetian Commanders having by certain Trenches secured themselves from being invaded by those of the City, if it should so happen, that by fortune of the Sea, the Fleet should not be able to get out of *Porto Fino*, where it lay. But the Genuefes seeing themselves daylie more and more strained, resolved to fall out, and by assaulting the Rampires, endeavour to endamage the Enemies Fleet; whereof the Captains of the Fleet being soon aware, they landed *Philippino Doria*, and *Jovan Baptista Grimaldi*, with eight hundred Foot, and two pieces of Artillery; and setting the poops of their Gallies towards land, when the Souldiers of the City came, they did not only stand their assault, but repulsed and worsted them.

At the same time, the Duke of *Urbine*, being much prest thereunto by the Venetians, and spur'd on by his own desire to recover the reputation of the Army, which it might seem to have suffered in, by its retreat from before *Milan*; as soon as part of the Switzers, to the number of five thousand were come to the Camp, resolved to return to before *Milan*, to relieve the Castle, which as yet held out for *Sforza*, from which six thousand persons were gone out under the conduct of Captain *Pasqualino*, and had luckily past the Enemies Trenches, without any harm or impediment, whereby the scarcity of the besieged was somewhat alleviated. The Army being come within a mile of *Milan*, two thousand men were sent out to take *Mencia*, and to possess themselves of *il Monte di Brianza*, very convenient places for the bringing of victuals from the parts thereabouts to the Camp. When the Army had taken up its quarters, the Commanders began to consult what course they were to take to relieve the Castle, which being begirt about by the Enemy with double Trenches, and with Bastions, the difficulty of relief was much encreased; but whilst they vainly consulted about succour, news came to the Camp, that *Sforza* failing of his hopes of being relieved, by reason of the Enemies new works, had surrendered himself to the Imperialists, and delivered up the Castle, upon condition of being set at liberty, and suffered to go to *Como*, till such time as his cause should be taken notice of by Justice: And not long after, the same *Sforza* came into the Confederates camp, accompanied by Count *Galliazzo*, with two hundred light Horse; but he stayed there but a while, being resolved to go to *Como*, and in the first place, to take possession of that City, which was to be delivered up unto him by the Imperialists, though the Confederates Commanders laboured much to dissuade him from so doing, acquainting him with how dangerous a thing it was to commit himself again unto the uncertain word of his Enemies, when he might repose hopes of his welfare and dignity upon that Army, which was raised only for his particular service, and to repossess him of his paternal

terral State; and at last, when they told him, that if he neglected such offers, they would fetch his brother *Maximilian Sforza* from *France*, he promised, that when he should be come to *Como*, he would send Embassadors to *Rome*, and adhere unto the Pope's counsels.

But it was not hard afterwards to draw Duke *Sforza* to side with the Confederates, who soon had occasion to know how the Imperialists were minded towards him; for they denied to take away the Spanish Garrison from *Como*, though upon agreement the City was to have been delivered up free unto him: So as ratifying the League with the Pope and the Venetians, he went to *Lodi*, which City was freely given him by the League. Though the loss of the Castle was very grievous, and of great concern, yet were they not quite out of hopes of getting the City of *Milan*, wherein was a great scarcity of all things, and the number of the Defendants not answerable to the greatness of the City, nor to the Forces that were before it, more Switzers being come unto the Camp, and 4000 of the same Nation being quickly after expected, who were raised by the King; and who were said to be already come to *Bisanzio*. So as it was thought the City would soon fall into the hands of the Collegues, either by force, or by Siege. Whilst these aids were expected, the Duke of *Urbine* intended to send some of his men to attempt the taking of *Cremona*, a business much desired by the Collegues, and chiefly by the Pope; but it behoved them to put off the effecting of this, for fear lest the Imperialists might fall out of the City (as it was given out they intended to do) and might assault the Confederates Army. At last *Malatesta Baglione* went thither, but with fewer men, out of the same reason, then were requisite to bring the business to a speedy and good end: For finding the City fortified with double Rampiers, and well provided of Defendants, he assaulted it several times in vain; then finding it very hard to storm the Town with so few men, and that to forego it before the business was finished, would redound but little to the honour of the Leagues Forces; it was resolved that *Commisary Pesaro*, *Camillo Orsino*, and *Antonio da Castello* should go with a good many Foot to the Camp before *Cremona*, and soon after an other thousand Italian Foot were sent to succour them, and 1000 Switzers. But neither these, nor those doing any good, the Duke of *Urbine* resolved to go thither himself, though it were much to the prejudice of the business of *Milan*. And taking a great many Pyoners along with him, he cut Trenches, and by little and little won ground upon them; so as the City being brought into great straits, was forced to yield. The Duke dispatch'd away a Gentleman of his with this good News to the Senate at *Venice*, to whom it was very welcome; not only for the good success of taking the Town; but also for that they hoped the Confederates would by this good beginning be encouraged to undertake greater Affairs. The City was immediately delivered over to *Francisco Sforza*, who made his residence there, and the Senate sent Secretary *Luigi Sabbadino* thither, that he might be present with him, as a Servant of the Commonwealths to assist him. But this mean while a strange and sad accident hapned, which did much disorder the affairs of the League, retard-

ing and interrupting all their designs: for the Colonels having got together about 600 Horse, and 5000 Foot, entred *Rome* at unawares, plunder'd many of the Prelates houses, the Church and Palace of *St. Peter*; the Pope himself hardly escaping their fury (who intended to have made him Prisoner) by retiring into the Castle of *St. Angelo*. So as not tarrying any longer in the City, Cardinal *Colonna* having in vain labour'd to make the people take up Arms in his behalf, they went out loaded with Booty, and carrying away goods to the value of more then 300000 Duckets.

This accident forc'd the Pope for his liberty, and security to make Truce with *Don Hugo* for four moneths; by which he promised to make his Forces pals back again over the *Poe*, and to make his Gallies withdraw into the Churches Dominions. But afterwards thinking more maturely upon these affairs, and knowing to how many dangers in the future he was incurr'd, to free himself from the present danger, though in observation of his late capitulation, he recall'd his forces from those of the League, yet he by his Nuntio's ask'd counsel of the King of *France*, and of the Venetian Senate, whether he should continue to observe those things which necessity had compell'd him to promise to *Don Hugo*; or else not doing so, to pitch upon some other resolve. And soon after he sent Monsieur *di Lige* who was come then to *Rome*, back again into *France* about the same business, *Clement* being a witty man, and of a mature judgment, knew, that to observe the Truce, was no better then to afford *Cesar* means of making more bitter War, and of overcoming those difficulties by this delay, which he found himself at present oppress'd with, and in fine, of settling himself in *Italy*, and of indangering all their liberties. But his immoderate fear perverted his judgment, and suffer'd him not to discern this truth. Wherefore the General of *San Francisco* being sent by the Emperour to *Rome* to treat of peace, he listned attentively to him, and exhorted the Venetians not to descent from it.

"For said he, Arms must one day be laid down, and that since "it was now offer'd, the occasion was not to be let slip. The Senate "answered they did never desire War, but that they had bought by "War to secure peace. And that they would not be averse unto it, "so as it might be treated of and concluded, by the knowledg and "consent of the King of *France*: For if they should do otherwise, they "should much to their prejudice, alienate him for ever from minding "the affairs of *Italy*; and lose a safe refuge, in case of any adverse "fortune. They therefore endeavour'd to confirm the Pope, shewing him that there was no reason to come now to so precipitous a "resolution, nor with so much indignity to receive the proposals "made by *Charles*, without expecting an answer from *France*, especially upon so dishonourable conditions, as to pay a great sum of "money to *Charles*, and moreover to deliver up into his hands, as "pledges of his fidelity, places of so great importance in the Ecclesiastical State as were *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Civita Vecchia*. And "also that it did appear by many signs, that *Cesar* was very weak in "Forces, especially since the so many rumours of succours, terminated only in the assistance of *Georgio Frondisper*. Whole Army "being

"being to be maintain'd at his own private charge, and by some plausage, it was to be hoped that it would very shortly dissolve: That "the people of *Milan* wanting pay, refused all obedience to their "Commanders. And on the contrary, that *Renzo di Ceri* was expected from *France* with monies, and that there was hopes thit the "King himself, who was already come as far as *Lyons*, would pass "over in person into *Italy*; that the greatest danger of the Dutch was "secured, the business of *Genoa* successfully begun, that all things "promis'd fair.

The Pope being moved by these persuasions, and it may be much more by the remembrance of his so grievous and so resent injuries, and for fear of not being preyed upon by the Spaniards, when he should be abandoned by the Confederates, he resolv'd to suspend the Treaty of this new Truce, and the observance of what as yet had not any effect, agreeing only to Treat of the Universal Peace, and this by the advice and consent of the most Christian King. The coming of Master *Russell* did not a little further this resolution, who being sent by the King of *England* to present the Pope with thirty thousand crowns, for the occasions of the War, came just in this nick of time to *Rome*, and laboured much to confirm the Pope in the continuance of the League, or at least, that he would set his mind upon the introducing of a true Peace amongst all Christian Princes; which the Venetian Senate did not dissent from, but gave order to their Embassador *Andrea Navagiero*, who was then in *Spain*, to intervene at this Treaty, which was to be negotiated upon, and concluded in *France*, but for the honour of *Cesar*, it was to be ratified at his Court, and in his presence. The sum of the Treaty was,

"That the King of *France* his sons should be set at Liberty. That "Lombardy should be left in a peaceful condition. *Francesco Sforza's* "State restored, And the debt paid which the King of *England* pretended was due to him by *Charles*.

Difficulties daylie increased in the concluding, and in the observance of these Articles, so as for all these endeavours, the provisions for War were no ways slackned: But the business of Truce being suspended, the Pope sent his men, whom he had recalled from the League camp, presently away, to recover those Lands which the Colonels had usurped from the Church. The worse the Imperialists condition was, who were reduced to great straits, and the greater the Confederates hopes were of good success, the more did the former endeavour to relieve their afflicted affairs, and the others to keep out all relief, whereupon it was that all good and bad success did depend, and the whole fortune of the War. Therefore *Charles* made a Fleet be prepared in *Carthagena*, to relieve *Genoa*; he solicited his brother, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, to raise men in his Territories, and to send them from the nearest parts into *Italy*, and he had ordered the Prince of *Orange* to enter into the State of *Milan*, thorow the Duke of *Savoy's* country, with a good number of Landsknights; but on the other side, the Confederates being wholly bent to keep off all relief, made several provisions, many ships were preparing in *Britany*, and at *Marceller*, by the King of *France*, and some Ships that were taken, as it was said,

about *Genova*, were armed at the common expence, intending to put to Sea with a great Fleet, and to hinder the passage of the Spanish Fleet: Divers endeavours were had likewise with the Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not permit the Imperialists to pass thorow his State. But the greatest, and most apprehended dangers, came from *Germany*; for it was said, that *Georgio Sfonsperra*, an old Commander, and one very affectionate to the House of *Austria*, was raising great store of foot in *Styria*, and allured men by the hopes of prey; and that the Dutch Foot which were in the Garrison of *Cremona*, being come to him, he had got together above ten thousand Dutch Foot about *Bolzano*: Divers things were therefore put in practice at the same time, to hinder the passage of these men: The practice formerly held with the Governour of the Castle of *Mus* was agreed upon, not only the disbursement of five thousand Ducats, the one half whereof was to be paid him by the Pope, the other half by the Senate, for the freeing of the Venetian Embassadors, who were detained by him whilst they were passing into *France*; but also, that he himself should come in person with four hundred Foot to the service of the League, where-with he was to Guard the Lake of *Como*. The Venetians sent likewise Secretary *Nicolo Sangontino*, upon the same occasion, to the Marquis of *Mantua*, to desire him, that though these men should be advanced, he should not suffer them to enter into his State: and because Artillery and Munition were preparing in *Trent*, which made it be feared that *Georgio Sfonsperra* would fall with his numerous men into the Territories of *Verona*, the Senate raised therefore four thousand Foot more, and made some Troops of Curassiers, and of light Horse, come from the camp: they made *Agostino da Mula* Commissary General on this side *Menzo*, and disposed of all things, in order to fight, and beat back the Enemy.

But the Dutch Foot came by the Valley of *Lagni*, from whence they past quickly after to *Poldrone*; which when our Commanders knew, who were in the parts about *Verona*, *Camillo Orsino* went immediately with the light Horse, and some of the readiest Foot companies to *Salo*, leaving the rest of the Army behind, with orders, that passing over the Lake of *Garda*, they should come into the same place: which not being to be done, for it fortun'd that that Lake proved then, as it sometimes is, unnavigable; *Orsino* could not march, till it was too late to encounter the Enemy, who were already well advanced. Yet having possess'd himself of the passage *della Corona*, a strait place, and naturally strong, he forc'd the Dutch, who had already taken that way, to go by the tops of the Mountains; so as by very craggy and difficult ways, they came to *Gardo*, and from thence to *Castiglione*, and soon after they entred into the Marquis of *Mantua's* Territories, thereby cozening the Commanders of the League, who thought that the Dutch would have made towards *Milan*, thorow the Territories of *Bergamo*, but passing over the River *Olio* at *Rivalta*, and afterwards over the *Menzo* it was thought that they would take their way either towards *Piacenza*, or *Pavia*: Wherein to hinder them, the Commanders of the League thought it fit to divide the Camp into two parts, with the one whereof the Marquis of *Saluzzo* taking with him the

Switzer

Switzer and Grison Foot, to the number of ten thousand, went to beyond the River *Ada*, and quartered at *Fauri*, near the strongly seated *Cassano*; and the Duke of *Urbino*, who conducted the rest of the Army, consisting of as many Foot, went to *Sansino*.

But *George Fonspra* being already got beyond them with his Foot, and the Duke not able to want of victuals, to follow him presently with his whole Army, he made his light Horse and some Foot companies follow them in the Rear, by whom the Enemy were much annoy'd, and chiefly by *Giovanni Medici*, who although the rest of the Popes Captains were gone, stay'd in the Camp, and took pay of the King of *France*; but yet they advanced still, and pass'd over the *Po*, and the Duke of *Urbino* taking the same way with his Army came to *Borgo forte* from whence the Dutch were gone but a little before, and caus'd a Bridge to be made, to the end that if occasion should be, he might pass his men over. But *Fonspere* not knowing what way to go, when he was got over the *Po*, was cause of much suspension with the Colleagues, and the Pope was chiefly much affraid, believing that the Enemy would bend towards *Bologna*, and peradventure pass into *Tuscany*, wherefore he press'd the Venetians very much, to pass their men as soon as might be over the *Po*, for the better safety of the Churches, and the Florentines State; but their own Common-wealth was not free from the like danger, wherefore the Senate to satisfy the Pope as far as stood with their owne safety, ordered *Luigi Pisari*, who was in the Camp with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, that if any number of Foot should be demanded of him, to encrease the Garrisons of the Towns belonging to the Church, he should readily relieve them. Which *Gwiche* one demanding, *Babone di Naldo* was sent thither with 1000 Foot. They writ likewise to their Captain-General, that if the danger of the confederates should encrease, and theirs should lessen, he should pass over the *Po*, either with the whole Army, or but with part of it, according as occasion should require, and as he should think best: Which being by several accidents delayed, this advice was altered, and it was thought more expedient for the common service, that for the present the Marquis of *Saluzzo* should pass over only with his men, taking along with him 300 of the Venetian light Horse, and some pieces of Artillery, to be taken from their Camp. The Popes danger and his fear also did much increase, by the Enemies approaching near *Florence*, for the Dutch having passed the River *Nura*, and then that of *Trebbia*, not being any ways disturbed by our men, stay'd at *Firenzuolo* where they expected to meet with the men of *Milan*. But the Imperial Commanders finding it hard to make the rest march, the Italian Foot and some light Horse, went only thither at that time: But the Senate being desirous to give the Pope all satisfaction, sent new Orders to their Commissary, to draw out some more men from their Army, and to send them over the *Po*, that they might joyn with those that were formerly passed over with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*. Therefore Commissary *Petury* went thither presently with 5000 Foot and some Troops of light Horse, the Duke of *Urbino* being at this time (not without much trouble to the Venetians) gone about some particular Affairs

Affairs of his own to Mantua. These proceedings of the Enemy, made the Colleagues suspect the Florentines; tearing least they apprehending the danger that drew near them, might come to some agreement with the Enemy, which would be much to the prejudice of their friends; wherefore the Venetians sent their Embassadour *Marco Foscarini* forthwith to Florence, to entreat them in the name of the Common-wealth to keep their faith, and not to desert the confederates by reason of this accident.

He laid before them on the one side, the scarcity of all necessities which was in the Dutch Camp, the weakness and difficulties of the Imperialists: And on the other side, the confederates great Forces, their readiness to use them for their great service, and to run one and the same fortune with them; the hopes of better success for the Affairs of Italy by the assistance that was expected from France, and many other preparations which were a making to make War upon the Imperialists to some purpose, in several parts. He wisht them to remember their ancient generosity, and particularly the many prosperous successes which they had had when they joyned with the Venetians; told them they might hope for the like now, if they would keep the like constancy, and generosity. That as their continuing well inclined to the League, would certainly much increase their reputation, and confirm the mindes of the Confederates; so would it be as prejudicial to them if they should desert them: And that through fear of an imaginary danger, they would fall upon great and grievous mischiefs; for they would ruine themselves, and therewithal draw on the ruine, or much declination of others, and hazard the liberty of Italy. He therefore desired them, That in respect of the love which the Common-wealth bore them, and for the great and common concerns, they would not be wanting in their duties.

The Florentines seemed to take this very well, and sent their Embassadour *Andrea de' Pa'xi* to Venice, to thank the Senate; promising to continue in the League, and particularly in their good intelligence with the Common-wealth, desiring that 6000 more Foot might be raised, at the common cost to resist yet greater Forces, if it was true as it was said to be, that the Duke of *Burbone* had drawn men out of *Milan*, to march towards *Tuscany*.

Whilst these things went thus, the Colleagues Fleet continued still the Siege before *Genua*, which was now reduced to great straits; many things were propounded to hinder the relief by the Spanish Fleet which was said to be preparing in *Carthage*, to the number of 40 Ships. *Navarra* was for going into the Spanish Rivers, and for firing the Spanish Fleet, as it lay in the open Haven, before it should put forth; which advice was approved of by the Venetian Commissary. But *Doria* though he seemed to like this motion well, considered notwithstanding the season of the year, and the danger by Sea made much against it, since they were not like to find Havens, whereinto to put upon any bad weather; he likewise raised many other difficulties, wherewith the rest being staggered, and he himself being resolved not to go to *Carthage*, it was decreed that they should go to the

to the Island of *Corfica*, or to that of *Sardinia*, and to keep about those Rivers, and to wait for the coming forth of the Imperial Fleet, and to fight it as it should pass by; to which purpose some great Vessels were made to come from *Marecelles*, and the Ships which were formerly taken before *Genua*, were armed.

Whilst these things were a preparing, the Imperial Fleet, which consisted of thirty and six armed Ships, making more haste from Spain then was expected, came sailing with a prosperous South-East wind towards *Genua*, fifteen miles from land, wherein was Don *Carlo di Lancia*, Viceroy of *Naples*, Captain *Albercona*, and Don *Ferran'e Gonsaga*; which as soon as the Venetian Commissary understood, who was then in *Porto Venere* with sixteen Gallies, to sollicit the arming of the Ships, he put presently to Sea, to pursue the Enemy; but meeting with contrary winds, he was forced to put back again into the Haven, whilst the Spanish Ships pursuing their course, drew still nearest land, that they might get into the Haven of *Genua*. But as they past by *Monte St Fretoso*, they were discovered by *Navarra*, from *Codemonte*, who lay underneath the point of land with seventeen of the Leagues Gallies; wherewith lanching forthwith into the Sea, he went boldly and courageously to fight the Imperial Fleet; and it so fell out, as one shot which was made from *Navarra's* Gally, whilst it was hoisted up by the waves, struck off the Banner from off the Standard or Mast of the Gally wherein the Viceroy was; at the same time *Giacopo di Mezzo*, and *Paolo Justiniano*, two Captains of two of the Venetian Gallies, putting in with the forwardst, and nearest the Enemy, did with their first volley, shoot two of the Enemies Ship thorow and thorow, the one of which sunk almost presently; and the other lying on one side, had time to stop the hole, and save her self: Captain *Albercona*, who was in her, got quickly out, and got into a Pinnace that was hard at hand: Many shot were made afterward on both sides, but not much hurt done; with much disorder and fear to the enemy, their Ships being more exposed to danger then our Gallies, which shooting nearer the superficies of the water, did more certainly hit the great Ships, and mist seldomer. Whereupon *Navarra*, who in this action shewed youth-like gallantry, though he were seventy years old, began to cry aloud, Victory, Victory; and thereby encouraging the rest to fight vigorously, they pursued the enemies Fleet, which began already to fly, hoping to make themselves masters thereof. But the Tempest at Sea did increase so much, hourly, as they saw clearly, that to pass any further, was to expose their Gallies to manifest danger, and to the discretion of Fortune, and of the winds. Wherefore leaving further pursuit of the Enemy, they resolved to put back into the Haven: Commissary *Armiero* being by the same occasion hindered from assisting his companion in the fight, who put several times to Sea to that purpose, but was still bearen back. The Viceroy after having run much hazard, got safe with some of his Ships into the Haven of *Santo Stefano* in the Senecles jurisdiction; the rest of the Ships passing by *Sicily* and *Corfica*, landed their men safely at *Gaeta*, having in vain pursued and fought after the Leagues Fleet, when the Sea was calm.

This succour which was landed by the Spaniards, began to break the designs and hopes of the Confederates: Wherefore enquiring diligently (as is usual when things proceed not prosperously) into the occasion of these disorders, the Venetians grew jealous, by what was said by some who were but ill satisfied, that Commissary *Armero* might be in some fault, who was therefore sent for to *Venice* by the Council of *Ten*, that he might give an account of his actions, and particularly, of the Corn which he had suffered to be brought into *Genoa*, and why he went not with his Fleet to *Carthage*, and *Augustino de Mala* was chosen to be put in his place, who was then Commissary in *Friuli*, and who had formerly exercised the like charge at Sea. But *Armero* did so fully clear himself of all the faults that were laid to his charge, as he was absolutely acquitted thereof: And it was known to be true, that the not sending of some men from the camp in *Lombardy*, who might have straitened that City by Land, as had been so oft desired by the Commanders at Sea, was the cause why the Fleet missed of the fruit of the hoped for victory. But the Pope was more troubled at the Viceroys being come into *Italy*, then the rest were, and grew more jealous and fearful; for it was said, that these men that were landed by the Fleet, were to joyn with *Fronspersa's* Forces. Wherefore the Archbishop of *Capua* was sent to *Gaeta* to treat of a agreement with the Viceroy, and to propound a suspension of Arms till it was concluded. But the Viceroy standing upon hard conditions, requiring a great sum of money, and the assignation of some Cities, the Treaty broke off for that time: The Pope being somewhat enheartened, for that his Army was much encreased in reputation and Forces, by the coming of *Renzo da Ceri*, who being sent by the King of *France* into *Italy*, and having brought the Fleet to *Savona*, was already come into the Ecclesiastical Camp, which kept about *Rome*, to suppress the *Collonesi*: But on the other side, the Viceroy was the more solicitous in endeavouring to get into the Ecclesiastical State, to defend the affairs of the *Collonesi*, to enforce the Pope to quit the League, and to contribute some monies to the Army: Therefore making towards, he went with the Camp to *Fursolone*, hoping to get the Town either by siege or storm, having already twelve thousand Foot in his Army. But *Renzo da Ceri*, and *Alessandro Vitello* being come thither with the Churches Forces, which were much encreased in number by the Popes diligence in raising new Foot to relieve the Town, after some days battery, and some slight skirmishes made with them within, who sallied boldly out to disturb the Enemy, the Imperial camp rife from the Town, not having done any thing remarkable, and retreated to *Cessano*, and afterwards to *Ceperano*.

The Pope being somewhat encouraged by these good successes, and beginning to hope well, suffered himself easily to be persuaded, to enter immediately, (though it were now in the depth of winter, and *January* being begun, and therewith the year 1527) upon the business of *Naples*, as had been formerly proposed, and counselled by the Confederates. Wherefore the Venetians ordered *Agostino da Mula*, their Commissary by Sea, to go to *Cervita Pecchia*, and that joyning there his Gallies with those of the Popes, they should both

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of them fall upon the enterprise of *Naples*. But the French Fleet being slow in coming, the Venetians went to *Terracina*, to take in 3000 Foot, brought thither by *Horatio Baglione*, who was set at Liberty by *Clement*, having been formerly imprisoned by *Leo*; in favour of this undertaking, *Monseigneur de Valdamonte* was come to *Rome* from *France*, to whom, as being descended from King *Renato*, the ancient pretences of the house of *Anjou*, to the kingdom of *Naples* did appertain; it being hoped, that, out of a certain affection which remained yet in the memory of many towards those Princes, and towards the French party, the presence of *Valdamonte* might be of some availment; whom the League profest they would make King of those States, he being to marry the Popes Niece, who was daughter to *Lorenzo de Medici*, and was commonly called *La Duchessina d'Urbino*. *Valdamonte* being got aboard this Fleet, which consisted of 22 gallies, with these designs, and these hopes, they all made towards the Rivers of *Naples*; *Renzo* being to go by land with 10000 Foot, and to enter into *Abruzzo*. *Doria* went before with his Gallies, and assaulted *Pozzuolo*, a very opportune place for the Confederates, if they should get it, by reason of the conveniency of the Haven of *Baia*: but, being beat back by the Artillery at his first accost, he gave over any further attempt; and when the rest of the Leagues Gallies were come up, they relolved to batter *Castello a mare*, that they might have a safe receptacle for their Gallies: and after having thrown down some parts of the wall, the Forces of the Gallies were landed, that they might assault it both by land and Sea: and *Paolo Giustiniano*, master of one of the Venetian Gallies, was the first that entred the Town, with his men, through a breach, made by the Cannon of the Gallies, who being followed by the rest, the town was taken, and sack'd, and the Castle yielded not long after. After which success, almost all the Maritime towns, whithersoever the Leagues Fleet came, surrendered; and if any made resistance, it was presently storm'd, as was that of *Loreto*, and of *Torredel Ceruo*: so as they were, in a short time masters of almost all the Rivers, and were got very near *Naples*. *Renzo* was this mean while entred the Kingdom by land, having happily pass'd over the river of *Tronto*, and rendred all the Viceroy's endeavours vain, who sought to hinder him: and beginning prosperously, he had reduced into his power, the Town of *Aquila* in *Abruzzi*, and the Counties of *Tagliacozzo*, *Alva*, and *Celano*. Wherefore the Captains of the Fleet, being now near *Naples*, and being thereunto invited by these prosperous successes, consulted, whether they should draw near *Naples*, or no, and put for a period to the War. They considered, That if this city should be won, the war might be said to be ended; the chief means of raising monies for the maintaining of the war, being thereby taken from the enemies: and they being thereby driven out of their nest, and of their chiefest receptacle; by keeping wherein, their chiefest hopes of defending that State did consist: wherof when they should be deprived, their courage would soon fail them, so as they might be easily driven out of the whole Kingdom; nor was the enterprise so hard, but that they might have reason to expect the effecting of it. The City was but weakly garrison'd, nor was it apt to expose it self to danger,

nor to undergo the troubles of war, or inconveniences of a siege, to preserve the insatiable Dominion of the Spaniards, which was most troublesome to them; nor were the Nobles otherwise minded, though for fear of their goods they were forced to appear well pleased with that condition. They considered further, that this disposition of the Neapolitans might easily be increased, and that they might be incited to some insurrection, by promising the city to forgive the so many debts which it owed unto the chamber, and to free them for the future from many grievances, if they would be willing to yield: threatening, on the other side, that they would put them and their houses to fire and sword, if they would obstinately persist, to defend themselves. They considered, that, at the present, the Viceroy was far off, and that they could not hope to receive any speedy succour from the Spaniards: and that, when they should have gotten the city, they need not distrust the reducing of the Castles likewise into their power; which, not being succour'd, must likewise suddenly yield. Yet others were of opinion, that they were to expect, that Renzo was further advanced, and that they might straighten that City with greater Forces; upon the getting whereof, they knew all other good success did depend, and the end of the war; wherefore they were to proceed therein with more mature advice, and well grounded hopes, since, if the business did not succeed well, the whole enterprise would be much prejudiced; that a short time might mightily facilitate good success; for they knew, the city was in great scarcity of Corn; which, after the late taking of some ships laden with wheat, which went to relieve it, must needs grow greater, and almost insupportable; whereupon, the people tumultuating, would by their disorders facilitate the victory. That therefore in expectation of such an occasion, they were to draw unexpectedly near to the walls of the City, and not give the Spaniards leisure to order their affairs, and to provide for better defence, that it was to be considered, that a little withstanding would be sufficient to resist the forces of that Fleet, which were so weak and so few, as they could not attempt the taking of the Town, but with more danger than hope. That therefore they were to expect some more recruits of men, either by shipping from France, or from the Army by land: and that the mean while they might go to Salerno, and reduce that, and the other neighbouring Towns to the devotion of the League, before they should be better garrison'd: and so the city of Naples would at last fall into their hands.

But these reasons not prevailing, it was resolved, that a Herald should be sent into the City, who should require the delivery thereof up into the hands of the League, upon such promises and threats, as were mentioned in the Consultation. But *Don Hugo de Moncada*, who was within the City, curbing the people, and resolving to stand upon defence, when he understood, that the Fleet was within four miles, march'd out of the City with 2500 foot, and 300 horse, to disturb the designs of the captains of the League; who had already landed many souldiers, under the conduct of *Monfieur de Faldemonte*, and of *Horatio Baglione*; who being got very near the City, to discover the situation, met with *Don Hugo* and his men, fought them, and made them run; which was not done so much by the souldiers valour, as by shot from the Gallies, which playing upon the Enemy, who were upon the shore, prejudiced them much, but

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frighted them more; so as, being disordered and in confusion, thinking how soonest to withdraw themselves from the danger, they fled towards the City, and turn'd their backs upon our men, who pursued them to fast, as they would have left some pieces of Artillery behind them, had not *Don Hugo*, by making some Spanish souldiers make a halt, recovered them. But being hereby necessitated to retreat the slower, he had not leisure at his entrance into the City, to cause the Bridge be pull'd up, nor to shut the Gate, which *Baglione*, who pursued him, made himself suddenly Master of. But having but a few souldiers with him, and fearing that if he should enter the Town with them, he should not be able to keep them from plundering, so as being disordered and confused, they might be cut in pieces, he retreated to the Gallies, which were but a mile off.

This success infused such a rour into the Neapolitans, as they sent to intreat the Captains of the Fleet, that they would not play upon the Town with their Cannon, nor ruine the Country, for for their parts they were ready to yield. But this so fortunate opportunity could not be made use of; for *Don Hugo*, knowing that there were but few forces in the Fleet, appear'd willing to defend the Town, and to undergo any whatsoever inconvenience; and by this time it was clearly known, that they could not storm the City, for that the souldiers of the Fleet were reduced to a small number, by reason of the Garrisons which it behooved them to leave in the Towns that they had taken; until the great Fleet, which was promis'd by the King, should be come from France. Which not coming, the Captains of the League were necessitated to lye idle, and to let the victory escape out of their hands. And though they had often very earnestly desired that they might have a thousand Foot at least sent them from the laid Army, offering to send their Gallies to take them up at *Terracina*, they could not get it effected. For great disorders were hapned in the Ecclesiastical Army: Little discipline, no obedience to Commanders, great want of monies, and of victuals; so as when it was expected that the Army, answerable to the first prosperous success, should advance, and gather more force and reputation, it grew every day less and less through its own inconveniences. Which mischief proved the harder to be remedied, for that a suspension of Arms being in agitation, and the Pope being according to his custom, irresolute, and sparing in laying out of monies, he was now more slow and sparing therein: And this Treaty being known in the Camp, the Commanders and souldiers began to despise the Orders of the Popes Legate, and all interests of the League. Inasmuch as some of the Captains, who had been most honour'd and best rewarded by the Pope, went over to the Imperialists, and took pay of them.

These proceedings confirm'd *Clement* the more in his former purpose, and in buckling close to the treaty of agreement, inasmuch as he would say, that since he must serve, he would rather serve the Emperour, then always depend upon the immoderate wills of Captains, and of every base souldier. But the resolution taken by *Burbone*, was above all things else cause of great disturbance to the designs of the Confederates, and of particular trouble to the Pope; for

Barbone having at last overcome all difficulties, and drawn the Souldiers out of *Milan*, was on his way to joyn with the Dutch, who expected him beyond the *Trebbia*, not knowing particularly what enterprize they were to fall upon; only it was publicly given out, that *Bourbone* to get the Souldiers out of *Milan*, had promised them the sacking of *Florence*, and of *Rome*, which was the only means to make them move. The Pope growing apprehensive of himself, as also of the affairs of *Florence*, not out of any charity towards his Country (as was afterwards seen) but fearing least some alteration might happen in the Government of the City, together with the suppression of his family, which were then almost the sole Governours thereof, renewed other Treaties of Agreement with the Viceroy, though he had formerly promised not to conclude any thing without the knowledge and consent of the King of *France*, and of the Venetians, who had declared themselves, since *Cesar* persisted in so hard conditions, to be otherwise minded.

But besides the aforesaid considerations, the exhortations made by the *Generale di Santo Francisco*, were of great force with the Pope; who being lately return'd (as hath been said) from the Emperours Court, did very much witness *Cesar's* well wishes, and good inclination to peace. So as making use of the same general in this treaty with the Viceroy, he continued it in such a manner, as he seemed to place all his hopes of defence therein: Becoming himself, and making the rest likewise become more slow and negligent in their providing for War: And consequently, through too much fear, making the danger more eminent. Which was the more wondrous at by all men, for that whereas *Clement* ought to have remembered the recent troubles and injuries which he had received from the Colonels, and the wrongs which he had afterwards done them, and the Imperialists; he ought therefore to have adhibited the less belief to words, nor have committed his safety and liberty into the power of others; but having broken conventions agreed upon with them, he ought to much the more to fear that the like might be done to him, by a desperate people, having neither religion nor faith; and who served a Prince, whose friendship he had not till then endeavour'd, unless it was upon great necessity. The Pope seeking to cloak the effects of this his immoderate fear, he said in generous words, that not to be wanting to his office of universal Father and Pastor, having discovered a great inclination to peace in *Cesar*, and in his Agents, he could not, nor ought not, appear to be averse thereunto, nor neglect so blest an occasion, as was offer'd him, of causing all Arms to be laid down, with hopes to reduce all Christendom to a desired peace and tranquillity. *Bourbone* was this mean while got to *Bullonia*, it not being yet well known what way he meant to take, whether for *Tuscany* or *Romania*; for the Souldiers did alike aspire to the sacking of *Florence* and *Rome*; but it was thought he would rather take the way of *Romania*, to enter on that side into *Rome*; whereof there were many tokens, especially the levelling of the ways, made by the Duke of *Ferrara's* order about the Town of *Cento*; with whom *Barbone*, being come to *Finale*, had had many private discourses, and had received

ceived some pieces of Artillery from him, and some monies, and was, as it was then believed, advised by him to march towards *Rome*, which would make much for his designs of possessing himself of *Modena* and *Regio*, whilst the Pope was otherwise busied. *Barbone* had ranlack'd the Bullonian Territories, and wasted much by fire, not out of any hatred that he had to the Bullonies, or to offend the Pope; but to make the Florentines thereby close with him, and contribute some monies to the Army, to free their Country, which was full of noble Pallaces, from the like rune. Their proceedings made the Pope the more hasten the agreement; so as *Monsieur di Lange* being come from *France* to *Rome*, to dissuade the Pope from thinking of any agreement, and bringing for his better encouragement 20000 Duckets, with promises of a far greater sum; and *Cesare Ferramosca* coming thither likewise on the same day from the Viceroy's Camp, to let the Pope know that the Viceroy was content to accept of the Truce for eight moneths propounded by the Pope; he not listening to the promises and encouragements of the most Christian King, clapp'd up presently with the Viceroy, affirming that by delay his condition would be worse, when the Viceroy should be better informed of the disorders that were in the Leaguers Army, and that the danger of the Kingdom of *Naples*, did not counterpoise that of *Tuscany* and *Rome*; which was the only means to make them agree together. The Pope being wholly set upon this, that the things agreed upon might be sure to be the better effected, used means to bring the Viceroy in person to *Rome*, and Cardinal *Trivulcio*, who was Legate in the Camp, was to go the mean while to *Naples*, for the Viceroy's better security; who consented afterwards to come without this condition. And being come to *Rome*, where he was very honourably received, though the day proved very tempestuous for thunder and wind; which was by some interpreted as an ill augury to the business; he without any difficulty confirm'd the suspension of Arms for 8 moneths, upon the same terms that it was first agreed upon by *Ferramosca*, and with a particular promise that *Barbone* should retreat with his forces, and should not molest the Churches State, nor *Tuscany*: Which if he should not be able otherwise to effect, he would take the Spanisht Souldiers out of the Camp, over whom he had the chiefest authority, and which were the Nerves of the Army. Wherefore the Pope, who was apt to believe that which he did so much desire, was perswaded that he had now put his Affairs into a good condition; and promis'd to pay the Army 70000 Duckets, to pardon the Colonels, and particularly to restore *Pompeio Colonna* to his former Dignity of Cardinalship, whereof he had a little before deprived him; and as concerning their Towns; that the Pope and they should retain such as were at this present in their possession. But his greatest error was, that he made his Army presently retreat to the Confines of the Kingdom, and caus'd the Fleet to come to *Cervina Vecchia*, and commanded the Captains both by Sea and Land, by replicated Orders, that they should immediately restore unto the Imperialists all the Towns and places that they had taken in the Kingdom; falling so headlong to disarming (as if he had been guided by some hidden power to his

(edition) as he dis-banded some of the Souldiers that were in the Army, though the Colonefs, who kept still in Arms, used many instances: Nor did he keep any more for his Guard, then 100 Light Horse, and some companies of the black Troops, who did belong to *Foran de Medici*, which was come to *Rome* to accompany the Viceroy: And as if he should never have any more need of Souldiers, he withdrew some pay from the Captains and Souldiers of his Army, leaving them so ill satisfied, as many of them went over to *Burbons* Camp. The Senate of *Venice* was not wanting at this time in giving the Pope good counsel. They told him he might do well not to trust too much in the Viceroy's promises; for though he should proceed sincerely, it was much to be doubted that *Burbone*, who pretended to be equally intrusted in authority by *Cesar*, as was the Viceroy, might not obey his Orders, nor ratifie what he had agreed upon, without his consent. They minded him also of the many disorders which might arise, by disarming; and particularly that when the Senesi and Collonefs (whose hatred and ambition was not laid aside by this agreement) should see his Arms thus laid down, they would take an occasion to invite the *Cesarean* Army to advance, who when they should have this occasion offer'd them, it might be that even *Burbone* himself would not be able to detain Souldiers who were ill paid, and disobedient to their Commanders. But the Pope despising these reasons, and seeming to be still more resolute in his determination, made that saying true; that, *Good and faithful counsel, given by an interested and suspected person, causeth the sooner precipitation.*

Clement believed that the Venetians made these dangers to appear the greater, out of their own Interests, as desiring that he would not sever himself from the confederacy; wherefore not believing their words, he ran the more hastily upon his own ruine. And continuing still in the same perswasion, that the agreement was so settled, as no doubt nor danger could arise therein, though *Burbone* himself had written to *Rome*, that he could not rule nor detain the Souldiers, who were not well satisfied with the few monies which they had as yet received; the Pope said *Burbone* did this, not that he was really averse unto the Truce, but to draw more money from him by this fear, or to shew some Military ostentation: Though after all this, alledging some more rational cause for this his credulity, he had wont to say, that though he might have doubted of some sinister accident, yet he should not have thought it fit to do otherwise then he did, for he would rather that his ruine, and the cause of so much mischief to Christendom, should be attributed to the falsifying of the faith of others, then to his own obstinacy. But not being able then to believe that any thing should happen otherwise then he conceived, he had already destined to send his Almner, *Mattheo Giberto*, Bishop of *Vercina* (through whose hands all businesses of greatest importance did then pass) Legate into *Spain*, to treat with *Cesar* upon the particular conditions of peace. But the Venetians, when they were assured that the Truce was concluded, they ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, that he should assemble all his men together, who lay then between *Mode-*

na and *Regio*, and joyn them with the Marquis of *Saluzzo's* forces, who were in the parts about *Bullonia*; to the end that they might oppose the Imperialists designs, it being suspected, that now, that the agreement was made, they would fall upon the Commonwealths Territories. They also commanded *Sebastian Giustiniano* who was Embassadour with the King of *France*, to assure the King, that though the Pope had quitted the League, yet they would not forego his friendship, and that they hoped they might be able by their joyned forces to beat the Imperialists, and effect those things which they had propos'd unto themselves as the end of their confederacy. But that if the King should judge it fit to accept of the Truce, they were ready to be govern'd therein by his Majesty. The Pope in his agreement made with the Viceroy, had reserv'd place for the Venetians, who of themselves were not much averse from accepting the Truce: they thought it not amiss to take time, that they might prepare themselves the better for defence; the rather, for that they hoped, that the marriage being the mean while concluded between the King of *England's* daughter, and the most Christian King, whereby he might declare himself for the League, it might increase in force and reputation. It made more over much for their advantage, to keep the Pope at this time in suspense, that he might not be their Enemy, but rather hoping that when his fear of the present dangers should be over, they might draw him once more to joyn with them. Besides, by this suspension of Arms, occasion was offer'd of negotiating the universal peace, with safety and satisfaction to all; that being the true object, which their taking up of Arms aimed at. But in the first place, they pitched upon friendship with *France*, wherefore finding that the King did not listen to these proposals, they thought no more thereof. But the King propounding the renewing of War, and the reassuming the enterprize of *Naples* with their Armies, and their Fleets; the Senate were for Arming, but shewed that they could reap no good by turning their Forces upon those parts, at this time; because their honour, and the peoples favour was lost, by the Popes having withdrawn himself from the League, and by the restitution of the Towns which they had gotten. They therefore propos'd, as the safest and most advantageous course which could then be taken, to defend the States of *Lombardy*, if the agreement should go on; and if not, that they should not abandon the defence of the Churches Territories, and the Florentines, because their oppression would redound much to the prejudice of the League.

But the Imperial Army, after the agreement made in *Rome*, though *Cesare Feramosca* had sent them orders to keep where they were, were it either that *Burbone* would not, or could not detain them, marched towards *Romagna*, and sitting down before *Cottignuola*, they took it by agreement, and then went towards *Favilla*. But keeping the way to *Meldola*, they seemed as if they would passe over the *Alpes* by the Valley of *Arnoe*, and so enter into *Tuscanie*, hoping to be able to repair themselves by the conveniences which were offer'd them by the Senesi, and to supply the great need they stood in of victuals. Wherefore the Venetian Senate, according to their former

resolution ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, that leaving so many men as he should think fitting for the defence of their Country, he should advance with the rest, to assist the occasions of the Church, and of the Florentines, and to oppose the Imperialists in all their designs; whereupon the Duke, carrying part of the Army along with him near to *Bullognia*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* went with the rest by several waies, and in several Quarters, to *Imola*, and fix'd his Camp between *Ravenna*, and *Faenza*, before the Enemy were gone from *Cottignuola*. The manner how to govern the War, was long argued by the Captains of the League; and by a joynt consent it was agreed, that the Forces of the League should be divided into two several bodies, to inclose the Enemy in the midst, to hinder them the more from victuals, and to impede their designs whithersoever they turned. Yet the Pope blaming *post factum*, the counsel which was formerly praised by *Renzo*, and by *Camillo Ursino*, and by all his men, sought to excuse his precipitous agreement, by having as he said, argued much coolness by these proceedings in the Colleagues, as concerning the defence of his Affairs, and that therefore he was forced to think upon some other course for his own safety.

But then the Pope, who before not crediting the dangers which were apprehended by all the rest, thought himself secure; being mightily astonish'd at these new advertisements, sent for the Embassadors of all the confederate Princes, and shewing on the one side, his desire of the common good, nay, the necessity which had inforced him to accept of the Truce; and on the other side, how abusively he was used by the Imperialists; desired them to intercede earnestly with their Princes, that upon occasion of so much danger, they would not, to the common prejudice, abandon him and the Florentines: And he entreated *Dominico Veniero*, the Common-wealths Embassador, particularly, that he would be a means to the Senate, that they would give order to the Duke of *Urbino*, to carry his Army beyond the *Alpes*, promising that he would renew the League, and inviolably observe it. And the Senate, though the sending of those men so far from their own State, and the hazarding of them amidst the Mountains, bore with it no small difficulties, and though the Pope, following his own counsels, and several from theirs, had given them occasion enough to lay aside all thought of his Interest, yet continuing their first intention, they gave order to the Duke of *Urbino*, and to *Luigi Pisani* (who when *Contarini* was left Commissary in *Lombardy*, was gone unto the Camp) that they should, if occasion should so require, pass over the *Alpes*. Whereupon the Imperialists being past, they were quickly pursued by the French and by the Venetian Camps; so as almost at the same time, all the Armies were brought into *Tuscanie* *Burbone* quartered near *Arezzo*, and the Leagues Army at *Barbarino*; the City of *Florence* being as it were in the midst between these two Armies; which occasioned great tumults in the City, wherein the minds of the Citizens being variously contaminated by the humour of factions, some desiring a popular Government, others the powers but of a few, and the exaltation of the house of *Medici*, they fell easily to civil contentions, and the popular faction began

began already to prevail; the preheminy of Government being taken out of the hands of the *Medici*, and of their dependants, and *Hipolito*, and *Alessandro* (both of them being the Popes Nephews) were particularly declared to be Enemies to the Country. But the Duke of *Urbino* coming opportunely to *Florence*, in the time of these commotions; who as soon as he saw *Burbone* bend towards *Tuscany*, taking only 80 Gentlemen along with him, hastened with the Commissary *Pisani*, and with *Frederick Borzucio*, to *Florence*, to keep the Florentines in loyalty to the League, put a stop to the audacity of the young men, through fear of his army, which was not far off, and reduced Affairs to their former condition, without any bloodshed or prejudice by civil dissention: And got thereby thus much good to the Colleagues, as that the Florentines being received into protection, promised adherence to the League; and to maintain in the camp, at their own expences, 250 Curassiers, and 5000 Foot, or whatsoever other numbers the Pope should please.

Whilst these things were in treaty with the Florentines, the confederacy was renewed in *Rome* by the other confederates; whereby the Venetians were bound in a great sum of Money not to remove their men out of *Tuscanie*, or out of the Ecclesiastical State without the Popes leave, and to be the first that should send their Fleet against the Kingdom of *Naples*. Which conditions being thought by the Senate to be too hard, as indeed they were, were not accepted of, but their Embassador, *Dominico Veniero*, having exceeded his Commission, was sent for back to *Venice*, and committed all *Ufficio dell' Augeria*, and *Francisco Pesarò* was chosen Embassador in his place, before whom, many had been chosen, who would not accept of the employment: Alledging that they had other places of Magistracy; wherefore a Law was made, that during the War, it might be lawful for any one to be chosen, and taken out of whatsoever place or employment. But lest the Pope might think they had any thought averie to the confederacy, or common good, they sent immediately Secretary *Andrea Rosso*, to *Rome*, to ascertain the Pope of their good will to the League; provided, that too heavy, and almost insupportable conditions were not to be laid upon them, as had been, especially at this time, when they were to re-inforce their Army in *Lombardy*; *Antonio da Leva* being marched into the Field, and the Invasion of the Landsknechts being expected. But *Burbone*, were it either that he did despair of doing any good at *Florence*, to the defence whereof all the Confederates Forces were brought; or that he did alwaies intend the other, resolved to make towards *Rome*, being thereunto invited, by *Rome* not being provided against these dangers, for the Pope vainly confiding in the Citizens, and Country people, great store whereof were entred into the City, and Armes were given to above 5000 of those, had been careless in raising new Foot, or in making use of those which he had; insomuch, as having given Commission to *Philippo Doria*, to raise 3000 Foot, whereof he had already raised a third part, and brought them to *Civita Vecchia*, he took no order for their coming to *Rome*: And he made his Almoner write to *Guido Rangone*, who was come with a good number of Foot

to *Oriccoli*, commanding him not to come towards *Rome* without express Order: Wherefore though the Duke of *Urbine* had given Count *Guido* notice of *Burbone's* March, to the end that he might go time enough to *Rome*; yet would he not stir, having been commanded the contrary by the Pope. But he did not escape being blamed for this by many, who said that in such a case he ought to have obeyed the Duke of *Urbine*, as being the Captain General of the League. But *Burbone* having now with great resolution overcome many difficulties, whereinto the Army was reduced for want of monies, march'd towards *Rome*, wherein he used such dispatch, as he advanced forty miles a day, making but one only Quarter between *Piterbo* and *Rome*; the great rains which in many parts had overflowed the Country not making him slack his pace. Before he came to *Rome*, he sent to ask leave of the Pope, to go (as he said) to the Kingdom of *Naples*; being thereunto moved, either by the scarcity of victuals, or for fear of being surprized by the Army of the League which followed him, if he should have made too long abode any where, or (as some thought) that he might pick an occasion to do that which he had already determined.

But the Pope was not pleased to listen to such proposals, or to give way thereunto; were it either that he did now know the Enemies most intrinsecal thoughts, or that he did sufficiently confide in the assistance of the people, and in the Leagues Fleet, which was now at *Cevita Vecchia* with some store of Foot. But howsoever it was, *Burbone* having somewhat refresh'd his men with victuals, which the men of *Aquapendente*, of *S^t Lorenzo*, and of some other Towns which he had taken, furnish'd him with, he resolv'd on the sixth of *May* to assault the Walls of *Rome*, and to give an assault. *Renzo da Ceri*, to whom the Pope had committed the charge thereof, had made but weak defences for the Suburbs, and provided but slightly for all other defences: So as the want of diligence to secure dangers, made the Souldiers fool-hardiness more successful; so as clapping the Ladders to the Walls of the Suburbs, and not being discover'd till it was too late, by the Defendants, by reason of a very thick mist which fell that day, after some few hours dispute they won the Walls, and entred the Suburb. *Antonio di Montefalco*, who had the custody of that part where the first assault was given, and had 100 Foot with him, repuls'd the first Assaults, and being afterwards relieved by many of the armed people, he for a while withstood the violence of the Enemy. But *Burbone's* Souldiers continuing to fight stoutly, those new and unexperienced people, when they saw the danger increase, and growing very apprehensive of themselves, and of their own particular Affairs, gave over the defence of the Wall, and began to run, leaving free entrance to the Enemy; *Burbone* was one of the first that mounted the Walls, who receiving a Musket shot through his side and right thigh, fell presently down, and dyed. Yet did not the Souldiers forbear going on, egg'd on by the fury of Battle, and desire of prey. Then the Pope, teaching by a notable example, that when the height of danger is in question, 'tis wisely done to think all things possible, and to seek all opportune remedies against them, as

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if they were sure to happen; being deceived in his trust, and in his hopes, which were more grounded upon the Enemies disorder, then on his own Forces, being poorly advis'd, and full of fear, after he had carried a good while in his Palace, expecting what the event of the Battle would be, resolv'd at last to save himself, together with many of his Prelates, in the Castle of *S^t Angelo*.

Renzo, who had been long born away with the same error, and seeking too late to amend it, ran up and down the City, calling upon the people, and soliciting them to take up Arms, and to stand upon their defence. But they were so possess'd with fear, by reason of this unexpected and bitter accident, as his words were not heard; nor was there any thing to be found in them but confusion and terror. So as the Enemy making themselves soon, and without much ado, Masters of the Suburbs, and of the *Transsevere*, they entred into the City between the Gates *Aurelia* and *Settimiana*, which were not defended either by Walls (for they were quite ruin'd by age) nor yet by armed men.

Thus a great and noble City, in a few hours space, and without almost any defence, fell into the power of cruel Enemies: Much time, many men, and great labour having been often formerly spent in the same War, in taking the meanest and least Castles. *Philippo Doria*, and Count *Guido*, when they saw *Burbone* approach near *Rome*, were, without receiving any Orders, march'd away with their men, the one out of *Orvieto*, the other out of *Cevita Vecchia*, to assist the Pope: But being prevented by *Burbone*, who had block'd up the Avenues to the City, they soon return'd to from whence they were come. And the Duke of *Urbine*, following the Enemy, though somewhat the slower by reason of the hinderances his Army met with, came therewith to *Piterbo*, where, finding the Country wasted by the Enemy, he was forc'd to stay for want of victuals; not having above seventeen thousand Foot in his Army, of the thirty thousand which by obligation of the Confederates it ought to have consisted on, so much was it diminished by various accidents: The Light Horse and the Foot going often out of these Quarters, got many Booties, which they took from the Imperial Souldiers, as they came loaded with prey from *Rome*. There is nothing so calamitous, so bitter, wicked, nor cruel, which *Rome* did not at this time undergo: Falling from the height of all prosperity, to the very bottom of all misery; which affords a notable example of the change of fortune, and of the frailty of humane Affairs; for in the times last before these, to wit, in the Poppedome of *Leo*; the Court of *Rome* was gotten to a great height, and to such a magnificency, and splendor of living, as there was nothing of worldly felicity more to be desired in her. Great store of Courtiers, men excellent in all arts, Pallaces princely adorned, abundance of all things. So as the people of *Rome* being enriched by the concourse of so many Nations, and by the profuseness of their expences, lived merrily and luxuriously; and though *Clement*, as well by nature, as by accidents of War, was somewhat more sparing and modest, yet this course being once begun, the same manner of life was still continued both in the Court and City. The Dutch

and Spanish Foot being entred the City, as hath been said, they became barbarous, with much rage and fierceness, to all things; not distinguishing between what was sacred, and what was profane, without any bounds to their avarice or lust: sacking, rapine, and other miseries which attend the conquered, and which use to end in a few days, continued in this City for many moneths; the souldiers grew furious against the popularity, killing as well such as were unarmed, as such as were armed, sparing neither Age, Nation, nor Protection: having assaulted the houses, they made the Masters thereof Prisoners, taking away what they had of most precious, nay, using torments to make them discover what they had hid, and shewing no more respect towards churches; they with their wicked and sacrilegious hands robbed Altars, took away holy Reliques from the Shrines, and the piously consecrated vows of many devout persons of all Nations, and violating even the holiest Pixes, they threw the most blessed Sacraments to the ground, and that they might leave nothing uncontaminated, or free from their wickedness, they dragg'd noble Marrons out of their houses, and sacred Virgins out of their Monasteries, and stripping them stark naked, led them through the publike streets, and most libidinously satisfied their dishonest wills. Nor were the greatest and noblest Prelates of the Court more secure then others, to whom the Dutch Foot principally, using all sorts of scorn and infamy, shewed the immense hatred they bore to the Church of Rome.

This miserable Fortune, and so many grievous calamities, made all men confess, that the ancient ruins brought by the Northern Barbarians to the City of Rome, were renewed; nay, that the cruelties of the Goths, and other barbarous Nations, was so far out-done by these most cruel and wicked men, as their detested memory would last longer then that of any others: But the scourge of this miserable people did not determine in the power of men; for thorow the nastiness of these base people, and by their dissolute way of life, or were it thorow the malignant influence of the heavens, great sicknesses ensued soon after; which growing contagious, slew men suddenly, so as the infected fell down dead as they walked and talked in the streets. This mortality was followed with such a sterility of the earth, and with such a scarcity of corn for humane life, proceeding either for want of manuring the fields, or for that heavens anger was not as yet appeased, as not only people of mean condition, but even those that had wont to abound in wealth, being reduced to great poverty, and feeding upon the vilest of meats, went begging their bread; in such sort, as this most noble country being made a receptacle of Souldiers, and such as were her most capital enemies, was abandoned by Citizens, and by the Court, and became a horrid and lothsome spectacle; so as it might be truly affirmed of her, Behold a City reduced to solitude, and enslaved, which had wont to command all Nations.

The End of the Fifth Book.



THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK VI.

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THe Venetians are much troubled at the taking of Rome, and therefore resolve to relieve the Pope. The Cardinals that are at liberty chuse Bullognia for their residence. Charles his Manifesto, to clear himself from what had befallen Rome, and his actions to the contrary. The Venetians assist Francisco Sforza, and the Cities of Romagnia. The Duke of Urbin resolves to fight the Imperialists before Rome, and is bindred by Commissary Vetturi, who had Process made against him for it, and was at last absolved, and the distastes between him and the Duke of Urbin agreed, who sends his wife and son to Venice. The Imperialists of Rome sack Terni, and Narni. The Florentines ratifie the League. The Venetians send two thousand Foot to guard Bullognia. The Pope inclines to the Agreement, and concludes it upon dishonourable terms. The Venetians provide for their State, and advise upon the way of making war. Lautrech's actions construed ill by the Senate, who send an Ambassadors to France. Pavia is taken, and sackt, Doria's actions with the Genueles, and Fregola's against the Adorni. The unhappy success of the Venetian Fleet at Sardinia, for which Antonio Marcello is punished. The Venetians growing jealous of Lautrech, bring their men into Lombardy. Treaties of Peace with Cesar succeed not, and war is intimated by the Colleagues. The Pope being freed by Cesar, seems neutral, and desires the restitution of some Towns from the Venetians, who consult upon an answer, and therefore send Gaspero Contarini Ambassador to Rome. The Imperialists and the French Armies in the Kingdom of Naples. The prosperous success of the French.

French, The Venetian Fleet annoy the Rivers of Puglia. The Duke of Brunſwick in Italy, who being driven away by the Duke of Urbine, return's quickly to Germany. The Leagues good and bad ſucceſs in the Kingdom of Naples, with the death of Lautrech. The diſbanding of the Army. The Genouefes put themſelves into the Emperours protection, whereat the French are much diſpleaſed. Proviſion for war in Lombardy. Pavia is aſſaulted by the Duke of Urbine, and taken, together with ſome other Towns. The Venetians are careful to preſerve the Towns of Puglia. A new requeſt made by the Pope to the Senate, for the reſtitution of the Towns pretended to. The Senates Answer, and their reaſons. The Princes deſire Peace, but the means how to compaſs it is not found. The Senate reſolves upon war: who grow apprehenſive of the French, by reaſon of their ſlender proviſions: and therefore forbear not to arm themſelves well. Various ſucceſs of Arms in the Kingdom of Naples, and in the State of Genua: where in the French proſper but badly, and Monſieur St. Paul is taken priſoner. Wiſe and Valiant actions of the Duke of Urbine. His ſkirmiſh with the Imperialiſts, whereby he makes them retreat to Myan. The French treat of Peace with Ceſar, without the knowledge of the Venetians: whereat the Senate is much diſtaſted. Ceſar comes into Italy. The agreement made at Cambrai, wherein the Venetians are excluded. The Emperours pretences to the Towns of Puglia. The Turks proceedings in Hungary makes him incline to Peace: The Senate is much perplexed, who at laſt reſolve to reſtore Cervia, and Ravenna to the Pope, and the cities of Puglia to the Emperour, whereby an univerſal peace is eſtabliſhed in Italy.

THe Senate of Venice was greatly troubled to hear of the taking and ſacking of Rome, and of the Pope's impriſonment. Others were moved to compaſſionate the miſerable miſfortune of that noble and flouriſhing City; the ſad condition of ſo many Court Prelates, and chiefly that of the Pope; being brought from the moſt ſupream degree of reverence and authority, into much lowneſs and danger, and was ſtill expoſed to the fury of Arms, and to many injuries: others were forely grieved at theſe proceedings of the Spaniards, who they imagined would now neither want boldneſs nor fortune to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Liberty of Italy; eſpecially, ſince there was no ſlight occaſion of jealousie, that they would carry the Pope priſoner into Spain, to the end, that they might afterwards by their accuſtomed cunning, and vain pretences, poſſeſs themſelves of the Churches dominion, and make the way eaſier to themſelves to be lords of Italy. Wherefore the Venetians moved partly out of compaſſion and diſdain, for the injuries done unto the Pope; and alſo out of State policy, not to ſuffer Charles his fortune to increaſe further, to their yet greater prejudice, they reſolved, to concur with all their forces to the freeing of the Pope, and to ſpare neither coſt nor danger therein: Wherefore they gave ſtrict order to the Duke of Urbine, their captain General, and to their Commiſſaries Piſani and Vetturi, to advance with their Army, and ſetting all other things aſide, to attend the relief of the Caſtle, where the Pope was

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ſhur up, and to uſe all poſſible means to ſet him at Liberty, and to free him from danger; and, that they might not be diſturb'd in this enterpriſe, they ſell forthwith to the raiſing of new foot, whereby to add unto their army which was given them in Lombardy 10000 men more, that they might therewithall encounter, Antonio da Leva, who being march'd into the field, and meeting with no obſtacle, was likely to grow daily ſtronger by the ſuccour which he expected from Germany. The Venetians were much encouraged in this their intention; and their hopes of good ſucceſs was encreaſed by the great preparations which the Kings of France and England made, to fall upon (as they conſtantly gave out) the Provinces of Flanders with their Armies and Fleet, whereby to force the Emperour to reduce all his forces into thoſe parts, and to abandon the affairs of Italy. Theſe things did very much reſent what had happened to Rome, for which reſpect, the King of England haſtned away the Cardinal of York, who was ſent to the court of France, to take ſome order for the intervene and meeting of the two Kings; wherein the chief thing to be treated of was, the Popes freedom, and the ſecuring of the Eccleſiaſtical State, nor did the King of France ſhew himſelf leſs forward herein; who had immediately ſent orders to his Commanders in Italy, to attend the freeing of the Pope with all their might; and the ſecuring of the Churches dominions: for the better effecting whereof, he adviſed the Cardinals, which were yet at Liberty, to meet all of them at Avignon, whether the Cardinal of York promiſed alſo to come, this place being made choice of, as ſafe and commodious for the Tranſactions which were to paſs between them and the Court of Spain: and the Cardinals, accepting of the advice of meeting, choſe Bullognia for the place of their convention. But Ceſar, hearing of what had befallen at Rome, and of the Popes captivity, appeared to be no leſs diſpleaſed at it, then were the reſt: affirming publicly, that he had rather his Commanders had not been Victors, then to have uſed the Victory ſo: and going about to juſtifie himſelf, as of a thing not onely done without his conſent, but even againſt his directions: "He alleadged his long indeavours for Peace, out of a deſire whereof, he had paſ'd by ſo many injuries received from the Princes of the League; and had in many things condeſcended to their deſires; eſpecially in ſuch things as concerned the Territories and honour of the Church, and the exaltation of the Apoſtolicall Sea; which was alwayes of ſuch force with him, as he had alwayes prefer'd it before his own intereſts, and before the ſatisfaction of many of the States of the Empire, which ſought to withdraw themſelves from the obedience of the Popes of Rome; the knowledge whereof had made Leo, and Adrian the 6th his friends, and had made them favour his deſires and enterpriſes, as juſt and honeſt: That he was now the more troubled at it, becauſe his diſlike was not able to undo what was done; but that as for himſelf, he was ready to remedy it as much as he could, and to embrace all fair conditions of agreement, touching which he himſelf had written to the King of England, and had treated thereof with divers Cardinals of the Court.

Yet

yet his actions answered not to these his words; for he neither gave any positive answer touching the Pope's freedom, nor was he less diligent in providing for War; and in his discourse, he would often excuse *Bourbon*, and his Army; he would aggravate offences received from the Pope, mention his inconstancy, and breach of faith in past agreements, and shew into what dangers the Colleagues had endeavoured to bring him; whence it might be comprehended, that his intentions did not correspond with his speeches, and that nothing but necessity, and force of Arms, would make him consent to the setting of the Pope, and the King of *France* his Sons at liberty. Wherefore the King having formerly resolved to take ten thousand Switzers into pay, for the affairs of *Lombardy*, and being till now somewhat slow in effecting that his resolution, and growing more jealous and apprehensive of the Imperialists fortune and designs, after the taking of *Rome*, he forthwith sent monies for that purpose to *Lyon*, and earnestly solicited their departure.

The Venetians were not wanting in encreasing the King's desire herein, by their fervent and frequent endeavours, minding him of the necessity of strongly prosecuting this War, since Religion and State policy did concur, in not suffering the Apostolique See, and the Liberty of Italy to be suppress'd; and that they might invite him thereto by actions then by words, they resolved to rig up their Fleet with all speed, which had suffered much by bad Weather at *Civita Vecchia*, and by other misfortunes; and moreover, to Arm four other Bastard Gallies, whereof *Antonio Marcello* was made Commander, that their Fleet might be the readier, and more able to assault the Marishes of *Paglia*: They propounded likewise to the King, that ten thousand other Foot, besides the Switzers, might be raised at the common expence; and the mean while, they took many Commanders into their pay, such as were then esteemed most experienced in Military affairs; and amongst the rest, Count *Gaiazzo*, and the Marquis *Palavasio*; and to enhearten *Francisco Sforza* (whose friendship and ready will was thought necessary above all things else, for the good success of the affairs in the State of *Atlan*) they lent him ten thousand Ducats, wherewith he promised to encrease the number of his men, which were already above two thousand Foot, and to come with them in person to *Lodi*, and joyn with the Venetian Army. And because the Towns in *Romagna* were exposed to much danger, not having any one who did assist or succour them in times of such misery and disorder, the Senate being much prest thereunto, sent monies to the Governour of *Ravenna*, to raise Foot, and to Garrison that City, encouraging him to hold out, and promising him greater supplies if need should require; which they soon after made good, by sending three hundred Foot, and an hundred light Horse into the City, under the command of *Ferdan di Naldo*, charging him to hold that City in the name of the Apostolique See, and of the League; but some disorders arising between the Citizens and the Souldiers, the City sent *Ferdan di Naldo*, one of their citizens, to *Venice*, to desire they would send one of their Nobles, to be as Commissary in *Ravenna*; to which purpose, *Bartholomeo Contarini* was chosen. The like also did those

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of *Cervia* soon after, the *Guelfs* having driven out those of the *Ghibeline* faction, and received in a Venetian Garrison and Magistrare, not only giving way unto, but requiring an Apostolique Legate, for the quiet and preservation of those Cities.

But the Duke of *Urbine* having received Orders from the Senate, and ordering all things in reference thereunto, having first made sure of the City of *Perugia*, which was then governed by *Gentile Baglione*, who was suspected to have held intelligence with the enemy; and having put a good Garrison thereinto, he went with his Army to *Todi*, and from thence to *Orvieto*; near unto which place, the French and Ecclesiastiques being joyned to the Venetians, as was formerly agreed upon, the Duke calling a council of the chief Commanders, and causing the Senates Letters to be read, affirmed resolutely, that he would march towards *Rome*, and according to his Commission, endeavour by all means possible, to get the Pope out of the Castle; and not refuse, if the Enemy should come forth, to come to a day of Battel with them, wherein he himself would be in the first rank, and put himself upon the greatest dangers. Which resolution being approved of by Commissary *Pisani*, was likewise assented unto by all the rest; only Commissary *Vetturi* opposed it, and entred his protestation against it in writing, as being a precipitous advice, full of certain danger, and uncertain success; saying, that our men were far inferior both in number and worth to those of the Enemies Army, wherein there were many men, and most of them well disciplin'd, accustomed to fight, and to overcome, and therefore grown bold, and ready to with stand a much greater force. This did somewhat allay the Duke's former ardour, yet still he continued his resolution of carrying his Army nearer *Rome*, intending to take up his quarters in some strongly situated place, where he might be ready for whatsoever event should happen. He therefore betook himself to new counsels; which was, to endeavour with less danger to bring the Pope out of the Castle; to which purpose, he in great haste sent *Frederico da Bozzole* with a Troop of Curassiers, good store of light Horse, and some companies of Dragoons towards the City, hoping, that by his unexpected coming, the Pope might find some way of getting out; and having so sure a guide, might come to the Leagues Army. Which course, through several accidents, proved but vain. But the Army advancing still the mean while, they heard that new Trenches were made about the Castle, and so secure, as the enterprize grew more difficult; and moreover, that some Spanish Foot were expected to come to *Rome* from *Naples*, from whence Captain *Alcone* was already come with some companies. Wherefore the Duke, with the consent of the rest of the Commanders, thought it not fit that the Army should advance any further, whereof he gave the Senate speedy notice, acquainting them with the cause of his stay, and requiring much greater forces, that he might more safely, and with better hopes, attempt the freeing of the Pope; to effect the which, he said it was requisite to have fifteen thousand Switzers in the Army, a great number of Pioners, and a greater Train of Artillery.

The Venetians were much troubled to hear this, that the Pope

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should

should continue so long, in so sore troubles; and the rather for that some Letters were at this time read in the Senate, written by the Pope himself to *Guiccardine*, the Ecclesiastical Commissary, and by him sent to *Venice*: Wherein deploring his adversity, and sad condition, he entreated, solicited, and conjured the Confederates to procure his freedom. Nor was the loss of the League's reputation by reason of this slowness less grievous; whereby the credit of the Enemy was the more increased, and the fear daily increased, that the Pope out of meer desperation would agree upon any terms with the Imperialists: So as they knew not now whereupon to ground their hopes, or how to lay their designs of War: For the things that were required were difficult, and asked length of time, whereby things would grow worse and almost impossible to be repaired. Wherefore the Senate, understanding the hindrance which Commissary *Vetur* put in the Armies approaching near *Rome*, took the place from him, and committed him to the Office of the *Auegaria*, that he might give an account of his action; but his trial being delay'd, and the anger which was conceived against him being with time allay'd, and it being found that his advice was not without some reason, he was absolved in Court.

But the Senate persisting still in their first opinion, did with greater efficacy then before, renew their orders to their Captain General, and to their Commissaries, that using all possible diligence, they should resume their former resolution of drawing with their Army near *Rome* and of endeavouring to free the Pope; whereat all of them were so highly distast'd, as the Duke of *Urbine* was ready to quit the Common-wealths service: But afterwards dislikes being on all sides tempered, his place was confirm'd upon him for two years longer, the Senate taking him and his State into their protection. But to give better security, and as it were, a pledge of his fidelity, he sent his Wife, and the Prince his Son, to live at *Venice*, which the Senate took extremely well, and by Letters full of thanks and affection, desired to confirm this good opinion in him, shewing how great expectation every one was in of his worth upon this occasion; and particularly the esteem which they themselves had not only of his valour, but of his loyalty and love towards the Common-wealth. And because in this commotion of Affairs, it much import'd them to keep the Florentines faithful to the League, the Venetians labour'd to increase the disposition which they found in them to stand to the confederacy to which the Pope had formerly agreed in their name: Though after what had hapned at *Rome*, they had driven the *Medici* out of the City, and reduced the Government into the former popular condition.

The Popes Imprisonment, and the Spaniards prosperous success, proving daily more grievous, and vexatious to the French, they betook themselves to make diligent provision for War; the King said he would come himself in person to *Lions*, that he might be nearer at hand to provide for what was requisite for the Army; and that he had given order for the levying of more Foot, which amounted to the number of 15000 Switzers, and 10000 Italians: He likewise man'd out *Andrea Doria*, at his own expences, with eight Gallies, that

that he might be therewithal serviceable to what should be done by Sea: and agreement being opportunely made at this time between him and the King of *England*, he exhorted him, since there were divers accidents which deterr'd the waging of War with *Cesar* beyond the mountains, to contribute monies for the payment of ten thousand Dutch foot, to the end, that they might make war with him the more forcibly in *Italy*: And that there might not want a Chieftain of authority in the business, he resolv'd to send *Lautrech* into *Italy*, to be General of the League, who might command in chief over all the Armies: and the Venetians to honour him, chose *Pietro Pisaro*, Procurator of *S. Mark*, for their Embassadour, who was to meet him as soon as he should be come into *Italy*, and to be continually assitant with him.

Whilst affairs were ordering thus, the Imperialists which were in *Rome*, although their numbers were much increased by the Spanish Foot, which were lately come from *Naples* by Sea to that City, so as there was about four and twenty thousand foot in the Imperial Army, yet did they employ their time idly, in making use of the booty which they had got, not making any further progress; the Commanders authority not being sufficient to make them go out of the City, nor to curb their licentiousness, only some few Dutch Foot went out of *Rome* (by whose going, it was thought that all the Army would rise) and sacked *Terni*, and *Narni*, without passing any further, though the Leagues Army were retreated; for that despairing of the business of *Rome*, the Venetians had caused their Army, which was followed by the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the French, to retreat to the confines of the *Senesi*, to secure the Florentine affairs, according to the ratification of the League; upon the obligation of the Florentines maintaining five thousand foot in the Camp at their own cost: in which they shewed themselves the more ready, for that they were the most exposed to danger; for the Imperial Commanders threatened to turn their forces upon them, being incensed, for that having in the beginning of the Pope's adversity, given them some intimation that they would adhere unto the Emperour, they did afterwards close with his enemies. The Venetians were then six thousand Italian foot, two thousand Lansknights, thirteen hundred Light Horse, and two thousand Curassiers. The French foot exceeded not seven thousand, though the King pay'd for a great many more. And this counsel proved very lucky, for it kept the War far from the Common-wealth, it hindred the further proceedings of the enemy, it preserv'd the City of *Bullagnis*, by the reputation of the neighbouring Forces, which was in the more danger, by reason of the Intelligence held between the Imperialists and *Rentevallii*; whose faction was grown the greater, by the addition of the *Malvezzi*, wherefore the Venetians, at the request of Cardinal *Ciao*, who had the Government of that City, sent two thousand Foot to guard it. But the scarcity of victuals, and the many sore sicknesses, by which the Army was much diminished, hindred them from making any attempt.

Out of these reasons, the enemies forces being much increased, and those of the Confederates diminished, the Pope, despairing of being

soon relieved, applyed himself wholly to Treaties of agreement. Wherefore he very much desired the Duke of *Urbine*, that he would suffer the Viceroy to come safely to *Rome*, hoping by his means to obtain better conditions; then were then offered him by the other Imperial Commanders: which succeeded other wise, either, for that the Viceroy had not authority enough to do it, or else, for that minding himself more then the Pope, he agreed rather to those conditions which might please the soldiers, that he might win their favour, and be made their commander, then to those which made for the Pope's advantage; who still continuing earnestly to desire an agreement, for he had been often deluded by those of the League, they came presently to an agreement, but upon hard and dishonorable Conditions, and which were often afterwards refused by him,

He being thereby bound to pay 400000 Ducquets to the Army, and to put into the Imperialists hands the Castle of Angelo, the Forts of Hostia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana, and moreover to cause the cities of Parma and Piacenza to be delivered up unto them; for all which, he was notwithstanding not to be then set at liberty, but to be carried to Gaëta, and there to expect Cesar's resolution, touching what was to be done about the ratification of the Agreement, and concerning his person, and the like of many Cardinals, and Prelates which were in the Castle.

The *Venetians* were much displeased at this, since by these Articles Cesar's Forces, and reputation were greatly increased; having lately incensed Cesar yet more against them, by having given Commission to their Embassadour, That, together with the King of *France's* and the King of *England's* Embassadour, he should require Cesar to set the Pope at Liberty, and in case of denial, they were all of them to denounce war against him. But, it being known, that it was great necessity, the fear of his own person, and chiefly, the hatred which the *Cellenses*, and the *Dutch* Foot bore unto his name and person, which made him accept of so prejudicial terms; believing that he might easily change his minde, and that time might make way for better fortune; they resolved to hinder such things, which, *post factum*, would be hard, and perhaps impossible to do: therefore, for the preservation of *Cremona*, they caused their Army in *Lombardy*, which quartered in the Territories of *Crema*, to pass over the river *Adä*, that it might garrison those Cities, hinder the delivery of them up, disturb the business agreed upon, and to keep the Imperialists in work, and to weaken them by laying waste the Country about *Milan*, and *Pavia*. These forces of the *Venetians* were then about 10000 foot, 500 *Cuirassiers*, 700 Light-horse, under the command of the Duke of *Urbine*, and of Commissary *Dominico Contarini*; to boot, with 3500 foot, which the Duke of *Milan*, (who was come according to his promise to the Army,) had brought with him. Yet they did not purpose as yet to fall upon any important Action, for they expected, *Lantrech's* coming, who, being gone from *France*, with part of the Forces which were destin'd for the enterprise of *Italy*, was already come to *Pienont*.

The Commanders differed in their opinion, touching the way of managing the war: some thought, that it was best, that the *French* should

should joyn with the Leagues Army; which, being again advanced, were quartered near *Narni*; these alledged for their advice, that fit occasion might be taken from the disorders, and inconveniences of the Enemy, of obtaining their chief end, which was, the Pope's Liberty, by drawing to the walls of *Rome*; since that the *Cesarian* Army, by reason of the Plague which was in that City, and thorough the licentiousness wherein the soldiers had lived for many moneths past, was much diminished both in numbers and Vallour; the Foot lying, some within, some without the Town, without either order, or military Discipline, and many of them going dayly in threaves from the Camp; so as by the addition of the *French* they might hope to prevail over the enemy, and to drive them quickly out of *Rome*. Yet others thought, that the safer way to achieve this, was, to force the Imperial Commanders to draw their men out of *Rome*, to relieve the State of *Milan*, wherein the war being still hottest, it was thought, the Enemy would not be able to make their party good, no, though they should recall their army from *Rome*; and that the relief would either come too late, or not be sufficient to stop the course of Victory: so as, many good effects might be wrought at one and the same time, and peradventure a final end might be put to the war. This being generally approved by the greatest party, *Lantrech* entred the State of *Milan*, with powerfull forces: 8000 *Switzers*, 3000 *Gascones*, and 10000 foot, which were led on by *Peter of Navar*; and being come into the country of *Alexandria*, he did not think it fit to advance any further, without attempting somewhat with his Forces; he therefore fate down before the Town of *Bosco*, which was guarded by ten Thousand *Dutch* Foot, which, after some dayes battery, yielded. He with the like success got the Town of *Alexandria* soon after, and put thereinto a garrison of five hundred of his men, that he might be sure to have (as he alledged) a safe place for his men to have recourse unto, in case of adverse fortune; and likewise to receive those that were to come from *France*. But, both the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians* were much troubled thereat: and it proved afterwards a great hindrance to the affairs of the League, through some diffidence which grew among the Colleagues, who grew jealous of the proceeding of the *French*, for their having detained the City, and through no small scandal that *Lantrech* took on the other side, at this their jealousy. The *Venetians* complained hereof by their Embassadours, both to *Lantrech*, and to the King himself; placing the occasion of their dislike notwithstanding rather upon what judgment the enemy would make thereof, then in any self interest, or doubt of theirs. And *Monseigneur di Taberna*, who was resident in the Court of *France* on the Duke of *Milan's* behalf, by not rejoicing, nor holding any discourse with the King about this acquisition, did, by saying nothing, witness as much his masters displeasure: Which, because it might produce many bad effects, the *Venetians* laboured to free him of this suspicion, and to appeale his displeasure, witnessing the Kings good will, and excusing *Lantrech*: And, that these their endeavours might be the more efficacious, and to maintain the Dukes reputation as much as they could, they sent *Gabriel Veniero* Embassadour to him, to remain Resident

Resident with him, *Luigi Sabadino* the States Secretary having been there till then.

Alexandria being taken, *Lantrech* gave out that he would march with his Army towards *Rome*, to free the Pope, who though he had accorded with the Spaniards, as hath been said, was still kept Prisoner by them, many difficulties being met withal as well in the payment of the monies promised to the Souldiers, as in the assignation of the Strong-holds; nor did *Cesar* seem to be well resolved therein, though by his Speeches he fought to make the contrary be believed. But the Venetians did openly oppose this course; not but that they did equally with the King desire the Popes freedom, but because they thought it little useful for the common affairs; the same reasons and respects concurring then, and being made more considerable by other new accidents, which upon narrow examination before, were by common consent thought sufficient to persuade, that *Lantrech* when he past first over the Mountains, was rather to come into *Lombardy* then into the Territories of *Rome*; it being known that all the remainder of the War, would depend upon the success thereof. That there was great hopes at this time of getting the Cities of *Pavia* and *Milan*, each of them being but slightly garrisoned; and *Antonio da Leva*, by whose diligence and discipline that State was more maintained, then by his Forces, being very sick and altogether disabled for action: That if this occasion should be lost, the condition of all things would grow dayly worse for the League; for a great many Landsknechts were ready to fall down presently from the Country of *Tinell* into *Lombardy*: By whose coming the Enemy would become much stronger, and it would be but in vain for the Confederates to attempt any thing: But that if these men should find no safe receptacle in *Milan*, they neither having Horse nor victuals, they would be forced to alter their minds, and to return home. Time and opportunity would this mean while be gotten for the coming of the ten thousand Dutch Foot to the Camp, which were raised with the King of *England's* monies; by which the Army being much increased both in reputation and Forces, might with assured hopes of victory, proceed on to the Enterprize of *Rome*, and the Enemies would be soon driven from thence, and the Ecclesiastical State and Liberty of *Italy* secured. *Lantrech* being overcome by these reasons, was content to march with his Army towards *Pavia*, which not being timely succour'd by the Forces which *Antonio da Leva* sent thither from *Milan*, fell easily into the Leagues hands, and was sack'd by the Army, the Souldiers using all sorts of cruelty to the Inhabitants, because it was said that they boasted themselves to have quell'd the King of *France*; by the imprisonment of King *Francis*, which happened whilst he besieged that City. This News was very welcome to *France*, the French men thinking that by this victory, they had cancell'd the infamy of the Battle fought by that Nation in that place some few years before.

At the same time *Andrea Doria* was come to *Savona* with his Gallies, and some others belonging unto the French, where the Venetian Gallies were to have joyned with him to attempt the business of

Genoa;

Genoa; it being thought that great advantage might have been made by that City, if it should be reduced to the Kings obedience. But after a whiles stay, and before the Venetian Fleet came unto them, a very fair occasion was offer'd of suddenly dispatching the business: For the Genoese ships being come loaded with corn to the *Wishes* near *Porto Fino*, the Genoese being very desirous to have them come safe unto the City, were gone out to meet them with 8 Gallies, part Genoese, part Spanish, and put therewith into the same Haven. Moreover, understanding that *Doria* had landed some men, and that making some Trenches, he endeavour'd to make himself Master of the Haven, and to hinder any relief from coming to those Ships, and to get possession of them, they had sent *Agostino Spinola* thitherward with a company of select Foot, to disturbe the Enemies works, and to secure the Haven, and the Ships. Wherein they had good success; for *Spinola* falling at unawares upon *Doria's* Souldiers, whilst they were confus'd and in disorder, put them quickly to flight, though they were more in number, and took *Philippo Doria* Prisoner. But News coming not long after to *Genoa*, that *Cesare*, Son to *Janus Frigoso*, was come into the Valley of *Pozza Nuova*, and incamp'd in a Town called *San Pietra de l'arena*, with two thousand Foot, and some Troops of Venetian Horse, with which *Lantrech* had sent him to favour the business of *Genoa*, and that being gone from thence he was marching towards that City, they were all of them on a sudden mightily afraid, for that their best Souldiers were gone out of the City, to *Porto Fino*; and for fear of some rising in the City, by reason of the several factions that were therein. Wherefore the *Adorni*, who had then the chief Government of the City, apprehending these commotions, sent to *Spinola*, commanding him to come speedily with all the men he had with him, and to relieve the City: So as being inforc'd to abandon the Fleet, he left it a prey for *Doria*, in to whose hands eight Gallies, & six of the Enemies Ships fell without any dispute or danger. The mean while the *Adorni* joyning many others of the people to the Souldiers which *Spinola* brought along with him, & believing that by falling at unawares upon the few that *Fregoso* brought along with him, he might overcome them, and keep the City safe and quiet; they went forth, and drew near the Enemies Quarters: Who being advantagiously seated, fought more confidently, and did not only make their party good, but began to disorder them, & afterwards to make them run, killing many of them, and taking many of them prisoners, amongst which chief Commanders *Spinola* was one. Wherefore *Fregoso* pursuing his victory, and not being retarded by a company of Spanish foot, of the Garrison, who were march'd out to relieve their fellows, he routed them easily, and march'd towards the City of *Genoa*; which being bereft of almost all defence, and having many in her, who were formerly resolved to surrender by reason of the love they bore to the family of *Fregoso*, and to the French, did receive in *Cesare Fregoso*, and his Souldiers into the Town, not making any opposition: And the Government being taken from the *Adorni*, the City was reduced into the power of the King of *France*, in whose behalf *Theodore Trivulcio* was left Governour there.

And

And the Venetians, that they might not leave the valour of their Captains unrewarded, added 30 more Curassiers to *Fregosa's* conduct, and doubled his pay. They likewise shewed some testimony of honour to *Guido Naldo*, to *Agostino Clafone*, *Hanniball Fregosi*, *Cesare Martinengo*, and to others who had behaved themselves worthily in this action.

The business of *Genua* being ended, and *Giovann Moro*, Commissary of the Venetian Fleet, being come with 16 Gallies to *Legorne*, where *Doria* waited for him; they resolved to go with all the Army to the Island of *Sardinia*, which they thought would be easily gotten, and would make very much for the enterprize of *Sicily*. But the counsel proved unfortunate; for the Fleet being come near the City of *Sardo*, and having got some mariu me Towns, it to fell out, as there arose a great Tempest at Sea, which scattered the Gallies, and made them go several waies: Some that belonged to *Venice*, after being long beaten by the Tempest, they got safe into *Legorne*; others, after having run much hazard, got into *Corfica*, whither also all the French Gallies were first come, save two which were split upon the *Sardignian* shore. And nothing being then to be attempted more at Sea, the Winter drawing on, and the Fleet sorely rent, Commissary *Moro* came with his Gallies to *Corfu*. At this time *Pietro Laude*, was made General at Sea by the Venetians. He was commanded to coast along the neighbouring Seas of the Islands, and Dominions of *Venice*, to secure and console the Subjects; but chiefly, that passing into *Sicily*, he should bring away as many Ships as he should find laden with corn in those parts, and send them to *Venice*, to supply the great scarcity of corn that the City was then in.

But the General having in this interim, sent Commissary *Agostino da Mula* with two nimble Gallies, and *Antonio Marcello* with four bastard Gallies, to secure the Eastern Seas, it hapned that *Marcello* being in the Haven of *Suda*, in the Island of *Candia*, and being told that a Turkish Gally was passing by the Island, he believing that it was the famous Pirate *Cortugoli*, who at that very time, and about those Seas, had rised and burnt a Ship of *Venice*, and cruelly slain all the Mariners and Passengers, he put forth to Sea, with a great desire to vindicate this injury; and without any farther knowledge, having met with her, assaulted her, took her, and brought her and her consorts into *Bicorne*, where he might afterwards ken 7 Turkish Gallies, passing by one after another; whereof the Moor of *Alessandria* was Captain, to whom likewise the Gally that was taken belonged; but *Marcello* keeping his station, and apprehending nothing, especially since he saw the Gallies dispersed, afforded the Moor opportunity to assault him (as he had designed to doe) at unawares; who having gotten all his consorts speedily together, assaulted our Gallies on the flank; *Marcello* being affrighted at the unexpected assault, fought to escape the danger by flying; as did his consorts; but not being able to be gone so soon, one only Gally escaped, and the Moor took the other two, who carried them into *Alessandria*: Which action the Captain being to give an account of, he was committed to the Magistrate of the *Avogadori*, and was sent for prisoner from the Fleet, but he dyed for

for very grief by the way. And *Soliman*, finding the Captains imprudence, and the Senates respect, in a civility not at all usual with barbarous Princes, did not only send back to the Venetians the Gallies which were taken, but also great store of Salt-peter along with them; which was a very seasonable present at this time, they having spent all the Salt-peter they could get out of the neighbouring places, by reason of their continual Wars. *Soliman* at the same time had given many other signs of his love and good will to the Commonwealth giving them free liberty to carry coin from *Alessandria* and from other of his Countries, and using great civilities and expressions of love unto them in their greatest adversities. Wherefore the Senate thought fit, in correspondency to the effects of so great a Princes love, whose friendship was very behooveful for the Common-wealth, to send an express Embassadour to him, who in the names of them all, was to thank him for his so many testimonies of love to the Commonwealth, and to desire the continuance thereof. To this purpose *Tommaso Contarino* was made choice of, who had many rich vestments, and other noble ornaments given him, to present unto the Court *Bashaws*, and chiefly to *Ibrahim*, who was then in great esteem by reason of the extraordinary favour he was in with *Soliman*.

Whilst these things were a doing, *Lautrech* returning to his former designs, when it was thought that pursuing his victory, he would have carried his Camp to before *Milan*, past with all his men over the *Poe*, and marched towards *Vincenza*; with a resolution (as he said) setting all other things aside, to endeavour the Popes freedom. This caused much wonder in all men, that abandoning the fortune and occasion which was offer'd him, of putting a speedy end to the Wars of *Lombardy*, he would leave such reliques thereof behind him, as in time would be harder to be suppressed; nay which might much endanger what he had gotten, since none but the Venetians staid there, and the Enemies expected great and sudden succours: Which made many men doubt, that *Lautrech* did this, rather out of his own particular affection, or out of some of his Kings interest, then by any care he had of the Popes freedom. It was very certain that he was very highly offended at the complaints that the Venetians and *Francisco Sforza* had made, touching the affairs of *Alessandria*; and likewise that at this time the treaty of agreement with *Cesar* was closely followed, for which it made much for the King, that the whole state of affairs should remain as yet uncertain, and doubtful. And this jealousy seemed to be the better grounded, since *Lautrech*, who went to hastily, and so unopportunately from the state of *Milan*, proceeded afterwards very slowly in his march; and that after the arrival of the Dutch foot, the expectation whereof he alledged in excuse formerly for his delay, he stayed still loitering at *Parma*. Nor did the Army of the League make any greater progress, which being brought to *Monte Falco*, spent their time idly, though the weakness of the Enemies Army afforded them occasion of making some attempt. Whence the Venetians began to suspect, that the Duke of *Urbino*, out of some particular respects of his own, did not proceed with such sincerity as he ought to have done; wherefore they set a Guard upon his

Wife and Son, who were then in *Murano*. But the Duke having sent a Gentleman of his, one *Horatio Florido*, to *Venice*, that he might get leave to come himself to *Venice*, to justify his actions, the Senate, either being better informed, or that they might the better accommodate themselves to the time and affairs, would not suffer him to leave the Army; but removing away the Guard from his Wife and Son, seemed to be satisfied with him: But the Venetians, since they could not make *Lautrech* alter his resolution, made their men come into *Lombardy*, which were then about fifteen thousand foot, having left three thousand five hundred Light Horse with *Lautrech*, for the enterprize of *Rome*; being thereunto moved, out of the pressing care which they had of retaining the Towns which they had recovered in the Dukedom of *Milan*, the weight whereof lay only upon the Commonwealth. *Francisco Sforza* being so exhausted of money, as he was hardly of himself able to maintain the ordinary Garrisons of the City, much less to bring men into the Field, as he was bound to do by his Articles, and as was necessary to resist the Forces which were prepared by *Antonio da Leva*. Moreover, the respect of their own affairs did not a little move them, and the fear of bringing the danger home unto themselves, bereaving their Country of defence, by sending their Forces so far off, and especially because they heard that many armed people were gathered together in the parts about *Tirol*, and that great provision of victuals and munition was made in the City of *Trent*, to be sent into *Italy*: And this fear made the greater impression in them, because now *Ferdinando of Austria*, who had quieted the affairs of *Hungary*, by the victory he had gotten over *Giovan*, the Vayvod of *Transilvania*, had better conveniency to attend the affairs of *Italy*, as he had oft times seemed very desirous to do. Wherefore thinking it necessary to encrease their Army to the number of twenty thousand foot, and to make greater provisions to maintain another great War, the Senate entreated the King of *England*, that he would be assistant to the Commonwealth, and to the cause of *Italy*, by contributing part of the expence in so great a need to the payment of that Army, which was to maintain the Liberty of *Italy*, which he had so often promised to defend. But the King affirming still that he would make War upon *Cesar* in *Flanders*, and free *Italy* from any such danger, by diverting his Forces, shewed that it was good for the common service, to lessen the provisions which were destined for such enterprizes; so as the Commonwealth being to be alone at so great expences, and the publique Treasury being already much exhausted by the so long War, was forc'd to have recourse to many extraordinary ways for the raising of monies.

Amidst all these preparations for War, the business of Peace was not notwithstanding quite laid aside; but the Emperour seeming to desire it, had several Treaties with the King of *France*, and with the Venetians; sometimes apart, for particular agreement; and sometimes jointly, for a general peace.

The demands which were made on the King of *France* his part, and on the Venetians, were:

That

That Cesar should set the King of France his Sons at liberty. That he should free the Pope, and forgo whatsoever he held that belonged unto the Church. That he should restore Francisco Siorza, Duke of Milan, unto his State, and that he should remove all his forces out of Lombardy, and out of Rome.

Which *Cesar* neither wholly accepting of, nor yet altogether denying, he sought by various difficulties to hold on the more certain resolution, chiefly by demanding a great sum of money of the Venetians; whereby holding the business on foot, but full of doubts, he desired to take the advantage of time; and to steer his course according to the event of the affairs of *Italy*, and according to the preparations made by his Brother, hoping the mean while to conclude the particular agreement with the King of *France*, more to his own advantage, to whom (as the King acquainted the Venetians afterward) he did at last propound,

The excluding of all the other Colleagues, and the appropriating of the State of Milan to himself.

Whereby, and by his first resolution in all his Treaties, of having *Sforza's* cause decided by Judges, and that in the mean while he should keep the City of *Milan* in his own name, and with his Garrisons, it might easily be conceived; that all his Treaties tended only to this; that the Confederates Armies being disbanded, he might put himself in safe possession of the State of *Milan*, so as all thoughts of Peace being laid aside, War was again denounced by the Confederates, to *Cesar*, wherein thinking that it might make much for their advantage, if they could draw the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* into the League, and having tryed them both, they concluded with the Duke of *Ferrara*, to receive him into their League, upon condition that he should maintain two hundred Curassiers at his own charges, in the Colleagues Army, and that he should contribute ten thousand Ducats monethly, for the space of six moneths, towards the payment of the Foot: For which the Confederates were to take him and his State into their protection.

After which agreement, a large and stately Palace, which did formerly belong to him in *Venice*, was restored unto him. But the Treaty was somewhat more difficult with the Marquis of *Mantua*; for he desired to be declared Captain General of the League, in *Lautrech's* absence: To which the Venetians would not consent, in respect of the Duke of *Urbine*. But at last, *Girallimo Zane*, *Pedessa* of *Verona*, being gone to *Mantua*, in the publique name, to treat of this business, he concluded it without that condition, taking the person, and the State of the Marquis, into the Confederates protection.

But *Cesar* seeing he was to make his party good against so many enemies, and desiring to make his cause appear less dishonest, and by so doing, to sever the King of *England* perhaps from the rest of the Confederates, he resolved at last, to give the Pope his Liberty. To which purpose, he sent sufficient commissions to the Viceroy, and to *Don Hugo di Moncada*; who being dead, the Viceroy concluded the Agreement.

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The Pope being to leave, according to former Articles, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana in the Emperour's possession, and paying the same sum of money, though with some further respite of time: And passing his word, above all things else, that he would not oppose Cesar in the affairs of Naples, nor of Milan.

The Colleagues in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred twenty eight, prepared to make War with most powerful forces both by Land and Sea, and chiefly to fall upon the Kingdom of Naples, as the King of France had long before desired and intended: Wherefore he prest the Venetians that they would encrease their Gallies to the number of twenty four, according to the first capitulations. But they said, they had tully made good their promise with the former sixteen; because, of these there were eight Bastard Gallies, every one of which went for two Gallies, and that this made very much for the enterprize; for these might keep and live at Sea in the Winter, and might counterpoise those kind of Vessels whereof the Imperial Fleet consisted; they excused themselves likewise by the necessity they were in to keep many men of War at Sea, to secure the Navigation of their Gallies of Traffique, from so many Pyrats, with whom the Seas were fester'd; and yet, that they might not be wanting to the prosperous success of the undertaking, they promised the King, if (as the commanders advised) more men were to be raised, they would contribute readily to that expence, which was thought to be very useful, nay requisite; every one believing for certain, that when the Imperial Army should part from Rome, it would go for Naples. But above all things, it was thought to be of very great concernment, to draw the Pope into their confederacy, which they had the better hopes to do, for that he in his giving an account to the King of France, and to the Venetians, of his agreement made with the Emperour, did very much excuse himself, as of a thing done out of great necessity, confessing himself to be very much obliged to the Princes of the League, and that he had been severely treated with in all things by the Imperialists.

Wherefore the Venetians, after he was out of the Castle, and was come to Orvieto, sent Commissary Luigi Pisani presently thither, who was in the common name, to console with him for his past sufferings: to testify how greatly displeased they were at it, and how endeavour some and diligent they had been to procure his Liberty, and how great their joy was to see their desire effected. That the Commonwealth had willingly employed their forces therein, and had been at the expence of maintaining so great an Army, at a time, when they were enforced to keep another Army on foot in Lombardy; nor had they refused to undergo any whatsoever danger, for the preservation of the dignity of the Apostolique See, and for the particular conveniency and safety of the Popes person; and that they did still continue in the same readines, and in a great desire to revenge the so heinous injuries done unto him, and to the dignity he represented; and not to suffer, that the Majesty of Popedom, and the Ecclesiastical State, should for the future be exposed to such danger and indignity, as they saw by experience might easily happen, when the Imperialists had Territories, and powerful Forces in Italy: that it became his great wisdom to foresee, and to provide against

so

so great dangers, and to endeavour by all means possible to keep himself and his successors from falling into such eminent evils, and not to suffer, that the time of his Popedom should be contaminated with the perpetual memory of misery and calamity: That the King of France, the King of England, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan, were in this, of the same opinion with the Venetian Senate: That a great desire might be seen in them all, not to suffer so great an insolency pass unpunished. That these wicked ones had provoked the anger of man and God against them: That it was not to be doubted, but that justice and innocency would at last prevail; and that he should gloriously be restored to more then his former greatness: That therefore all the Confederates did desire, and expect with assured hope, that his Holiness, assisting their pious intention by his authority, would, as the head thereof confirm their confederacy, and ratifie once more the things wherein he did formerly joyn with them; for that, That first agreement ought to be prefer'd before this last, since the first was made by him as Pope, and willingly; and that he had consented to the last, being compell'd thereto as a prisoner desirous of Liberty.

The King of France made the like Intercession, having sent Monsieur de Longueville to Rome, to witness unto the Pope his constant will to compell the Emperour Charles by force of Arms to grant those things, which they had propounded unto themselves, as the end of their Confederacy. These addresses were graciously listened unto by the Pope, who returned many thanks unto the King, and to the Senate, seeming to wish much good to these Princes; but being notwithstanding very irresolute, and doubtfull, or (as he said) considering his office, and the condition of the times and troubles, he inclined to neutrality, and would not so soon commit himself again to the uncertain events of war: suffering himself peradventure to be prevailed with by Cesar's speeches, who had written very civilly with his own hand, seeming willing to adhere to his counsels, and to put the Treaty of Peace into his hand: Or, it may be more likely, that beginning then to think upon those things, which were afterwards discovered, being overcome with an ardent desire to revenge the injuries done to himself and the house of Medici, he had forgotten all other offences, that he might the better resent those; but he endeavoured by various excuses and delays to conceal it: For, should he have discovered it, he might have caused such mistrust in Lautrech, as he might likely enough have altered his resolution of advancing to assault the Kingdom of Naples; which appeared to be onely means of drawing the souldiers out of Rome. But, this his will not being yet revealed, Lautrech, who expected assistance and favour from him, did with more fervency pursue the design against Naples. Therefore, after having tarried long at Bullognia, whither he was come after the agreement made with the Pope, and the Switzers, Dutch, and Gascon Foot, which he expected to reinforce his Army, being come unto him; he resolved, though it were in the midst of winter, to march with all his men towards Naples; not being to be dissuaded by the many intercedings of the Venetians, who for the security of their own affairs, for the new stirrings of the Dutch Foot, and for the service of the Florentines, and Duke of Milan's Confederates, desired, that the

Army

Army might not be carried into parts so far off, as it might not be ready upon any occasion to assist all the rest: but *Lantrech*, being constant to his resolution, went by the way of *Remaga*, and *La Marca*, thinking it better for the conveniency of Victuals, and intending to pass by the way of *Tronto* into the Kingdome of *Naples*, whether the *Venetian* Forces were sent before; being divided into two parts, the one of which was led on by *Falerio Orsino*, and Commissary *Pisani*, and *Camillo Orsino*, and *Pietro Pescara* followed with the other; and in their march they took *Civitella*, *Sulmona*, and many other Towns, of *Abruzzo*, which yielded of their own good will. There were in the *Venetian* Army some Troups of *Albanesi* Horse, to the number of 500, who were commanded by *Andres Ciurano*, a noble *Venetian*, who amongst the rest won great praise in all actions, were very serviceable to our Army, and as much the contrary to our enemy, and a terror to all the country.

When all the souldiers were assembled, and the whole Army mustered, near the Town *San Termo*, it was found to consist of about thirty Thousand Foot, of a good number of Horse, and of all other things requisite for whatsoever enterprise. Therefore the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquis *Gnasse*, much troubled at the danger which they saw their affairs were in, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, did at last, though not without much ado, draw all their men out of *Rome*, which was much furthered by twenty Thousand Duckets which the Pope gave to the Imperial Commanders, (though under some other pretence) whereby they were enabled to give some pay to the Dutch Foot, who were more unwilling then the rest to depart. But the whole Army was not above fourteen Thousand Foot, their numbers being much lessened by the Plague that was in *Rome*, and by the going away of many souldiers loaded with prey. So as the Pope, being partly free of that oppression (which made him proceed with some more reservedness towards the Confederates) began to treat more freely with them, and to discover part of his thoughts. He sent the Archbishop *Seppintino* to *Venice*, to demand the immediate delivery up unto him of the Cities of *Cervia*, and *Ravenna*; and the Bishop of *Pistoia* to *France*, to the King (whom he had held in hand till then, with hopes of renewing the League) to excuse himself for not being able to satisfy his desire in declaring himself; not being able by reason of his weakness to think of any thing but Peace; to which purpose he sent the same Bishop as his Nuncio into *Spain*, to treat thereof with *Cesar*, in which message he mingled some complaints against the *Venetians*, for having taken, and still detained some Towns belonging to the Church. The *Venetian* Senate were very much troubled at this the Pope's request, not so much for the thing it self, as that they knew, being made at such a time, and after so importunate a manner, it shewed clearly, that the Pope sought an occasion to alienate himself wholly from them: for, it stood not with reason, that while all things were in such disorder, and that many of the Ecclesiastick Towns were yet in the Imperialists hand, they should rashly quit those Towns. Yet some were so fully resolved, not to loose the Pope upon any whatsoever conditions, as they maintained, that howsoever, the Pope

was to be gratified; and for the rest, to rely upon his word; hoping that he would never abandone the Commonwealths Interest. This business being discuss'd in the Senate, *Dominico Trevisano*, a man of great authority, as well for the dignity of being one of *St. Mark's* Procurators, as for his long experience, spoke, as is said, to this effect.

Our proceedings in these last wars have hitherto been such, as, if we do not go astray, and do not contaminate the sincerity and generosity, which hath accompanied them, they will remain, of perpetual glorious memory to posterity. For we have wisely, constantly, and religiously defended, and maintained the Liberty of Italy, and the Grandezza and reputation of the Church of *Rome*: not abandoning our own interests, nor having done any thing in respect thereof, which was not just and laudable. We are desired by the Pope, to deliver up unto him the cities of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, whereinto we put our men at such time as he was in greatest danger and trouble, that the Imperialists might not possess themselves thereof, to which purpose we put our Garrisons into them, to preserve them from the common enemy. Is it better to give the Pope satisfaction herein, be just, advantageous for the State, and for our affairs, and suting with the present condition of the times, or no, may easily be discerned by any one, who delights not in deceiving himself, and who will measure the present results with reason, not with passion. I will not enlarge myself now upon the right, and pretensions we have to these Cities; I believe they be true and good. But I will say, we must consider things in the condition they are in, not in that they ought to be: Therefore it will be sufficient to say, that when we sent our men, and our Commanders into these Cities, they were in the Churches possession; and they were guarded and defended by us, with an intention of preserving them, not of possessing them. It will therefore agree very well with that untainted fidelity, wherewith this Commonwealth hath alwayes proceeded, to restore that which we would take, it is true, thinking it belonged to another, though it were, or ought to have been ours. But let this respect aside, (though it be of no small esteem in so religious and so well instituted a Commonwealth as this of ours) let us consider, I beseech you, whether it be a wise full advice or no; whether it be a resolution well squared out to these times, to detain these cities now any longer. The war is hotter then ever, and the event thereof very doubtfull: wherein, if (to the misfortune of the Italians) the Imperialists prevail, who know's not, in how many dangers, and troubles we must be continually, having many potent enemies at hand, and but few friends. Therefore all our thoughts, all our endeavours should now aim at our confirming the forces of the League, by driving the Emperours forces out of Italy, at establishing *Francisco Sforza* in the Dukedome of *Milan*, at giving a particular King to the *Neapolitans*; upon which things the true safety and establishment of our State on terra firma doth depend, which hath been so long floating, and is still exposed to great danger.

And what is of more moment to attain unto these advantageous ends, then the Popes favour? what can be more prejudicial then to have him against us? Why do you think it is, that *Cesar* doth with such earnestness, and such humanity endeavour his friendship, unless it be that he finds clearly it is his surest foundation for greatness in Italy? And shall we be aiding

and assisting to this desire of our Enemies, whereas we ought to labour all that we can to break their designs? And yet it is most certain, that if we add this ill satisfaction to the inclination which the Pope begins to have to Cæsar's proceedings, we shall make him so fall upon some prejudicial Agreement unto the League, and particularly prejudicial unto our Commonwealth, which is most concern'd therein: When on the contrary, by gratifying the Pope in this his desire, we may hope, may rather be assured, to sever him from the Emperour, and win him to side with us. And say this succeed not, we shall assuredly settle him in that neutrality, wherein he acquainted us he would continue, unless he were compell'd to the contrary by some urgent necessity. We ought to endeavour that he be thrust upon this necessity by some bad behaviour of the Imperialists, as it may very well fall out he may be; but shun, by all means, giving him occasion to do so, which will redound to our prejudice. Which we may assure our selves of, if we will reflect upon the many calamities, wherein we were led not many years ago by the like accident, and through the too great desire of preserving these Cities, the names whereof I wish may not prove fatal, and as it were, the original of many troubles to our Commonwealth. The memory hereof is so fresh, and so unfortunate, as such an acquisition ought at all times to be abhorr'd by us. Is this the first time that occasion hath been d' us, amidst the so great revolution of the Affairs of Italy, to possess our selves of these Cities? Have we not been often invited thereto of late years by the French? And if we will remember well, we shall find, we have formerly had both better opportunity and juster occasion to do it, both when the Pope hath had bad success, and in the vacancy of the Papedom; and when he shew'd himself to be an Enemy to the State: Yet this very Senate hath always wisely despised such invitations, esteeming the loss certain, and the benefit of such an acquisition but seeming. And we ought now to continue the rather in the same opinion, for that this small addition to our State, if we were sure to keep in free and peaceable possession of these Cities, it doth either block up the way of advancing to greater and more noble acquisitions, or doth make it more difficult; for if we succeed well in the business of Naples, (as we may hope to do) if the Pope declare himself for the League, or at least appear not an Enemy to it, we shall recover many Towns in the parts about Puglia, which belong unto us by articles; which both by the condition of the Country, by the convenience of Havens, and for the affection of those people towards our Commonwealth, do in themselves, and in hopes of greater matters, deserve to be esteemed by us equal with whatsoever other acquisition the Commonwealth can make. But I beseech you, how do you think the King of France, or the King of England will interpret our refusal, or prolonging the delivery of Cervia and Ravenna to the Pope, they being required by him? Doth not the King of England profess that he engageth himself in this War, only in regard of the Church and Pope, as being desirous to preserve the name which he hath gotten of being Defender of the Faith? And the King of France, to whom (as we have lately understood from our Embassadour) the Pope hath intimated that he will enter into the League if he have these Towns restored, what will he think of us, if he shall see that we do neglect the so important Interests of the common Confederacy? and yet it is in the friendship and assistance of these Princes that we must place our hopes. We shall assuredly

ly be drawn by their entreaty, and by necessity, to do that which now we shall deny to do; and yet shall we lose all our thanks for this action from the Pope? from whom we may expect so many favours, and so much advantage, and lose the praise of having defended the Dignity, and State of the Church, to which our Commonwealth hath always aspired? And to say nothing of what hath been done by our Fore-fathers, famous and worthy actions, have not we our selves even now been at very great expence, and hazarded our men to so many dangers, to free the Pope out of prison, and to drive the Imperialists out of the Churches Dominions? Who will certainly have a fair pretence to keep those Towns which are in their hands, when they shall see the same done by us; since by our example they may cloak their designs with some excuse and seeming honesty. But since I have heard those that are of a contrary opinion object more against the unseasonableness of the time, then against the thing it self, let us consider I beseech you, whether being to do it, it be not better for us to do it now, then to defer it to another time, and to another occasion. Really I cannot see what more advantage can be hoped for from the resignation of those Towns then that which is now propounded, since the Popes friendship can never make more for our advantage, then at the present, when it lies in his power either to further or obstruct our good success in the Kingdom of Naples, according as he shall shew himself favourable, or an Enemy to the League. But if the affairs of War shall prove amiss, as the worst is always to be feared; (for the end of War doth often differ from the beginning) may I will say more, let what will happen, if Cæsar and the King of France shall agree, (as we very well know what Cæsar hath often said, that though he should lose the Kingdom of Naples intirely, it will be in his power to recover it, whilst he hath so good a pawn in his hands as the Kings Sons) What will be our condition, when we shall be abandon'd by the King of France, have the King of Spain our Enemy, the Pope so far from befriending us, that he will not be well satisfied with us, and perhaps necessitated by contracts made with other Princes (as it fell out in the times of Julio and of Leo) to persecute, and offend us? The fortune of the Commonwealth is not yet so well settled after so many storms, as that we ought to launch forth into the same Sea, without fear of more dangers. We by the good advice of temporizing have even in our greatest adversities, not only saved, but recovered our Commonwealth, and her ancient Dignity, more then we could have done by force of Arms. We may also hope for more prosperous success in the future, if we walk in the same way. But howsoever we ought always to endeavour to carry our selves so in all our actions, as though better fortune may peradventure be wish'd for to our Commonwealth, yet it may not be wish'd that this Senate had been wiser.

These words wrought much upon the Senators, though most of them were formerly of another opinion. Wherefore Luigi Mocenico, who was one of the chief of the Colledg, who had advised the Senate to dismiss the Popes Nuntio, with an express negative, standing up, spoke thus.

If we shall regulate our thoughts and our opinions, according to the various interpretations that may be given them, and not according to reason,
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we shall proceed so diversly, and with such uncertainty in all our affairs, as we shall make chance the guide of our counsels: But certainly, our actions have been such, and such our intentions towards the common good, and particularly towards the Apostolique See, as there is no cause to doubt our faith and sincerity: Have we seized upon the Cities of Cervia and Ravenna by force, or rift them from the obedience of the Church, to bring them under our Dominion? Is it not well known, that being sought unto for help by the Governour of Ravenna, and knowing what danger that City was in, of falling into the Imperialists hands, at a time when we had so many other expences upon our hands, we did resolve first to assist it with monies, and then with men? And at last, to the end that things might be better governed within, and that the inward disorders might not encrease the dangers without, the City it self desiring it by an express Embassadour, and the Apostolique Legate being therewith content, sent a magistrate of our own thither, that he might be of more authority, and might better attend the Cities preservation. The same manner was used at Cervia: If we shall be blamed for these things, which deserve praise, what is to be said more, but that innocence cannot be alwaies safe from the malice of men? If any one shall think, that to avoid calumny, we should hasten the delivery of these Towns, which would not only be dangerous to us, but prejudicial to the Apostolique See: certainly such do more value appearances then the real essence of affairs. The Pope desires that we may presently resigne up these Cities: It is not very hard to know, but very troublesome to consider, with what intention, and with what justice this request is made: The Imperialists are masters of the principal Strong Holds in the Ecclesiastical State, which they have forced the Pope to assigne over unto them, as a reward for their perfidiousness, and for the ruine of miserable Rome: The Pope being get out of his Throne, with very weak forces, experience shows us what respect these barbarous people bear to his person, and to his affairs: The War is hotter then ever in Italy, the whole estate of businesse various, uncertain, subject to many accidents and alterations; and in so great confusion of all things, only we shall be a rule unto them, in what redounds to our manifest prejudice. These considerations may make us believe, that rumours are not spread abroad in vain, of new practises of agreement held in hand between the Pope and the Emperour; not to procure peace, but to kindle new Wars, and raise more troubles in Italy. To find some appearing reasons to do this, the Pope being desirous (not to say resolved) to forgo the King of France, and us, though he may have known us in his greatest calamity to have been his truest and most affectionate friends, and lovers of the dignity of that holy See, proponnds new things now, at such a time, and in such a manner, as he knows cannot be granted, that he may thereby pick an occasion to effect his desires, which are bent, as may be seen, to satisfy his own particular affections, and to vindicate the private injuries which he thinks he hath received from the Florentines; and not upon the common good, not upon the liberty of Italy, not upon the exaltation of the Church: In which case, our condition will be too hard, who have undergone so much labour, been at so great expence, and run so many hazards, not having received any good at all thereby: But to be, as it were, reprehended for it, and by severe command enforced to forgo that which ought to be ours, and which, if we should now deliver up, ought either to be

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acknowledged from our liberality, or with our rights thereunto preserved; or at least, we ought to be secured, that to our loss and scorn, it should not be usurped by others, who have no claim at all thereunto, but think all things lawful, which is possible to be effected by force: It is most certain, that if the Pope, whom we do not find to be so careful of our good, as we have been of his safety, shall now receive these Cities from us, before we come to a good and firm universal peace; laying aside any thoughts of our Interests, and measuring things only according to his own particular ends, he will, when we shall hereafter come to lay down arms, make all Articles of Agreement, either the harder, or the more disadvantageous for us. I might wish justice and honesty propound, but much more according to the reason of State, that we, who have been in peaceable and lawful possession of these Cities, for the space of a hundred years, and who have new built one of them at our own expence, should make use of the Popes troubles, as others have done, and in our own right, rather then by doing injury to any other, retain what is become, and what ought to be ours, with an intention of never restoring it: and this so much the rather, for that we possess'd these Cities when the Pope was parted from the League; whereby we have new precesences added to our old ones: and for that (as it is very true) Pope Adrian, this man's predecessor, a man of pious and upright intentions, did promise to restore the possession of these Cities to us, knowing that they did of right belong unto our Commonwealth, which came thereby not by fraud, nor by taking them from the Church, but by just right, and by the disposal of those who were Lords thereof.

Moreover, it may be said, that this very Pope's example may seem to invite us to esteem all things as null, which were agreed upon with Julius the second, in times of our greatest necessity: since he denies that to be of any validity, which was formerly agreed upon by the Colledge of Cardinals, and by his consent, with the Duke of Ferrara, concerning the Cities of Modena and Regio; saying, That he is not bound to make that good now, when he may use his free Will, which he then confirmed, being forced by necessity. But I am far from counselling, or from going about to persuade this Senate, to do any thing, which may even in the least appearance, seem to differ from its ancient, and laudable Custom and Institution, of proceeding with great sincerity, faith, and religion: I say only, that in a business of such importance, we ought to proceed with much temper, and with mature advice; for otherwise, goodness will become folly. Are these Cities to be restored unto the Church? Let it be done; but at such a time, and in such a manner, as we may have some better security, that our pious intentions towards the Apostolique See may have its true effect, and that others may not hope to usurp it; so as we may not encrease their strength, who will use it against us, and so as we may enjoy our State with such quietness, as is by us desired, and whereof we never were the first disturbers. Now as the Popes authority and means may be of chiefest importance above all other things, to bring these things to pass, so can there be no greater spur to make him use his power therein, and to make him take an opportunity to do it, then his desire to re-have these Cities; the assignation whereof, will be a means whereby our Commonwealth may come to universal Peace, upon fairer, and more advantageous conditions.

Neither do I much consider the reason which is urged to prove that this is the true means of arriving thereat, to wit, by gratifying the Pope, to draw him to be on our side: to which purpose, I pray you let us weigh a little better, not what we would have, but what reason tells us we may look for. If the service which in all these hard times we have hitherto done the Pope, hath not been able to impress one thought of our affairs in him, which we see he is rather ready to prejudice, then to secure, what hopes is there, that that which he thinks it is our duty to do, should work more upon him? And if his desire of Revenge, and of restoring his Family to their ancient Greatness in their Country, be so prevalent with him, as it hath made him forget the grievous and abominable injury which he hath received from the Imperialists, how can you think that any reason can do good upon him? Moreover, say it be true, that (as it hath been said) we are now to put a greater valuation upon the Pope's friendship, because he may favour the League, at this present, in the affairs of Naples; truly I do not see what assistance he can give to this enterprize, he having neither money nor men, and the enterprize requiring present assistance: But on the contrary, things appear to me to be so fairly begun, and that there is such fair hopes of better success, as any Treaty we shall make with the Pope, or Emperour, will be for our advantage by the prolonging of time: and it may be, time will make the Pope himself see his error, as we may verily believe it will be acknowledged by the Kings of France and England, so as his endeavours will be of no validity with them, when they shall see that they have been with reason refused by us.

The Senators minds were much affected with what these two had said, some inclining to the one, some unto the other; but at last, they resolved to return this answer to the Pope.

That the Senate had always been desirous of such a peace, as might be good for the common service and safety, and for the exaltation of the Church, and that therefore they would willingly listen unto any conditions of agreement: but withal, they must look to the accommodation of other difficulties; wherefore they would send an express Embassador, who might treat of the business propounded by the Archbishop Sipontino, and of all things else, whereby they might witness their good will, and Gaspero Contarini was forthwith chosen for this Embassy.

But the Pope being no ways satisfied with this answer, persisted more earnestly in the same demand, and Count Guido Rangone, and Cavalier Cassale being sent to him by Lautrech, to appease him, they could not only not do any good upon him, but he made them be told in plainer terms then formerly, that if those Towns were not restored unto him, he would not only not declare for the League (as he was daylie desired to do) but he must be forced to joyn with the Imperialists: and he made almost the same thing be said by his Nuntio to the King: but clearer evidences did afterwards appear of this his inclination; for he had sent an express Nuntio into Spain, to treat with Cesar, though he said, he had given him commission to treat only of agreement, and of universal peace; which if Cesar should be averse unto, he should denounce war against him, as the other Confederates had done

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But whilst these things were in hand, the Cesarean Army was already come to the confines of the Kingdom of Naples, and the Commanders, with some difference of opinion, treated how they were to manage the War: Some were of opinion, of which Marquis Gualto was the forwardest,

That they ought to march to where Lautrech was with the French Army, and to use all means to come to a day of Battel with him; and many things made for this, as that the Confederate forces were as yet divided, the number of their foot was more then those that were with Lautrech; the risings which were every day made by those of the kingdom in favour of the French, the scarcity of monies in the Cesarean Army, and the tumults which by reason thereof were begun to be made by the Dutch foot; through which things it being to be feared that the loss of the Kingdom would certainly ensue, it seemed good advice to hazard the fortune of a Battel, wherein there was as much hope as danger: and if they should beat the French Army, the Towns which they had taken, would soon become theirs, and the Kingdom of Naples would be in a very sure condition.

But others maintained to the contrary, it would be more safely, and more wisely done, to quarter themselves somewhere, whereby the strength of situation, and by the conveniency of victuals, they might not easily be driven out by the Enemy; and staying there, they might observe the Enemies ways, and govern themselves accordingly; and that if the Army of the League should prosper, they might march with all their forces to the defence of the City of Naples; upon the preservation or loss whereof, the event of the whole War did depend. That it was said that the Prince of Melice, and Fabrizio Maramoldo, were coming with many souldiers, and with many of the Country to meet them, and to receive them, when they should become near Naples; by whose numbers, their Armies being increased, they might doubtlesly stand the Enemy, and hinder their Designs. That it was the Duty of an Army, which did defend a Country assailed by powerful forces, to spin out time, for time brings often great and unlooked for advantages. That it was to be believed, the Enemies Army wanted not for disorders, which were likely to be the greater, for that the Interests of the Confederate Princes were different, and oft times contrary. That nothing was less governed by wisdom, and good counsel, then the event of Battels. That nothing could be done more worthy the fame and experience of so many gallant Commanders as were in that Army, then to hold the enemy in hand by several pieces of cunning, and endeavour to make them moulder away by time and sufferings, which might easily happen in the French Army, as had been proved by many late examples. Nor was it to be doubted, but that the Neapolitans would furnish the Camp with so much monies as would suffice to satisfy the Dutch Foot, till such time as the pay was come, which was already on the way from Spain, whereby the whole Army might be kept together for a good while, and hope to do better things.

These reasons having the approbation of Alarcone, who was very stiff in that opinion, prevailed. It was therefore resolved to advance, but slowly and securely, and to enter into the Terra di Lavoro; that they might be near the City of Naples. But the Army being encamped at Troja, & staying there to make provision of victuals, and to learn

learn news of the Enemy, *Lautrech* (as the French are generally more bold and resolute) resolved upon what the Enemy refused to do; which was, to find them out, and to fight them; being thereunto chiefly moved, as he said afterwards, for fear lest the Army which was paid from *France*, might suddenly dissolve, and lose what had been already won, because the King did already appear plainly to be weary of so vast expences, and that his Officers, being variously affected, were negligent in taking care for provisions. He was likewise persuaded thereunto, out of great hope of victory; The Marquis of *Saluzzo* being already joyned with him, and expecting daily, choice of Foot from the Venetians and Florentines.

On the contrary, the Imperialists, though their numbers were not much inferior, yet their prowess was much diminished; partly through great sickness, partly through the luxury which they for so many months had lived in; whereby their bodies & their minds being weakened, and grown effeminate, they had almost lost their Gallantry. Moreover being used to live licentious, they did not observe Military order and discipline, as they ought to have done. *Lautrech* did likewise much exceed the Enemy in Horse, and train of Artillery, so as it seemed he did not without reason hope, to shorten and secure the victory, and the acquisition of that whole State, by a day of Battle. The Emperours Army hearing of *Lautrech's* approach, were gone out of *Troja*, and had quartered themselves upon the leaning of a Hill, not far off; whereunto *Lautrech* being already come very nigh, although the Florentine nor Venetian foot were not come to him, he resolved to put his Army in Battle array, and to face the Enemy; defying him, and provoking him, by many Cannon shot, which he made against their Camp. But the Imperialists being but little indamaged thereby, by reason of the height of their situation, resolved not to joyn Battle, but keeping within their quarters, sent out only some Horse and Harquebusiers, to skirmish with the French; who still advancing, and winning ground, got into a situation equal with the Enemy, from whence they might prejudice their Camp with their Artillery. But those who went out afterwards to skirmish in much greater numbers, not being able to keep *Lautrech* from winning the Hill, the Enemy resolved to retreat, and to quarter on the other side of *Troja*, towards *Nocera*. But understanding not long after, that *Horatio Baglione* was come to the Leagues Camp, with a great many Florentines, all of them expert Souldiers; and that *Camillo Orsini*, and Commissary *Pisano*, were expected the next day with the Venetian forces, they quitted *Abruzzo*, and marched straight forwards towards *Naples*, following their first advice, & placing the total end of the business, and their hopes of maintaining that State, in the defence of that City: and retaying only the Spanish and Dutch foot, about 10000 in number, they applied themselves diligently to providing the City with viuals. *Lautrech* finding that he could not draw the Enemy to Battle, which they had so manifestly refused, went about to make himself Master of the Country, and not to leave any Town untaken behind him which was the Enemies, till he should come, before the walls of *Naples*. Wherefore understanding that the Prince

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was entred into *Melfi*, with a very strong Garrison of Souldiers, he sent *Pietro Navarro* with the *Galcoigne* foot, and *Baglione* with the Souldiers of the black Band, to take it; by whom the Town was play'd upon, taken, and sack'd: and at the same time, Commissary *Pisani*, with two thousand Italian foot, took the Town of *Alcoli*, and then joyned suddenly again with *Lautrech*, to whom *Barletti*, *Trani*, and other adjoining Towns, did quickly yield; some being moved by what had befallen *Melfi*; others, by the love they bore to the French, and by their being weary of the Spanish Government; so as in all *Puglia*, only the Town of *Manfredonia* held for the Spaniards. Wherefore *Lautrech* leaving 2000 Venetian foot, one hundred Curassiers, and two hundred light Horse to besiege that City, and to keep those others which he had taken, march'd with all the rest of the Army towards *Naples*: all Towns coming in apace unto him by which he pass'd. At last, resolving to besiege it, as thinking it the safest, and most successful way, whereby to get the City, he encamped himself within near about a mile of the Walls, having taken up his Headquarters, together with the greatest strength of his men, at *Poggia Reale*, in a strong situation, and proper to keep the besieged from many conveniences.

At the same time, the Venetian Fleet being reinforced at *Corfu*, and put in order, after the prejudice they had undergone at *Sardignia*, was come into the Rivers of *Puglia*, consisting of sixteen Gallies, under the command of Commissary *Moro*; for General *Lando* was gone to the Island of *Candia*, to appease some commotions which were raised in the Territories of *Canea*, by the country people. Six Towns in *Puglia* belonged to the Venetians by the agreement of the League, which they had formerly been possess'd of, to wit, *Otranto*, *Brandizzo*, *Monopoli*, *Pulignan*, *Mola*, and *Trani*: Therefore the Venetians were more diligent in pursuing this enterprize, having to boot with their Gallies, divers other armed Vessels, of sundry sorts; and their hopes of good success were much increased, to boot with the forces and reputation of the League, by the love which those people bore to the Commonwealth; so as upon the Fleets arrival, *Monopoli* and *Trani* yielded presently to them, and a good inclination was found in the rest to do the like. *Manfredonia* had somewhat a better Garrison in her, and the Citizens were not so well affected to the State; wherefore *Alvaro Morefina*, Captain of the Gulph, went with some of the Gallies to the reducing thereof, whither *Camillo Orsino* was also gone with some land forces: Whilst they were encamped about the walls, *Ranutio Farneze* sallied out with two hundred Horse, and *Girollimo Cremona* with two hundred foot, against which *Andrea Ciurano* advanced boldly with his *Stradiotte* Horse, and after many hours skirmish, put them to flight, and drove them into the Town, killing some, and taking other some prisoners, in which action *Ciurano* won much praise, and made good the opinion which was conceived of his valour and skill, by reason of other egregious deeds; and chiefly, by his having chased *George Reynes*, a personage of great renown, near *Taranto*; and by having taken the Governour of the Town: but this his glory soon ended, for falling grievously sick by reason of his much pains taken

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in the Militia, he died, being much beloved by the Souldiers, and valued by the Commanders, for his liberality, carriage, and military discipline.

Commissary *Moro* was before *Brandizzo*, who play'd upon the Castle, which was yet held by the Imperialists with a good Garrison, though the Town was already surrendred; this battery was recommended to the particular care of *Bernardo Segredo*, a young man of much ingenuity and courage, who had brought it to such a condition, as men being already landed to give the assault, it was thought the enemy could not hold out long. But *Lautrech*, whose orders the Venetian commanders had commission from the Senare to observe, sending for the Gallies to *Naples*, made him quit the enterprize, and give over the hoped for victory. *Phillippino Doria* was already come to *Naples* with eight Gallies; but these not being sufficient to keep the City from being victuall'd by Sea, and it being likewise thought that they could not be safe there, if the enemy should send forth their armed Vessels which were in the Haven, *Lautrech* had continually solicited the Venetian Commanders, to come as soon as they could, and joyn with *Doria's* Gallies, to secure them, and to straiten the siege yet more.

Such were the proceedings in the Kingdom of *Naples*; but the Venetians were busied with other affairs of no less importance: for *Henry Duke of Brunswick*, after many rumours of his coming, being very much solicited by *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, to pass into *Italy*, and to enter *Lombardy*, to divert the forces of the League from the enterprize of *Naples*; which Kingdom being in great danger, he saw he could not succeed by any way better; passing from *Trent* into *Valledrags*, was entred into the Territories of *Verona*, and had brought with him about twelve thousand foot, with whom it was said, that *Antonio da Leva* was to joyn, who was already come into the field with eight thousand foot, that they might jointly fall upon the Town in the State of *Venice*, which *Brunswick* had denounced war against, having with much vanity, and very ridiculously, challenged the Duke thereof, *Andrea Gritti*, a man of fourscore years of age, to fight a single Duel with him: But the Senate was not wanting in diligence, to arm themselves; they designed to raise an Army of twelve thousand foot, of which, four thousand to be Switzers, to which purpose they sent monies into Switzerland, and desired the King of *France* to further this their Levy by his authority: They likewise brought great store of light Horse from *Greece*, and from *Dalmatia*, and recalled the Duke of *Urbine* from *Marc d'Ancona*: And to the end that their own State might not be bereft of defence, whilst they went to defend the States of others, they commanded him to view all their Cities and Forts of greatest importance, to put good garrisons into them, and to do whatsoever else he should judge might make most for their safety: then they chose divers select Gentlemen, whom they entrusted with the particular charge of the chief Cities: *Girolimo Diedo* was sent with one hundred and fifty foot to *Treviso*, *Pietro Sagredo* with as many to *Padua*, *Zaccheria Orio*, *Phillippo Correro*, *Alessandro Donato*, *Ambrogio Contarini*, *Fosseppe Badoero*, *Lorenzo Lanudo*, *Agostino Canale*, and

and *Almoro Barbaro*, were sent to *Verona* with 25 souldiers apiece; wherewith they were to guard the gates, and places of greatest importance.

These preparations were judged worthy consideration in *France*; wherefore they likewise prepared to send powerfull Forces into *Italy*, which were to be commanded by *Monsiur de St. Paul*, one of the house of *Burbone*, a personage highly esteemed for his birth, and other honourable endowments, but not much experienced in war: and as it proved afterwards, not very fortunate in this enterprize. But these provisions proved too late for the present occasion; for the Duke of *Brunswick*, finding himself strong enough, designed to fall upon some of the Commonwealths Cities, being the more encouraged so to do, because, at his first arrival, *Peschiera*, *Rivoltella*, and some other Towns neighbouring upon the Lake of *Garda*, yielded unto him. But the Duke of *Urbine* who was at *Verona*, diligently observing *Brunswick's* marches, prevented his designs, and went presently to *Brescia*, where he augmented the Garrison; and from thence to *Bergamo*, putting many of the Inhabitants of those valleys, who were very faithfull to the Venetian interest, into the City; and begirting the city with trenches and outworks, put it in a posture of defence. Moreover, he cunningly made the men of those parts propound treaties of agreement, and giving of monies; wherein they spun out time, to the end, that by retarding *Brunswick's* march, more opportunity might be had to secure the principal places: wherein there being good store of Light-horse, they infested the Dutch Camp by falling out, and disturb'd their Victuals: And amongst these, *Geralamo da Canale* did very good service, with five hundred Crabats, which he had brought with him out of *Dalmatia*. So as *Brunswick*, falling short of his hoped for success, and being incommodated for victuals, after having according to the barbarous and cruel custome of that Nation, ruined the Country; and burnt many noble edifices, went out of the Venetian Confines, and came into the State of *Milan*, where he was met by *Antonio da Leva*, who hearing of his arrival, was past over the *Ada*, to joyn with him in some enterprize. Wherefore both of them repassing over the *Ada*, they went to encamp before *Lodi*, from whence the Duke of *Milan* was gone a little before, being advertised of the enemies approach, by *Gabrielle Veniero*, the Venetian Embassadour; and leaving a good number of men in that city, he came, by the Venetians advice to *Brescia*. But the Venetian souldiers, who were in *Lodi*, and who were commanded by *Paslo Sforza*, the Dukes bastard brother, having valiantly withstood many assaults, repuls'd the enemy. Wherefore *Brunswick*, not having much money to maintain the Army longer, finding that he had spent much time in vain, began to be aware of his idle thoughts, whereunto he had, out of vain glory, and hopes of Booty, been perswaded by *Ferdinando d'Austria*; who minding more his brother's advantage, than the success of the business, had earnestly perswaded him to pass into *Italy*, and without thinking of advancing further, to enter into the Kingdome of *Naples*, as he had at first purposed to do; he went by the way of the Lake of *Cemo*, to return to *Germany*, being

pursued by *il Conte di Giazso*, and by *Mercurio Bua*: who issuing out of *Bergamo*, fell upon his Rear, but did not much prejudice the enemy, because they were too late aware of their departure. Yet many of the *Dutch*, who in great numbers parted from the Camp, were ranlak'd and cut in pieces by the country people. The besieged in *Naples* were much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the Dutch Foot; being thereby bereaved of the only relief wherein their safety lay. For but a little before they had with bad success attempted to beat the Gallies of *Philippo Doria*, that they might have the way open by Sea, since they could come by no victuals by land, *Lautrech* having possess'd himself of *Pazzuolo*, and of the neighbouring places.

The Imperiall Commanders were likewise herewith much molested; for, understanding that the *Venetian Fleet* was suddenly to come into those Seas, they knew their danger would be the greater, and their remedy harder. Therefore being resolved to prevent the Enemy, they determined to put out from the Haven with 6 Gallies, and many other armed Vessels, and to assault *Doria's* Gallies; and were so assured of Victory (as they thought) as the Marquis *Gualfo*, *Don Hugo* and other chief Commanders, went aboard those Gallies, as to an assured Triumph: And having joyfully dined at the Island of *Capri*, they went to assault *Doria*, who lay with his Gallies upon the coast of *Amalfi*, near *Capo d'Orto*: being periwaded that the *Gennefes* being terrified with this spectacle, and with the unexpected assault, would either run away, or, that if they would joyn battel with them, though upon disadvantage; that through the Valour of the Spanish Souldiers, which were the very best, pick'd out of the whole Army, they should obtain certain and glorious victory. But the business fell out much otherwise; for, neither was *Doria* affrighted at the sight of the enemy, he being a man very well experienced in Maritime affairs; nor came the assault unexpected; he having been so timely advertited thereof, as that he had opportunity to prepare for it, and to reinforce his Fleet with souldiers which were sent unto him from the Camp by *Lautrech*: So as, resolving to wait the Imperialists coming, and not to refuse battel, when he first saw the enemy appear, he divided his forces, and with 4 Galley's made boldly towards them, causing the other two, which were commanded by *Lomelino*, to fall off at the same time to seaward, as if they fled away; but with orders to tack about, and assault the Imperialists on the Flank and Poupe, whilst they were busied in the fight. Which counsel being wisely taken, and well pursued by the Captain and his *Gennefes*, who were very well vers'd in all things which belonged to Sea, had such good success, as two of the enemies Gallies fell into *Doria's* hands, two were sunck, and the other two being shrewdly shattered, saved themselves with much ado by flight, the Marquis of *Gualfo*, *Afonio Colonna*, and other Commanders were taken prisoners, *Don Hugo*, *Cesare Feramosca*, and most of the souldiers which were in the Gallies were slain; whereby the City of *Naples* was deprived of her best and valiantest defendants.

General

General *Lardo* came this mean while to the shores of *Naples* with 20 Gallies, who being likewise come for the business of *Puglia*, and having tarried in the Gulf of *Massa*, had already taken all the Towns appertaining to the Venetians, as *Trani*, *Mola*, *Puglignan*, *Monopli*, *Ortano*, and *Brandizzo*; the Castles of *Brandizzo* remaining only in the Imperialists power; Commissary *Augustino da Mula* being left to guard them.

The arrival of the Venetian General was of great advantage to the French, and as prejudicial to the Enemy; for leaving six Gallies at *Gaeta*, and as many at *Cume*, he scoured the Rivers neighbouring upon *Naples*, with the rest, from *Capanella* to *Massa*, blocking up the Sea so, as he suffer'd not any vessel to enter with victuals to the Besieged. The Venetian Gallies did likewise possess themselves of some places where the Mills were, which grownd corn for the City, so as the corn which they had yet left, could not be made into bread, but being deliver'd out unto the Souldiers ungrownd, was either eaten by them in pottage, or baked in pans.

On the other side, the Venetian Fleet was of great advantage to their friends; for it furnished their Camp with victuals from Sea, whereof, by reason of the great number of useless people who flock to the Camp (for the dearth that was that year generally throughout all *Italy*) and by the carelessness of the Commanders, there was great scarcity in the Camp. And Monsieur *de Barbasi*, who brought monies from *France* with him to pay the Souldiers, meeting with great impediments by the Imperialists, who had block'd all the ways, so as that he was fain to take a great circuit about, was met by divers of the Venetian Generals men, whom he on purpose had landed, to assist *Barbasi*, against *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, who was come with both Horse and Foot out of *Naples* to intercept the supply of monies; and by their means, together with some others that were sent from the Camp, both Venetians and Florentines, led on by *Valerio Ursino*, and *Hugo de Pepoli*, he repuls'd the Enemy; but *Hugo* being too forward in pursuit of them, was taken Prisoner.

Thus far the affairs of the League went on prosperously, and with great hopes of putting a speedy end to the War, by the acquisition of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*; but now apparent signs grew, not only of their declination, but even of their ruin: As if fortune could not long favour the French in *Italy*, to whom she had so long shew'd her self therein an Enemy. Their Army fell into sore and sudden sicknesses, whereunto many causes did concur. As the influence of the Heavens, which had this year occasioned many pestiferous diseases in all parts; the season of the year, which being in the month of *August*, was made the worse, by the disorders committed by the Souldiers, in eating great store of fruit. But especially the badness of the air, which was become unwholesome, by reason of the waters, which being diverted for several moneths from their ordinary course, did overflow almost all parts about their Quarters. Which put *Lautrech* into great straits, finding inconveniences on all sides, and great doubts and difficulties, in either continuing the Siege, (the commenc'd inconveniences considered) or in enlarging his Camp. He was advised

advised by almost all his Captains, to carry the Souldiers into the neighbouring Towns, and by dividing them, to keep the mallady from spreading farther, and that the sick might have the better means afforded them of cure. And truly the Army was brought into such a condition, as necessity seemed to force him to such a resolution; the rather, for that the Sea being still block'd up, he might sufficiently incommode the Enemy, though he enlarged his quarters. But on the other side, *Lantrech* was greatly grieved to see a Victory escape his hands, which was almost won: For if he should enlarge his quarters, he knew, that the Imperialists, who did abound in Horse, would by their coming abroad, finde some wayes open, to provide against their inconveniencies. He understood by *Simione Romano*, whom he had sent into *Calabria*, that all things succeeded well there, that all those people did surrender, out of their particular affection to the name of *France*; that the Towns, and Havens in *Puglia* were fallen into the Venetians hands: that the *Abruzzo* was at very first reduced by the *French*: that the *Spaniards* were already driven out of almost the whole Kingdome: And yet all these acquisitions must prove to no purpose, if, by allowing those who were in *Naples* (and who were already reduced to great straits), the benefit of time, he should lose the opportunity of getting that City, upon which, the good or bad success of the whole enterprize did depend. He was also ashamed, that the *Spaniards*, suffering under great inconveniencies, sickness, and scarcity, should notwithstanding bear all this with such constancy, as that they would not listen to any Propositions of surrender; and yet, he and his *French*, must, through weakness of Spirit, yeild to the very first frowns of adverse fortune; and suffer themselves to be, as it were, overcome by those that were overcome. Moreover, monies which came to him from *France*, falling far short of expectation, and being not sufficient to pay the Souldiers, he feared, that if the business should be spun out at length, he should not be able to maintain the Army. But *Lantrech's* nature was more prevalent with him, then all other reasons; he not being accustomed willingly to listen to, or to value the opinion of others, or to forgoe that advice which he had once thought to be well taken: So as, though he had every day reason to alter his minde, and to accommodate himself unto the times: yet would he never give way to remove his quarters, nor to give leave to any one to be gone, till extreame necessity inforc'd him to do that which reason should have perswaded him unto. For, many dying dayly, not onely of the private souldiers, but of the most principal personages, as *Luigi Pisano*, and *Pietro Cesar*, both of them *Venetian* Commissaries, and not long after, *Valdemonte*, many others who fell dayly sick, were carried to *Gaeta*, and to other neighbouring places; and others without leave abandoned the Camp.

But *Lantrech* was yet more molested at another accident, which broke all his hopes of good success: *Andrea Doria* not being satisfied with the *French*, left the Kings service, and took pay of *Cesar*. Many things had happened, which had alienated *Doria* from the *French*: but especially, a disdain which he conceived for not being esteemed, or rewarded, as he thought, according to his deserts, he not having obtained

obtained the place of being Admiral at Sea, which honour was at this time conferr'd upon *Monsieur de Barbesi*; nor been able to procure, that his Country *Genoa* should have the superiority over *Savona*, as she had formerly had; many signes having already appeared of this his ill satisfaction, the Pope had begun formerly to suspect *Doria*, and had signified as much into *France*, exhorting, that he might be kept better affected to the League, and not to suffer him to bethink himself of passing over to the Enemy, with so many Maritime forces; to the great prejudice of the common Affairs.

But the King, being at this time jealous of all the Popes proceedings, his advices were of less authority with him. Yet, the King finding this at last to be true, and thinking it a business worth consideration, and not knowing how to remedy it, or being peradventure desirous to free himself of this expence, without being thereby disadvantaged, he earnestly entreated the Pope that he would take *Doria* into his pay, whom he found inclined to serve the Church, and not to suffer *Cesar's* forces to be so much increased by the addition of his Gallies. The Pope seemed to have the same desire, but being loth to do any thing which might displease the Emperour, excused himself, as not being able to do it; adding, that when he should by the Kings means have recovered *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, he might more freely lay some tax upon the Ecclesiastical estate, and apply it hereto. Wherefore *Doria* agreed with *Cesar*, to serve him with 12 Gallies, and to receive for his salary sixty thousand Duckets a year.

This alienation of *Doria's*, was very prejudicial to the Colleagues, and to the business of *Naples*; for the Venetian Gallies being now left alone, were forced to quit the works about the Trenches, which their Slaves wrought upon, and to fall to guard the Seas; and Admiral *Barbesi*, being come with 16 Gallies from *France*, not daring to go to *Naples*, stay'd loytering at *Savona*, having landed many of the foot which were destined to relieve *Lantrech*, that they might guard *Genoa*; so as things more grievous, and more prejudicial arising every day from this accident, the League went daily less in reputation, and those of the Kingdome who favour'd the *French*, were as much discouraged, as they were before inheartned, and put in hopes by *Branimick's* rout. Yet to make good the enterprize of *Naples*, as much as might be, there were some Barons, who depended upon the *French* partie, as the Duke of *Gravina*, the Duke of *Castro*, the Prince of *Melfi*, (whose ranome not being paid by the Imperialists, had made him turn over to the *French*) and some other principal personages, who raised some number of Foot to assist *Lantrech*, and to maintain the reputation of the League, and of the *French* in the Kingdome.

But *Lantrech* could not make any speedy use, answerable to the present occasion, of the men that were with *Renzo* in *Civita Vecchia*, by reason of the Pope's dubious counsels, who being press'd first by *Lantrech* in high termes, and little less then threats, to declare himself for the King, and afterwards in a more submissive manner, and with promise to re invest his family in their Country, could not notwithstanding

notwithstanding, be brought to any settled resolution, seeming in words to be zealous of the common good, and that he had no other object than peace; the which that he might mediate with better success, and more fidelity, he would not forego his neutrality. But there appeared many signs to the contrary, that he had a good inclination to make his friendship with *Cesar*, upon particular Articles: Ye: being unwilling to make *Lantrech* more his Enemy, before all things were concluded; he said, that his declaring was not of any great importance, since (as he had often said) he had not sufficient Forces to joyn in any enterprize; but that without renewing any further confederacy, the King of *France* might assure himself of all safety from the Churches Territories; and not to be any ways incommodated thereby. Through these reasons, the forces of the French army grew daily weaker, and disorders did increase more and more. And on the other side, the besiegeds hoped did better, in believing to be able to maintain the Siege, and to bring all things to a good end.

The forces so often demanded by *Lantrech*, and as often promised by the King, came not as yet from *France*; and the people which were mustered in the Country, were not sufficient to recruit the Army, nor to supply the needs of all military actions: there was great want of all things in the camp; for the Enemies Horse issuing forth often, to disturb their victuals, which was brought them from adjacent places, had made them of Besiegers, become besieged; and by cutting off certain Aqueducts, had deprived them of their best water. The inconveniences were so increased, as there was not any one company in the Camp which was not sorely infected; the Souldiers grown weak and weary, could not wield their Arms, but throwing them away, neglected all Military exercise, kept no order nor discipline, and grew full of despair. Inasmuch as many Souldiers, and especially the Curassiers, abandon'd the Camp without their Captains leave; the Captains were some of them far off, being gone into other parts to be cured; some kept useless in the Camp, being tormented upon by grievous sickness.

Amongst the rest, *Lantrech* himself fell sick, being not less afflicted in mind then in body, by reason of the great danger whereinto he saw his Army reduced; which was feared by all others, before it happened, and despised by him alone. So his own default aggravating his displeasure of mind, did the more oppress him; he could not for many days, either act, or advise any thing; and the other Captains, by reason of the severity of his nature and government, proceeded slowly, and with much caution in all things. So as though he, after being a little recovered, and having gotten some strength, was very diligent in correcting these disorders; severely punishing the Souldiers disobedience, and in increasing his Forces, causing some companies of the Venetian *Stradiotti* to come unto the Camp, which he recalled from the Enterprize of *Taranto*, and soliciting the Florentines to send him two thousand Foot, which they had muster'd for the service of the League, yet all remedy proved in vain, and too late. But those within the Town grew so bold, as sallying forth dayly in great numbers, they came up even to the French Rampiers, taking away their

their baggage and their free-bootings before their eyes, and greatly molesting the ways, and infesting the Country, hindred the commerce between the Venetian Fleet and the Camp. But soon after *Lantrech* relapsing into his disease by reason of his great labour, and agitation of mind, dyed.

The Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in whom, after *Lantrech's* death, the supreme authority of the Army remained, resolved, with the approbation of the other Commanders, to raise the Camp: The present state of affairs not only requiring it, but even necessity and danger; which was much increased by the loss of *Capua*, lately fallen into the power of the Imperialists, by reason of the Capuans fallhood, who were inclined to adhere to *Cesar*: Whereby the French Army was not only deprived of many conveniences, but even of the opportunity of retreating. They divided their men into three Squadrons, and on the nine and twentieth of *August*, early in the morning, they marched away to *Auverga*, with all possible silence, that they might not be pursued by the Imperialists, if they should be aware of their departure. Which they could not notwithstanding do; for the Enemies Horse being continually even upon their Trenches, and aware of their departure, fell upon them in their Reer, guided by Monsieur de la *Palissa*, and by *Camillo Trivulcio*, routed them, and slew many of them; and the Spanish Foot coming in speedily soon after, broke their Battaglia, which was commanded by *Navarro*; took many Prisoners, amongst which the Captain himself. But the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and Count *Guido Rangone*, who were first marched forth of their Quarters with the Van, escaped the danger for the present, and got safe into *Auverga*; but being presently pursued by the Enemy, and the City brought to great danger, they were quickly forced to yield, upon discretion. Thus a great and flourishing Army of the French was miserably wasted and destroy'd, and of Conquerours, became conquered; and the whole face of affairs was altered, to the great discontent of the Venetians: Whose fortune, at least as much as concern'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, depended upon their Friends, and Confederates, the French. Another sad accident followed this, which was very prejudicial to the League, and was of great concernment for the weakening of the French in *Italy*: For the Plague being got into *Genoa*, and the City therefore abandoned almost by all the Citizens, and Souldiers, *Andrea Doria* came unexpectedly thither with his Gallies; and with the few Foot which he had, not exceeding five hundred, and by the favour of the people, who loved the name of Liberty, which *Doria* promised to introduce, he changed the Government, framed new Orders, and reduced it under *Cesar's* protection. Which novelty *Trivulcio* was not able to obviate, having but a small Garrison of Souldiers, with whom he had much ado to get safe into the Castle; hoping, as he said, if he should receive sudden succour, to return the City unto its former condition, and to the Kings devotion. Wherefore the Confederates Commanders, resolved to send suddenly three thousand Dutch and Switzer Foot thither, who were to come quickly to *Alexandria*, to joyn with other French, who came for *Italy*.

Whilst these things went thus, the thoughts and provisions for renewing War in *Lombardy* ceased not: To the which Monsieur de *S. Paule* being destined (as hath been said) the Venetian Senate desirous, that *Antonio da Leva* might have no longer time nor opportunity to make any farther progress, had sent *Andrea Rosso* Embassador to *France*, to hasten the coming of the Commander, and of the Army: And being very diligent in all things else, they had sent pay to *Furca* for five thousand Landsknechts, who were taken into pay by the King for that Enterprize, at the common expence. The Senate had likewise given Order to the Duke of *Urbine*, to receive the Dutch Foot into their pay, who were disbanded from *Brunswicks* Army; whereof there came a great many; so as the Commonwealth having in her service in *Lombardy*, of several Nations, Dutch, Switzers, and Italians, above ten thousand Foot, fifteen hundred light Horse, and eight hundred Curassiers, with which forces, it was hoped, that when Monsieur de *S. Paule* should be come from *France* with those warlike preparations which had been spoken of, they might be able to drive *Antonio da Leva* out of *Lombardy*: The Duke of *Urbine's* opinion was, that of all other things, they were to put an excellent Garrison into *Lodi*, as into a place of great importance for the Duke of *Milans* Interests, and for the Venetians also, since the preservation thereof would make much for the safety of *Bergamo* and *Crema*; which when it should be done, as soon as the French should begin to ascend the Mountains, he should pass over the *Poe* with the Venetian Army, and joyn with them to suppress *Antonio da Leva*, according as occasion should best serve. As soon therefore as Monsieur de *S. Paule* was come into *Italy*, who brought with him five thousand foot, five hundred Launces, and as many Light Horse, it being about the end of *July*, the Duke of *Urbine* spoke with him at *Monticelli*, a place seated upon the Banks of *Poe*, to advise how they were to carry on the War, for the common service; the Duke of *Urbine* being ordered so to do by the Senate, and it agreeing likewise with his own opinion, propounded.

That they should keep all their Forces employ'd in *Lombardy*, to drive *Antonio da Leva* out of the Dukedom of *Milan*, upon which all the affairs of *Italy* were finally to depend: For as long as the Imperialists should have a secure receptacle in that State, whereinto they might easily bring many Soldiers from *Germany*; and from whence they received great convenience for the feeding of their Army, which had now been maintain'd a good while at the private expence of several men of the Country, there was no hopes of putting a period to the War. That any thing attempted elsewhere, though it should succeed well, would not be equally beneficial, to what might be received by driving the Enemy out of those Confinnes, and by getting safe possession of the State of *Milan*. Moreover, it might be hoped, that by keeping the Forces of the Colleagues joyn'd together, and near at hand, they might at last draw the Pope into the League, the which had been several times attempted in vain.

Monsieur de *S. Paule*, and the other French Commanders, were of another opinion: viz, That the business of *Naples* was not to be abandoned, losing thereby their reputation both with the people, and with the

the Enemy's, shewing amongst other things, how necessary it was to keep the Imperialists employ'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, so as they might not come and joyn with *Antonio da Leva*; whereby growing very strong, they might settle themselves in the possession of both those States.

In this diversity of opinion, they pitch upon a way which might serve both their desires; to wit, not to give over the affairs of *Naples* totally, but howsoever to intend chiefly the business of *Lombardy*: wherefore since some Towns in *Puglia* held yet for the confederates, and were well affected to the Venetians, and to the French; it was resolved they should make head there, and reinforce their men, that they might make some other attempt, and keep the Imperialists in fear and jealousy. The Venetian Senate did therefore order their Commissary at Sea, to go with his Fleet into *Puglia*, to put very good Garrisons into all the Towns which held for the Commonwealth, and for the King of *France*, and to fall upon taking the Castles in *Brandizzo*; and on the other side, *Renzo da Ceri*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, were to pass into those Sea coasts with five thousand foot, for the transporting whereof from *Ancona* to *Puglia*, the Venetians sent eight Gallies, and other Vessels. It was also resolved, that the Fleet should be increased, and reinforced, that they might make some other attempt in the Kingdom, and keep the Imperialists busied in several places. To which purpose, the Venetians promised to lend the King twelve Gallies.

The Senate did moreover very much sollicit the other Confederates, as the Florentines, and Duke of *Ferrara*, that bearing patiently the adverse fortune about *Naples*, they would seek to provide against other dangers, by lending ready and stout assistance, towards the renewing of the War in *Puglia*, whereby the enemies forces would be kept far from their Territories, being employ'd in defending their own affairs. Whereunto these Princes shewed themselves very forward, the Florentines offering moreover to keep up a body of men in *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* an other at *Modena*, to provide for all occurrences: But as for the affairs of *Lombardy*, and the State of *Milan*, wherein the forces remained entire, it was resolved to advance towards *Milan*; and both the Armies being come to *Landriano*, the Commanders thought it not fit to fall then upon the expugning of *Milan*, which would be a thing too hard to effect, *Leva* being entred therein with his Army, after he had fetch'd much victuals into the City; therefore they took an other course, they fell upon the enterprize of *Pavia*, which they thought they might be successful in, for that there was but a weak Garrison there, of only one thousand foot: wherefore the Confederates Army marched speedily thither, to prevent all impediments which they might receive from *Leva*, if he should be aware of their march: they encamp'd before it, and began to play furiously upon the walls: the Duke of *Urbine* having with much persuasions got some pieces of Cannon to be brought along, and carried over the River *Tesino*: So as a great Battery being soon begun, they prepared to give an assault: wherein, the first place falling to the Venetians lot, it hapned that whilst they were ordering their affairs, some averfness thereunto appeared in the Switzers foot: But the Duke of

Urbine having sorely wounded one of their Captains with his own hand (who said that there was not any one who could make his Souldiers move but himself) and at the same instant turning the Cannon upon them, he brought them all to be obedient: so as a hot assault being given, wherein the Duke of *Urbine* was one, who together with some of his Curassiers, all of them being on foot, put himself into the first ranks, and assaulting such Bastions as were best defended, got the praise of being most nobly bold. The Town was taken, and sack'd, and the most of the defendants slain, and soon after the Castle also yielded, whereinto *Galleazzo da Birage*, together with such souldiers as were left alive, retreated; they had their lives given them, the Dutch foot being permitted to return to *Milan*, and the Italians to return to their own homes.

The getting of *Pavia* proved very advantagious, and of great credit to the League, not only in its own respect, but because it was accompanied with the quick surrender of *Novara*, and of other neighbouring Towns, whereby the enemy, who received much victuals from thence for the nourishment of the Army which was in *Milan*, was much incommodated.

The Venetian Senate was much rejoiced hereat, hoping that it might in the future somewhat counterpoise their late loss at *Naples*: they commended and thanked Monsieur de *St Paul* for it, exhorting him to prosecute the prosperity which was promised by this good beginning; nor despairing, but by his happy conduct, they should get *Milan*, and recover *Naples*. The alteration in *Genoa* was very unwelcome news to *France*: wherefore the King sent an express Commission to Monsieur de *St Paul*, that before all other things, he should mind and endeavour the returning of that City into her former condition, to the relief whereof, the three thousand foot which were therunto designed, refused to go, for want of having received their pay; which put *Trivulzio* into so great difficulties, as he protested he would surrender, unless he received some speedy succour. Thus the affairs of the League, which began to be a little refresh'd, fell quickly back into great straits; for as the opportunity which was offered of getting *Milan* was very great, by reason of the recent reputation won at *Pavia*, and through the sufferings whereunto *Leva's* Arms was reduc'd, but chiefly by the excessive and unsupportable Taxes imposed by the Imperialists upon the people of *Milan*, which had made them ready to mutiny, and to throw off the yoke of so severe servitude, so was it requisite, that to the effecting thereof, they should make use of all their forces together, and to beleaguer that great City with two camps; and yet Monsieur de *St Paul* setting his heart upon the relief of *Genoa*, did not only refuse to go to *Milan*, but prest the Duke of *Urbine* very much to go along with him, and to carry his Venetian forces to *Genoa*, that they might proceed therein the more securely: to which the Venetian Senate would not consent, since by sending their forces so far off, they should not only lose all the advantage of their victory, and make the Duke of *Milan* despair, but should expose *Bergamo*, and other Cities of their dominion to great danger. Wherefore, being both of them resolute in their opinions, the French Commanders

manders rose with all their forces, and past over the Po, at *Porta Stella*, to go by the way of *Tuscany* to *Genoa*; and the Venetians (the Senate notwithstanding it fit that they should retire) stayed at *Pavia*, to be assistant in reputation to the affairs of *Genoa*; and that they might tarry there more securely, and fall upon any enterprize which occasion should offer, the Senate resolved to raise new foot to recruit their Army, which was much diminished by several accidents.

But the French had but ill success; for finding *Genoa* strongly Garrison'd, and they not being above two thousand Foot, they had no hopes of doing any good there by their long tarrying, though they were already got very near the City: Wherefore they resolved to return to *Lombardy*, and to quarter in the City of *Alessandria*, whereunto *Sforza* gave way, hoping that when two thousand Lands-knechts, who were already past the mountains should be come unto him, they might return with better hopes to the enterprize of *Milan*. But the mean while, *Trivulzio* hearing of their retreat, and despairing of timely succour, yielded up the castle; which was presently slighted by the people, that they might have no such obstacle to their Liberty, *Savona* likewise, whereinto the succour led on by Captain *Montigiano*, could not enter, returned to the power of the *Genuefes*. after this they fell to alter the Government, freeing it as much as at the first they could from popularity; reducing those Families to a small number, who were to partake in the management of the Commonwealth, and instituting a magistracy of but a few citizens, temporising their authority by that of the greater Councils; though *Doria's* greatness continued to be very much in these civil institutions, upon whose will, and authority, their establishment did depend. And that they might be free from the fear of forraign forces, which might cause an alteration in this new State, the *Genuefes*, by publick order interceded with the *Venetians*, desiring them to be contented, that they might now remain in that free neutrality, to which they had formerly exhorted them: alledging it for a reason, why they had taken up arms against their city, because *Antonietto Adorno* was head of the government thereof, who depending totally upon the Imperialists, was very advantagious to the enemy. But the *Venetians* answered, that the face of affairs was much altered; since they had very much offended the King of *France*, by driving out his men, and by receiving *Doria*, who was his protest enemy; whereby they had provoked the Kings forces against them; nor could they be wanting to be assisting to the King, their friend and Confederate. And really the *Venetians* did very much desire, that the business of *Genoa* might be again attempted, for the Kings better satisfaction, who gave apparent signes of being displeased, that they did not send their men with the Duke of *Urbine*, to relieve *Trivulzio*: and because they thought it very convenient for their affairs, that the City, which was as it were the Gate of *Italy*, whereby the *Spaniards* had convenience to enter there into by Sea, might depend upon the will of their friend, the King of *France*, and especially at this time, when *Cesar* had given out, (making use of such an occasion) that he would come himself in person into *Italy*. They therefore exhorted the *Genuefes* to

put themselves again under the King of *France* his protection, who was a powerfull and courteous Prince, in whom they should find both power and will to preserve their Liberty. But neither the season of the year, (which was a very bitter winter,) nor yet the weakness of their Armies, which were very much lessened by several accidents, would not permit them to use force : So as, though it were known, that there was a great scarcity of victuals in *Milan*, that *Antonio da Leva* was sick, and the Army sufficiently lessened, which might very well invite them to the attempt of that enterprise, since the Forces of the League were nigh at hand : and though this might be a means to facilitate the good success of *Genoa*, and that the Senate had prayed the Duke of *Urbine* not to let slip so fair an occasion ; yet not trusting too much to their own Forces, and apprehending the inconveniences of winter, the Captains of the League resolved to bring their Armies into their winter quarters, and to expect a better season, and greater Forces. So as, the Duke of *Milan* going to winter with his Forces in *Pavia*, the Duke of *Urbine* was forced to rise from thence, intending to go to *Lodi*, but not pleased therewith, he resolved to go to the banks of *Ada*, and soon after past over the river, to get into safer and more commodious quarters. But the French Army went into *Alessandria*, that they might afterwards joyn, as the season and occasion should counsel. But the Senate was chiefly troubled about the towns of *Puglia*, which being preserved, were very serviceable to the Commonwealth, both in times of peace and war : and being by agreement to be restored, they might be a great advantage to them, upon other occasions. *Trani* and *Monopoli* held then for the *Venetians*, and *Barletta* for the French, the rest being abandoned, and these nor without difficulty preserved by Commissary *Vesuri*, when the French Army was routed ; who being about the taking of *Manfredonia*, when he heard of what had happened at *Naples*, sent a good number of Foot forthwith in Gallies to Garrison those Maritime Towns, writing forged Letters to the Magistrates, that the French Commanders having been but very little damaged, were retired with all their forces safe to *Auvergne*, to keep the people in their allegiance ; least out of fear, they might be moved, as many others had been, to agree with the Imperialists. *Camillo Orsino* was entred into *Trani*, as soon as he rose with the Camp from before *Manfredonia* ; *Jovan Corrado Orsino*, *Fulvio di Montebello*, and *Horatio da Carpenna*, being parted from *Brandizzo*, were in *Monopoli* : and *Renzo da Ceri*, who had the title of Lieutenant of the Kingdom, was come to *Barletta*. Whither also *Simion Romano* was come with his light-horse. The *Venetians* were three thousand Foot ; *Renzo* brought with him five thousand ; and two thousand were raised at the charges of the *Florentines*, and of some of the family of the *Orsini* ; so as, they amounted in all to the number of ten thousand Foot, to boot, with four hundred *Venetian* horse, and 300 horse which *Renzo* brought with him, and in *Abruzzo* ; *Jovan Jacopi Franco*, being got into *Matrice*, and *Camillo Orsino* into *Aquila*, they set up the French colours, and held those Towns in the name of the King of *France*, to whom the country people seemed much inclined ; as, on the contrary, the name of *Cesar* grew very hateful to them,

them, by reason of the many extortions which his Officers used to the people. The *Venetians* being intent upon the preservation of these places, and hoping not only to be able to hold the enemy play, and to keep the war from the State of *Lombardy*, but to make some advancement, since the Imperialists wanted not many disaccommodations ; resolved to relieve those Towns, sending them all sorts of munition ; and to recruit the Garrisons with six hundred Foot raised in *Dalmatia*, which being conveyed thither in some Gallies, in the depth of winter, two of them ran on ground, and split upon those shores. But Commissary *Mula*, who had kept till then upon those coasts, for the safety of the Towns, and to preserve those men upon all events, and that the Galley-slaves might work upon the Fortifications leaving four Gallies to guard them, retreated by publick order to *Corfu* : which the Senate did, out of the need the Fleet stood in of being refresh'd ; and that they might add to the number of the Gallies, that they might joyn with the Fleet which was prepared by the King of *France* in *Murcelles* ; and impose the Imperialists Maritime Forces : who were said to prepare good store of Frigats in *Barcellona*, to the end, that joining with *Doria's* Galley's, they might go out strong to Sea. In this Interim, the Pope ceased not his desires to have *Cervia*, and *Ravenna* restored unto him ; to which purpose the King of *France* had sent the Vicount *Turin* to *Venice*, desirous to give some satisfaction to the Pope, in whom his former ill will to the King was increased, by the Marriage of *Renée* the Kings kinswoman to *Hercole*, the Duke of *Ferrara's* son, knowing that by this alliance, the king was obliged to defend the Duke, from whom the Pope desired to repossess himself of the Cities of *Modena* and *Reggio*, as well as those in *Romagna* from the *Venetians* and he hoped to have been therein assisted by the King according to his promise.

But the Senate, desirous to give the King satisfaction in all things, acquainted him with their pretensions and interests ; that they had *Ravenna*, from *Obizzo Polenta*, the Lord thereof, 400 years since it was in the Churches possession ; and that *Cervia* was possess'd by the Commonwealth by the last Will and Testament of *Dominico Malatesta*, charged with many pious uses, wherein the will of the Testator was continually fulfilled ; that if they had desired to enjoy what belonged to others, they would not have refused the offers made by those of *Furli*, and of other Towns in *Romagna*, to come under their command ; that they had been at no little charge in maintaining *Bologna*, and other Cities under the Papal Dominion ; that they possess'd these Towns when the Pope had quitted the League ; and and therefore in that respect they had just reason to holde them, since they had spent more Treasure in these wars by much then those Cities were worth ; that his Majesty would be pleased to consider, whether it would make for his advantage, that his friends and his confederates should part with so convenient places to the Pope who was but ill affected to the Crown of *France*, nay, to the Imperialists upon whose authority it was apparent that the Pope did depend, either out of will, or fear. That to boot with his own concerns, he should weigh the injury which would be thereby done to the other colleagues, to the *Florentines*, and to the Duke of *Ferrara* ; who certainly would be very much troubled at such an action, which might hin-

der their forwardness in adhering to the League: That he ought likewise to consider these Towns were as a curb to keep the Pope within his duty; and that this respect ceasing, he would the sooner discover himself to be a friend and confederate of Cesar's.

Visconte being conjunct by these reasons, went to Rome, where he propounded divers expediences to the Pope for the accommodation of these Affairs; as, that these Towns might be given in fee to the Common-wealth, upon some recognition to the Church, as he had done by several other Towns. Or else that they would be deposited into the King of France his hands, to be disposed of as he should think fit. Which proposals being put unto the Senate, they were neither wholly accepted, nor wholly refused; but mentioning what the State had done, and what they were ready to do in order to the Pope's service, they seemed to confide much upon Clement's wisdom that he might of himself find out some fair and rational accommodation of these difficulties.

Thus was this business suspended, and the success of War uncertain, and the time of laying down Arms most uncertain, when the year 1528 ended.

The year 1529 began with various hopes of peace, and with fear of new combustions of War; for great weariness, and weakness appeared plainly in the Princes: Which as well as the bitterness of the winter, was the reason why all Military actions were ceased; nor did any such notable effects ensue either in Lombardy, or in the Kingdom of Naples, as might have been expected; the one party being quite dissipated and destroy'd, the other remained totally victorious, and arbitrator of all things: which were so ballanced, as each party might bear its own fortune, and hope for better in the future: Wherefore it was thought that the condition of affairs being thus, an agreement would be the more easily made. Cesar protested openly that he desired universal peace; and above all things, to accommodate his Affairs to the Princes of Italy; to which purpose he had sent the General of Franciscans to Rome, who having received the Cap, took upon him the title of Cardinal of Santa Croce; which Commission (as it was given out to cause Hostia and Civita Vecchia to be restored to the Pope, and to treat with the Popes self, touching the reconciliation of all difficulties. The King of England used all efficacious means with the King of France, and to bring him to an agreement; & had sent express Embassadors to Rome, to exhort the Pope to undertake such a treaty, as a thing that did better belong to him, & more properly then to any other. Nor did the King of France appear to be there unto averse, he having sent Commission to his Embassador at Rome, for universal peace. The Venetians did the like, giving sufficient warrant to their Embassador Gaspero Contarini to say, that the Senate following the advice of the King of France, and according to their own inclination towards the peace, and common good of Christendom, would make good whatsoever had been formerly agreed upon by particular conventions. They moreover did of themselves, desire the Pope that he would take upon him the weight of so important a business, and bring it to a good end, as might be hoped from his power

power and sincerity; promising that upon the concluding of an universal peace, they would witness their good will in any thing remained in dispute between them and the Apostolick See, touching the Cities of Ravenna and Cervia. But for all this, many things gave reason to suspect, that all this was but a Copy of their countenances, and that the Princes were inwardly otherwise inclined; being more intent upon their own advantage, then agreed with the accommodation of so many great differences, and to putting an end to Wars of so long duration. It was known that the King of France was very jealous of the Pope, so as he did neither believe much what he said, nor did he much confide in him: Holding all his proposals to be doubtful and uncertain. Therefore he treated apart with the Venetians, that they would reorder their Forces by Sea, and by Land, seeming not to be at all discouraged for what had hapned at Naples; as a thing which had fallen out by misfortune, and not through any cowardice of the Souldiery: Wherefore he was more desirous then ever to renew the Wars in Italy. As for the Emperour though he said he would come into Italy, to take upon him the Crown of the Empire, and to procure peace, yet he made so great preparation for War, as it appeared he intended not to do as he said; especially since his desire of making himself Master of the State of Milan was to very well known. And as for the Pope, who was to take upon him the chief care herein, he still retained the desire of recovering not only the Towns in Romagna, but also Modena, and Regio; and likewise he longed to revenge himself, for the injuries done him by the Florentines, and to replace his Nephews in their pristine greatness, and dignity in Florence; which were not things to be done without War. And the Venetians though they had been so many years involved in Wars, wherein they had already spent five Millions of Gold; and that therefore they desired to give some ease and refreshment to themselves, and to their Subjects; yet they persevered resolutely not to abandon the Duke of Milan, nor to permit that that State should fall again into Cesar's power; nor would they easily part with the Towns in Puglia and Romagna, unless upon the establishing of universal peace upon fair and rational conditions. Thus did the Princes at this time steer their thoughts and actions; and this was mens opinion touching future War and Peace.

This mean while the News increased of Cesar's coming into Italy; for which great preparation of Shipping was made at Barcellona; and the Arch-Duke Ferdinand came to Inspruck, and raised much moneys in the Dyets, taking foot Souldiers into pay, to send them for Italy, to serve his Brother, giving out that he would assault the States of Venice. Yet at the same time divers treaties of agreement were propounded to the Senate, by Andrea Doria, and by some other Imperialists; shewing that the Emperour had very good thoughts towards the Common-wealth, and offering to negotiate peace, wherein the Venetians proceeded very cautiously, fearing lest this might be a trick to separate the French by these jealousies from the freindship of the Common-wealth; so as they slackned not their preparation for War; for the Senate would depend upon themselves, and treat of Peace with Sword in hand, and with honour.

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The time of the Duke of Urbine's command being at an end, they continued his employment for three years longer, with the increase of ten thousand Crowns a year pay, and with as many Curassiers, as made up those that were before under his command two hundred.

Moreover a particular Troop of fifty Curassiers was given to his son *Guido Ubaldo*, who was likewise taken into the Commonwealth's service, and had a stipend of a thousand crowns a year given him. *Gianus Maria Fregoso* was made Governour General of the Venetian Militia, in reward of his loyalty and worth: And because the Duke of Urbine had many occasions to be absent from the camp, as he was particularly at this time; and that it was thought fit for the publick service, that some person of great authority should always be in the Army, *Antonio Alberti* was sent to him, *Savio aegli Ordini* with Orders that he should go speedily from *Brescia*, where he then was, and come to the Army; in which journey, for his greater honour, he was accompanied by the said *Alberti*. Other chief places of the Militia were disposed of to others. Count *Giazze* was made General of the Light Horse; and *Antonio da Castello* Captain of the Artillery. *Hercules Fregoso*, *Farfarella da Ravenna*, and other Commanders were taken again into the Commonwealth's service: A good sum of money was sent to the camp, to Commissary *Navi*, with Orders to raise new Foot, and to fill up the companies. Nor were they less vigilant about Maritime Affairs. *Girolamo Pesaro* was created Captain General at Sea, and *Andrea Pesaro* being chosen a little before Commissary of the Fleet, and *Vicenzo Justiniano* Captain of the Bestard Gallies, they were both of them ordered to prepare for Sea; there were other ten chosen for Governours, to arm the ten Gallies which were disarm'd the preceding Winter; so as the Commonwealth had above fifty Gallies at Sea, and though by the Articles of confederacy they were not bound to furnish out above sixteen Gallies, they promised notwithstanding to adde four more thereunto; so as there should be twenty for the service of the League, whereof *Girolamo Contarini* was made Captain. And because the Duke of Milan, and Monsieur *de S. Paule*, who were desired to increase the number of their Foot according to their Articles, excused themselves for want of monies; the Senate resolved to lend the French twelve thousand Duckets, and eight thousand to the Duke of Milan. But the Venetians did chiefly desire, and pray the King of France, that he would not be wanting to the Colleagues upon so important an occasion, since he had found them all so affectionate to him, and so constant in prosecuting the War. And truly these remembrances were no more then necessary; for all the bad success of the French in the affairs of Italy, arose from their slowness in making provisions, and from too much confiding in themselves; the French being naturally given to promise all good success to themselves at the first beginning, which makes them easily undertake any business, but they are not constant in the prosecution, and but little careful in providing necessities out of the hopes they have of bringing it soon to an end, measuring it often more according to their own desires, then according to the truth. Monsieur *de S. Paule* was reduced to want of monies,

nies, and almost of all things requisite to maintain War in Italy: Nor was there any preparations seen for doing any thing beyond the Mountains, which the King had so often promised to do. And yet it was now more necessary then ever to do both these, and that with powerful forces, to keep the Emperour from coming into Italy, either by preparing strongly to resist him there, or else by keeping him employ'd in defending Spain, and in muniting the heart of his Dominions. They therefore told the King that it was a thing becoming him, and the forces of that powerful Kingdom, to interrupt *Cesar's* designs, and to bring him by force of Arms to an agreement, and to the restoring his Sons, since he could not be perswaded thereunto by reason. After these perswasions the King appeared to be somewhat more fervent touching the affairs of Italy, so as they hoped they might be able at one and the same time to renew the Wars both in Lombardy, and in the Kingdom of Naples: And to make some notable advancement by anticipating the coming of *Cesar*, and of his succours. The Senate were therefore of opinion that the Duke of Urbine should come to Venice; where in the presence of the Embassadours of the King of France, and of the Duke of Milan's, and of a Gentleman sent to that purpose from Monsieur *de S. Paule*, many long consultations were had touching the manner of managing the War. And at last it was concluded, that the first thing to be done was; to mind the business of Milan, but rather by the way of siege then assault, by taking in the neighbouring places, and by reducing *Leva's* Army to want of victuals, and in the mean time to raise greater forces; and the number pitch'd upon were twenty thousand foot, to wit, eight thousand French, eight thousand Venetians, two thousand of the Duke of Milan's, and two thousand Landsknechts, which were expected from Lions, and were already taken into pay at the common expence; and as for the Enterprize of *Genoa*, that it should be managed according as occasions should fall out, and as things should succeed in Lombardy. But the greatest security for the affairs of Italy was judged to depend upon the keeping off *Cesar's* coming; it was therefore resolved that the French Fleet should be increased as much as might be, as also the Venetian Fleet, and particularly in great Vessels, to the end that they might keep the better at Sea, and oppose the Imperial Fleet, which consisted of like vessels; to the end that when *Cesar* should see he could not sail without great danger, he might keep from doing so. Yet it being afterwards known that the Kings inclination lay to make War with *Cesar* beyond the Mountains, accordingly as was formerly designed, the Senators began to differ in their opinions (*Andrea Navagiero* being at this time chosen Embassadour to be sent to the Court of France, to renew the first desires) what they ought first to exhort the King to, whether to come in person into Italy, or to send his Armies to the Perencan Mountains, and assault Spain.

Amongst the rest, *Luigi Mocenigo*, a man vers'd in the management of the weightiest Affairs of the Commonwealth, and one of great authority, was of opinion, that they were chiefly to perswade the King, to send his forces to the confines of Spain, so to divert the War which was intended to be made in Italy.

In these times, so full of difficulties, said he, in an Oration which he made, we must take many things into consideration, and proceed therein with much temperance. The Art of a skillfull Physician consists in curing his patient, so that his malady draw not on another sickness: and the Pilot, who sails in the sea, where are many Rocks, if he know not how to steer his ship, whilst he endeavours to shun one rock, may give against another. We are now assuredly in a very narrow condition, we have to do with all the precepts of civil wisdom, and are to consider many things at once: Our Common-wealth, through so many and so long wars, is now become weak; the times are subject to chances, and we sail amidst many dangerous rocks.

Doubtlessly we ought to be concerned in Cesar's greatness, for he threatens the ruine of the Italian Potentates. It is a usefull, or rather a necessary Counsel, to seek by all means how to suppress him. For by fauouring him, or suffering him to grow greater, he becomes daylie more formidable, and the remedy proves harder. Yet I am of opinion, that to attain unto our true intentions, it is not good, neither ought we to use all remedies, though they may seem proper to cure our present maladies. For it is not our thoughts, nor our intentions, to keep Cesar low, out of any hatred we bear unto his person, or out of any Rivalship that our Commonwealth hath with him; but onely for our own conveniency, and safety; that our State may not be exposed to his victorious will: That, if he should possess himself of the State of Milan, we meet not with so powerfull a Neighbour, as to be in perpetual jealousies of him. Whence it may be easily conceived, that it makes not for our advantage, to suppress Cesar so, as to raise up another Potentate in Italy, of equal power and authority with him, who may in time bring us into the same dangers, which now we strive to shun. For my part, I doubt very much, whether the coming of the most Christian King into Italy, be like to prove that powerfull means which others may believe, of keeping Cesar far off; and (so confess the truth) I cannot promise my self, that when we shall have our desire in this, we shall find such continuency in the King, as that driving the Imperialists out of Italy, he be to restore her to peace and safety: but that he will rather claim the whole fruit of the victory to himself. The King of France is no less desirous to become master of the Kingdom of Naples, and of the Dukedome of Milan, then Cesar; nor are his pretensions thereunto weaker. The so many wars made, for this intention, and many other signes, discovered upon other occasions, though cloaked under other ends, shew, that this Kings thoughts have been such, and such the like of his Predecessors. Who can secure us, that when the King shall be become Arbitrator of the Affairs of Italy, and not being counterpoised by the Imperial forces, and that he shall know, he stands not in need of our help, to keep possession of these States, that he may not slight our Interests, and forget all that we have done to exalt him. The desire of Rule doth oft times so blind men, as it suffers them not to see reason, makes them violate all Laws, and value nothing but their own peculiar and apparent profit. So as, if Italy be to be subjected, what doth it import us, whether it be by the Spaniards, or by the French? He who shall consider things aright, will find, that these two differ in many things among themselves, but that as for us) they are to be of a like prejudice and danger. For though,

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for what relates to our present affairs, it may seem that we ought as much to desire the coming of the King of France into Italy, as to fear the like of Cesar's, the one being a Friend and Confederate, and that the dangers which may incur by him, are more uncertain, and farther off; and that the other thinks himself injured by us, and meets with many occasions of discord from our Common-wealth: Yet it is not to be doubted, but that it were by much best for us, that neither the one, nor the other of these Princes, had either State, Forces, pretensions, or so much as thoughts upon the affairs of Italy: Which, since it cannot be entirely effected by us, answerable to our occasions, and desires: yet wee should endeavour, as much as in us lies, to keep their persons far from hence: for we may be sure, that the sight of these noble provinces of Italy, will kindle in them (who are easie to take such Impressions) a greater desire of possessing themselves thereof: and that by their presence, those things will be much increase, which we would lessen. For where a great prince is in person, he adds much of reputation to his affairs, and he may easily, and by many wayes, purchase unto himself favour, authority and power. Wherefore do we not think then of some other means of keeping Cesar out of Italy, since there be others, whereby we may much better effect our desires, without these dangers? For, say the King should resolve to pass over the Mountains, it is not likely, that that would keep Cesar from coming also into Italy by sea: nay, it may be, if he were less resolved to do so, this would make him do it the sooner, lest he might seem to yield unto a Prince, who is not only his rival in glory, but his open and declared enemy; as if he should confess, that after he had divulged he would make such a voyage, he had forborn doing so, for fear of him, leaving his Army, and all that he is possessor of in Italy, a secure prey for others. But if on the contrary, the French will resolve, to march with powerfull forces to the Confines of Spain, and assault some of their Frontier Forts, what reason is there to believe, that when the Emperour shall be molested in his own Dominions, he will abandon their defence, to fall upon Italy, a business of such difficulty; and that he will leave his own affairs in apparent danger, out of uncertain hopes of getting what belongs to others. Hannibals example is very remarkable, and may be very well paralel'd to this which we now treat of; whom the Romans could never get out of Italy, till they resolved to assault Affrica, and so compel him to turn those forces which he had long made use of against them, to defend his own Country. Moreover, it is an excellent rule, when the fire of war cannot be totally extinguished, to keep it as far from our own houses as we can, and to carry it elsewere; and we who see that Italy is made the seat of war, whereinto so many Transalpine Forces have had recourse, to vent their fury, and glut their wicked wills, to the great prejudice, and almost total ruine thereof, shall we meditate the coming in of new foreigners therinto, so to continue those miseries, and to make them more? and to foment that fire in our bosomes, which hath long burnt to our great cost, and prejudice? if the King of France shall come into Italy, we are sure we shall rekindle a new and heavy war: for, either Cesar will resolve, (as I verily believe he will do) to come in person with so much the greater forces; for that he shall know he is to meet with so much the stouter resistance; or else, he will send the greater forces into Italy, and will add therunto as much as he is able, in the Kingdom of Naples, and Dukedome of Milan; for it is not

to be imagined, that, whilst he shall be safe at whom, and sufficiently powerfull and victorious in Italy, he will abandon his fortune, and forego the possession of so many places which he is master of in Italy, for fear of the coming of the French. And, why should not we think, that the king may be of himself well inclined thereunto, whom we hear (that moved thereunto by these reasons) hath set his thoughts upon Spain, and that he already begins to prepare for it. So as the moving him to make war there, will not onely be advantageous for us, but we may the sooner obtain our desires. I know not therefore what we have to commit unto our Embassadour, Navagiero's charge in this point, since the Kings will, and our advantage concur therein. And certainly if we know, how to use the time and occasion which is offered us, we may hope, that the King, by the authority of this Senate, and by Navagiero's wisdom, and eloquence may be persuaded to confirm his opinion in molesting the Emperours Dominions with new wars, and with Forces besitting the cause, and the grandure of his majesty and of his kingdom; whereby we shall not onely attain unto our chief end of keeping the Emperour, for the present out of Italy, but we may hope to find him the easier to be brought hereafter to make a fair agreement.

Many were pleased herewith; but it was opposed by many others, particularly, by Marc Antonio Cornaro; who, though by reason of his years, he was of less Authority, yet he was of great esteem for his eloquence. This man, in answer to what Mocenigo had said, spoke thus:

If it were as easie to find out a remedy for the so many miseries of Italy, and for our molestations and dangers, as we have just cause to commiserate the condition of these unfortunate times, I should very much approve, that we should think of what might secure us not onely from our present dangers, but from all those which may a long time hereafter befall us. But I am shrewdly afraid, that whilst by an immature cautiousness we fear every thing, and would foresee, and provide against whatsoever accidents may occur, we ruine our present condition, and lose the opportunity of applying those remedies, which doubtless may help us at this our present and greatest need. Concerning Cesar's coming into Italy, as we may be sure thereof, unless his way be stopped, so is it for many reasons very much to be feared. He is at the present possess'd of almost all the Kingdom of Naples, and of a good part of the Dukedome of Milan: he hath powerfull Armies in both these Countreys: Genua also, a city, so opportunely situated for the affairs of Italy, hath put it self into his protection. If he seize himself in these several parts by his coming into Italy, and by extinguishing the remainder of the French Army, what hopes have we of ever driving him out? he pretends to possess the Kingdom of Naples by right of Inheritance: and by the investment of the Pope himself: we may see how he means to behave himself concerning the Duchie of Milan; since making divers subtifuges, he could never be brought to assign over the city of Milan to Francisco Storza, as by agreement he was tied to do. On the other side, the King of France is not now possess'd of almost any thing in Italy. He hath put the Towns of the Dukedome of Milan, which he hath gotten by

by his forces, into the hands of Francisco Sforza; in the Kingdom of Naples, he quits the Towns of Puglia to us; and is content, that a particular King be put over the rest: He hath no other Army in Italy, then those few men that are with Monsieur St. Paul, and which are so much lessened as they exceed not the number of five thousand Foot: So as, we see, that if the counterpoise of the French Forces be totally taken away, whereby Cesar's greatness may be moderated, all Italy must necessarily be either subject to him, or depend upon him: or if any one Potentate shall preserve his Liberty, he must live at perpetuall expence, and in continuall jealousies of so powerfull an neighbour. To all which mischiefs and dangers, it is well known, there is no sufficient remedy, but the coming of the King of France into Italy. For, how negligent and full of delays the French are, in making Provisions for the war, when the King is not present in person, the fresh examples of so many of his Armies, routed, and ruin'd out of this onely respect, may sufficiently witness. Moreover, If the Emperour shall come, as the French Army ought to be in all things, at least equal, if not superiour to his, it must be accompanied with like reputation, which can only be effected by the King's presence, which will help as much as almost an other Army; will make the Pope declare for the League; will confirm the Florentines and the Duke of Ferrara; and will make all the people and princes of Italy ready to assist, and adhere unto him in all his enterprises: so as, either Cesar will be kept from coming, or if he do come, he will meet with such a counterpoise, as will frustrate all his designs, and will make him pass quickly back again over the Sea. These advantages are not to be expected, by making any attempts upon Spain, which can but little or not at all avail our intentions. For, Cesar knows, that his situations being strong by Art and Nature, and his Castles being excellently well garrison'd, the King can make no important nor speedy advancement there, nor can he tarry there long, but rather is in danger of consuming his army through severall sufferings, in that barren Country. Where, whilst mountains and walls shall fight against the King, Cesar finding in Italy a fruitful Country, weak Cities, and those but weakly garrison'd, he will possess new Territories, he will fertilise those which he is already possess'd of, and will confirm himself in the possession of the greatest and best part of Italy. But it may peradventure be said, that the one may be done, and the other not left undone; the Affairs of Italy may be provided for, and Spain may be assaulted. He who shall be of that opinion, may be said, to deceive himself willingly: For, late experience shews the contrary: we see how great difficulties and what impediments are found, in bringing men and monies from France, to recreate the Army commanded by Monsieur St. Paul, and to bring it into a condition of being able to extinguish the little remainder of enemies which are yet in Milan, under Antonio da Leva: and yet the King is not employ'd in any other enterprise. I pray you, what do you think the event will be, when the King shall have carried with him the prime Flower of his Nobility to the borders of Spain, or when the Emperour being strong in Italy, there will be need of greater Forces to resist him, then those which are now requisite; and yet we find a want of them. Assuredly, the best Commanders; and best Souldiers will be where the Kings person is: monies

monies, and all Provisions for war will be carried thither: for both the king and kingdom, and not without reason, will have chief regard to those things wherein the glory and safety of their king and Nation is concern'd immediately: and yet on the other side, if the French do not gallantly recruit their Army in Italy, the field must be yielded to Cesar at his first arrival, whereof being Master, he will possess himself of all Cities and strong Holds, which will have but small hope of being relieved by weaker Forces. Therefore, since it is impossible to attend two enterprises at once, and to negotiate them both, with safety, and hopes of bringing them unto a good end, I know not why we should doubt of chusing that, wherein the benefit appears to be greater and more certain, and the danger further off, and more uncertain. But I beseech you, since it is so positively affirmed, that if Cesar be molested at home, it is not likely that he will have leisure to think upon the affairs of Italy; he being to prefer the preservation of his own Dominions, before things further off, and more uncertain. Why will not we do the like, by providing principally, and primarily for the safety of Italy, by the most assured, and most immediate way; and not dream upon prejudicing Spain, nor seek how by a fallacious and far fetch'd remedy to obviate a certain and apparent danger; nay, we should rather value this reason the more, and the more observe this rule: for suppose, the enterprise concerning Spain succeed prosperously, what fruits shall we reap thereby? But Cesar is possid'd of severall Territories in Italy, so as by coming into them, he may hope to secure them, and keep them from being prejudic'd: so as whether he stay in Spain, or come into Italy, his business goes on advantageously, and is likely to prosper: so as his counsell can never be blamed, as peradventure ours may be, there being so great a disparity between them. 'Tis true, what is said to the contrary, that we should have as great a care, in keeping the King of France from increasing too much in power, as in abasing Cesar's greatness: Yet, if I should enter into the consideration of all the particulars in this point; this opinion would peradventure prove not to be so absolutely true; nor would the reasons, nor respects of these two Princes prove alike: But let us give it for granted, let us see a little, whether the condition of the Times, and the present estate of affairs being considered, we ought now to apprehend the power of the French so much, or be jealous of the King of France his coming into Italy.

We have for many years last past, been joyned in Strait League and Amity with that Crown; which being but for a very little while interrupted, was soon reintegrated. Moreover, the King of France hath not at this time, either any State, nor many Forces in Italy, nor means of getting any, without our help and assistance: On the other side, we meet with many pretensions, many difficulties, and many occasions of diffidence in Cesar; so as it is impossible to have him our Neighbour, and not to be jealous of him. But that which imports most, is, Milan holds of him, and many Towns in that State: the City of Naples, and the greatest part of that Kingdom; and he hath still two Armies on Foot; the one in Lombardy, the other in the aforesaid Kingdom: And shall we at this time, and with these circumstances, value things alike? And shall we fear the power of the

King

King of France, as much in Italy, as that of the Emperour? Nay certainly, keeping the same measure and proportion which hath been spoken of, we ought to assist the greatness of the French in Italy, where it is so much lessened, to oppose it to the like of Cesar, which is so much enhanced. When these scales shall be equally poised, it will then be time to think how we ought to behave our selves, in not suffering either of them to grow too great, though they should contend one with another; and by this contention, if the Commonwealth cannot purchase perfect peace and tranquillity, as having forces so near her, she will thereby at least get more security, and will live in better hope, that Italy may one day recover her liberty. This is not the first time that the Kings of France have pass'd over the Mountains; they have been invited over by us, by their assistance we have recovered our State, and by their friendship we have kept up the reputation of our Commonwealth: nor avails it any thing to say, that we ought to carry the war into other parts, and keep it far from our selves; for war is already kindled in Italy, our Country is already on fire, and we treat not now how to enflame this fire by the Kings coming, but rather how to extinguish another more great and dangerous. Diversion is used as a second remedy, when the first, of preserving a mans estate from being endamaged by an enemy, cannot otherwise be prevented: but when we have time enough to prevent Cesar's coming, by encreasing our forces, by making our selves Masters of the Field, by fortifying our Towns, and in fine, block up his passage, cut off his hopes, and break his designs; why shall we apply our selves to less useful, and more uncertain remedies? When Cesar shall be come into Italy, and shall have made some progress therein, which we could not otherwise have prevented, it will then become us to think of diversion, and to have recourse to these remedies, of drawing him out of Italy, by assailing his other Dominions, and by endeavouring to make him turn his forces elsewhere. But certainly, it will not now be wisely done, so endeavour that the forces of a Confederate King should go and waste themselves in the barren parts of Spain, and suffer our enemies to feed fat, and enrich themselves in the fruitful parts of Italy. Who will think him wise, who in lieu of preventing that the fire seize not upon his own house, will go and kindle it elsewhere, and suffer his own dangers to encrease, that he may revenge himself afterwards upon the author thereof? It will assuredly be wiser counsel, to seek how to keep injuries afar off, then to think how to revenge them when they are received. By these reasons it is clearly seen that the coming of the King of France into Italy, will be very advantageous for us, and that we have no reason to apprehend any danger thereby, especially at this present conjuncture of time: therefore we ought to endeavour it, as much as we can, and to charge our Embassadors, that he seek by the authority and counsel of this Senate, to persuade the King, or in case he find him already so inclined, to increase that his disposition in him, to come as soon, and as strong as he can, into Italy, to the terror of his enemies; and consolation of his friends.

Cornaro was listned to attentively, and after some dispute, his opinion prevailed, and the Embassadors after Navagiero was enjoin'd to deliver just what he had said; who did accordingly, and being come to France, had great hopes of obtaining his desire: for the King entertain'd the advice willingly, seeming to approve of it, and that he would

would follow it: He therefore resolv'd to go forthwith into *Languedoc*, that he might bring his men into the nearest and most convenient part, to pass into *Italy*, whither he said he would bring above twenty thousand foot, ten thousand *Lantsknechts*, and ten thousand Volunteers. Thus the King's coming being certainly believed, the Senate ordered *Andrea Navagiero* to stay in *France* with the Queen Mother and the Kings Council, that *Sebastiano Fustinian*, who was succeeded by *Navagiero*, should follow the King into *Italy*. This mean while, the Senate being encouraged with hopes, did diligently prepare for all necessities for the War: a Bridge was built over the *Adæ*, with intention that at the end of *April*, the Commonwealths Army should advance; and joyning with Monsieur *St Paul's* men, should march to the enterprize of *Milan*, which was thought would be the chief means of keeping the Emperour from coming, since he would be thereby kept from that rendezvous, by the reputation whereof, by the help of the Fleet, and by the Kings presence, they thought they might easily get *Genoa* after, and effect whatsoever else they should attempt. They at the same time were no less diligent in putting Garrisons into the Towns of *Puglia*, sending a good number of Foot into that Country, to keep all that they were possess'd of, and upon occasion, to offer at getting of more; as also, to hold the Imperialists forces busied and divided, and keep them from coming into *Lombardy*. But amidst all this heat, the King, without any appearing occasion began to cool, and to slacken his provisions for War; so as monies were scarcely furnish'd from *France*, for Monsieur *St Paul*, who desiring of being able to maintain his Army, protested he would be gone, and give over the business; for of ten thousand men which he was to have had, he had scarce the one half; for they ran away in threes for want of pay. After long expectation, Monsieur *de Chatillon* came from *France*, but with far less money than was requisite; and going some few days after from the Camp, he came to *Venice*, saying, he would pass into *Puglia*, to confirm those souldiers and Commanders, and to carry them some monies; for which voyage, though the Senate had speedily furnish'd him with shipping, as he had earnestly desired, yet he by several excuses delay'd his going; with suspicion that he had given out this only, not that he had really any monies, or that he intended to go to *Puglia*, but that the Venetians might not slacken the provisions which they had made; which the King much fearing, because he knew he had given them occasion so to do, he soon after sent *Gian Giocchino*, his Embassadour to *Venice*, to hasten the going away of the Fleet, and of the other provisions for War; and yet he brought no news of the King's coming, which was so much expected, and of so great importance: This did the more encrease the Venetians jealousy, and was the occasion of much mischief, both in respect of the dangers which they apprehended from *Cesar*, and because by this delay, they lost the fruit of all their hopes, their Army being to lie idle about the banks of *Adæ*, because it was not able of it self to fall upon the enterprize of *Milan*. But for all this, the Senate forbore not to be diligent in arming themselves, and solicited the King touching the same affairs, as he, with less occasion had solicited them. To which purpose,

purpose, they sent their Secretary *Gaspero Penelli* forthwith into *France*, to assure the King that all things were ready on their side to begin the War; that they expected nothing but his Majesties coming, and that they would readily send their forces to meet him, to the end that they might with more safety and speed fall upon any enterprize. But this mean while, those that were banish'd the Kingdom, assembled themselves together in great numbers in many places, and did much molest the Imperialists, and *Renzo* promised good success if he were furnish'd with monies, and some foot. To which purpose, he had sent away Expresses sundry times into *France*, to represent the State of affairs, and to desire aid; which though they were promised to be speedily sent with the Fleet, yet the time of sending them was prolonged, to the great prejudice of the League, whereby the Imperialists had time afforded them to re-order themselves, and to encrease their forces, and won much favour with the Barons, and people of the Kingdom, by the fame of *Cesar's* coming with such great warlike preparations; many desiring to purchase his favour, either to provide for their own safeties, or else to get honours and immunities. The Prince of *Orange* went therefore into *Abruzzo*, recovered *Aquila* and *Matrice*, and opportunely got an hundred thousand Ducats by way of Tax, out of the Country people, to pay the Army; yet the Imperialists did not prosper much in *Puglia*, for a secret Treaty which they held in *Berletta*, was timely discovered, so as it proved vain, and *Gialio da Napoli*, a captain of some foot companies, together with some of the Towns Citizens, was put to death for it. Moreover, the Venetians had caused some Souldiers to come from *Greece* on horseback, who joyning with *Simeone Romano*, made many sallies out of the Towns, whereby they secured the Country, and kept the way open for the coming of victuals, and drove *Pignatello*, Count de *Borollo*, from those confines; who though he were very daring and forward for any action, could not with his light Horse which he had pick'd up in the Country, resist the Grecians, who were much better at that discipline, and sort of Militia: The Marquis of *Goasto*, who was come with a regulated Army to take *Monopoli*, after the loss of much time, and many men, was forc'd to retreat to *Naples*; and since this action was very remarkable, it may not be displeasing to hear it more particularly related.

A little before the Marquis was come into *Puglia*, notice was had thereof, and of what designe he had in hand; wherefore Commissary *Pettinari* came with two Gallies to *Monopoli*, bringing with him a Garrison of five hundred Foot, commanded by two Captains, *Richardo de Pefligiano*, and *Felice de Perugia*. *Andrea Gritti* was sent from *Venice* thither, to be the chief Magistrate, and the Counts of *Montebello* and *Carpenna*, were here before, with some number of Souldiers. These being very confident, fell diligently to make platforms, to secure the Walls, to munite the Town the best they could every where, and to prepare for defence: and amongst other things, they placed two pieces of Ordnance, called *Falcons*, upon two Sceptles, putting sacks of Wool about them, to the end, that they might not be overthrowen by the enemies shot, which proved very advantageous to them;

The Imperial Army being drawn nigh, the Marquis himself advanced with some of his Troops to discover the situation; against whom *Pietro Frascina* came immediately out, and skirmished with him a good while, with alike fortune and valour: the Marquis began afterwards to make Trenches, that he might approach nearer the wall, being necessitate for want of earth, to make use of faggots made of Olive-trees, wherein that Country did very much abound, and to keep commerce from between those of the Town, and the Gallies, which afforded those of the Town many conveniences, and from whence fresh supplies might be had; he, with much labour to the souldiers, made a Fort be quickly erected upon the Sea side, which before it was fully furnished, was thrown down by shot from the Gallies, which played very violently upon it, and a Bastion was by them built, and munited near the Haven, so as they that were within, had always the way open by Sea, and *Camilo Orsino* had opportunity to come from *Trani* to the relief of the Town, who amongst others, brought *Angelo Santacorta* along with him, a very bold man, and a great master of artificial Fireworks: who coming into the field with some few others, set fire upon several places of the enemies Trenches, at one and the same time; which finding matter to nourish it (for they were made of faggots, as hath been said) they were almost all of them quickly destroyed, and the labour of many days was lost; so as a long time was required to re-make them, and those who wrought upon these works, were likewise much damaged by the Artillery, which playing from the Steeples, hit those who lay unheltered in the fields. But the Camp being at last got near the Walls, the enemy began to batter, wherewith they made many breaches in the Wall, which were notwithstanding made up again in the night by those that were within, who with singular industry and labour, made use of the materials which were cast into the ditch to throw it down, so as no place was left to make an assault: for the Citizens flock'd readily with the souldiers, to all military actions, inasmuch as the very women were not wanting in generosity, but getting upon the walls, encouraged the souldiers, and brought of their own proper means refreshment to them, yea, even their very beds to better munite the Rampires; so as though a great part of the Wall was thrown down by the Artillery, inasmuch as they might have entred on horseback through the breaches, yet the Marquis durst not bring his souldiers to the battle.

But at last overcome with tediousness, and want of many things, he resolved to hazard an assault, wherein he met not only with stout resistance by those within, but was beaten back, and lost many of his men: So as it behoved to enlarge his Camp, and to think of getting the Town by Siege. But the Souldiers meeting with many inconveniences by this delay, and their pay coming in but slowly, they began to mutiny; and chiefly the Italian Foot the most whereof dishanded, and entred into *Monopoli*, where they were willingly taken into pay by the Venetians: But least they should incommode the Siege, they were sent by Sea to *Trani*; in which transportation three Gallies were lost by a violent storm at Sea. And when news of this Shipwreck came to the camp, some of the Spanish foot Companies went

went out to plunder the wrack'd goods, which were afterwards recovered by the other Italian Souldiers of the Garrison of *Trani*. But the Siege continuing, *Venturi* was of opinion that they might doe well to assault some of those Towns which were possess'd by the Imperialists, (to do the which those of *Otranto*, who were already up in arms offered themselves, if they might be assisted) and thereby make the Enemy raise their camp, and betake themselves to defend their own affairs. But this advice being communicated to *Renzo da Ceri*, he thought it would be better to take in as many Souldiers as they could into *Monopoli*, from whence they might sally out at unawares and assault the Enemy within their camp, their Army being become very weak by the departure of the Italian loot, and by the weariness of the Dutch. To this purpose the Prince of *Melfi* being come to *Monopoli*, with 2000 foot, whom the Marquis had laboured very much both by persuasions and offers though all in vain, to draw over to side with the Imperialists: The Besieged sallying out one morning early before the Sun-rising, assaulted the Enemies Camp furiously on several sides; and fighting in the Trenches, though they could not overcome them, did them notwithstanding much prejudice; for they were often forced to send fresh Souldiers to supply their places who were slain. But they could not as yet make them dislodge, their situation and their Rampires being very strong. But not long after, the Marquis understanding that the Venetians were preparing great store of Gallies, to bring more Souldiers and Ammunition into the Town, despairing of any good success, he gave over that enterprise, and retreated with his men to *Conversa*, and so to *Naples*.

Thus the Confederates began to have some better hopes by reason of the Marquis his retreat, and by the valient defence of *Monopoli*: So as many Barrons, and others, repenting that they had adhered to the Imperial party, grew ready for a new rebellion; which encouraged the confederates to make some new attempt. Wherefore the Venetian Senate, finding that their Fleet was like to ly long idle at *Corfu*, expecting the coming of the French Fleet, whereof they heard no certain tidings, and which was very slow in preparing; they ordered the General to pass into *Puglia*, whither being come with a good many Gallies, he lay before *Brandizzi*, hoping that by reason of the affection which the Inhabitants bore to the Venetians, he might easily win that Town, as he did: And receiving it upon Articles, preserved it from sacking, and from being injured by the Souldiers; and he made *Giovann Francisco Justiniano* Governour for the Town, to keep it for the Common-wealth. He fell then suddenly to besiege *Castelli*, the particular care whereof, was committed to *Camilo Orsino*, who playing upon it and begirting it on all sides, had brought it to a bad condition; yet hoping to see the Emperours Fleet quickly in those Seas; they held out.

This mean while the Venetian Fleet infested the Sea, even to *Capo d'Otranto*, to the great prejudice of the Imperialists. In this action *Simone Romano* was slain, a bold and valiant man, and one who had done much service to the League, and won much praise to himself in many actions. At this time General *Pesaro* fell very sick, wherefore he got leave

of the Senate to retire unto *Corfu*, to be cured; and *Vicenza Capello* was chosen in his place, to retain the same degree, and Authority untill *Pesaro* should be well: Who recovering sooner than was expected, *Capello* came not as then unto the Fleet, but the next place was reserved for him, upon the first occasion.

Things being in this condition, the Prince of *Orange*, knowing that the confederates forces were not so weak as to be wholly driven out of the Country, nor so strong as that they could do any thing of much importance; or were it that *Cesar* desired that the Popes satisfaction should be preferred before all other respects, that he might have him his friend and confederate when he should come into *Italy*; resolved, after he had put Garrisons into the most considerable places, to go with the rest of his men towards *Perugia*, to drive *Malatesta Baglione* out of that City, and then to go into *Tuscany*, to put the *Medici* into their Country again. Wherefore the Duke of *Urbine*, apprehending that these men would fall upon his State, went suddenly from the Army, to look unto his own affairs, upon this so urgent occasion. The Venetians were much displeased with this the Generals absenting himself at so unseasonable a time, both in respect of their own great interests, and for fear lest the French, growing either really jealous, or picking some fained suspicion out of this accident, would grow the cooler in making their provisions for War.

The Senate therefore resolved, to send *Nicolo Tiepolo* forthwith to the Duke (who was intended to have been sent unto him; to the camp) to acquaint him with the new conduct of affairs, and earnestly to intreat him in the name of the publick to return immediately to the Army, and that he might the more willingly do it, they sent him money to raise three thousand Foot, who were to guard his State. But there was no need thereof at that time; for *Orange* understanding that the Count dell' *Aquila*, and *Camillo Orsino* called *Pardo*, having assembled many of their neighbours together, were come to *Cumuli*, and that their numbers increasing every day, it was feared they would make some considerable commotion, changed his mind, and would not as then go out of the Kingdom, fearing some greater insurrection, by reason of the many extortions which the people suffered under; who in that respect began to hate and detest the name of a Spaniard. Wherefore he thought it best first to suppress these, reserving his former purpose till another time; this suspicion being over, the Duke of *Urbine* came forthwith to the Army, and as soon as he came, resolved to march therewith to *Milan*, Monsieur de *S. Paule* having let him know that he meant to do so too. They were hereunto invited by the Imperials straits, and by the good success of the French; for though two thousand Spanish Foot were come to *Milan*, who were first intended for the relief of *Genoa*, the Genueves refusing to receive them, their inconveniences were as much increased by their coming, as their forces, for they were to be paid and fed, though there was great scarcity of monies: And on the contrary, many Towns beyond *Tessine* had surrendered themselves, at this time to Monsieur de *S. Paule*; so as almost all that Country was reduced (to his great honour and conveniency) under his power. Both these Armies met

at *Borgo S.^t Martino*, five miles distant from *Milan*, where having long debated how they were to prosecute that expedition, it was resolved, that they should incamp about the City of *Milan* with two Armies, to the end they might begirt as much of the wall as they could, and weaken the Enemy by making them defend several places at once. But the Commanders were not so forward nor diligent as was requisite to effect this advice; for the French said there were fewer Foot in the Venetian camp, then they had thought, and then what ought to be: So as the forces being divided, each part would be too weak, and not without danger. And on the other side, the Venetians shewing that they had made good their articles better then the French had done, said, they would see them first incamped, and that then they would do so likewise; for they feared very much what the French would do, having formerly observed in them a settled resolution, to mind the business of *Genoa*, and set all things else aside, affirming that they had Orders from the King so to do. Wherefore much delay being used on both sides, and the former resolution, wherein they found many doubts and difficulties, being as it were, of it self revoked, the Armies parted. Monsieur de *S. Paule* went towards *Laudriano*, the Duke of *Urbine* took up his first Quarters at *Montio*, and the Duke of *Milan* went with an intention of carrying his men into *Pavia*. From which places each of them playing their parts severally, in blocking up the ways, infesting the Country, and by keeping *Antonio da Leva* from victuals, they thought they might be able to suppress him, and at last to compass their ends (though by another way) of possessing themselves of *Milan* and *Como*; which were the only two places of importance which held for the Emperour in the Dukedome of *Milan*. But the French were not well got to their Quarters when they sent word, that they would go (as it was before suspected) to *Genoa*, being much solicited thereunto by *Cesare Fregoso*; who weighing affairs as he could wish them, told them that the business would be soon and easily effected; so as they believed they should soon return to the same Quarters; and desired the Duke of *Urbine*, that he would tarry the mean while with his men, and those of the Duke of *Milan*, where they were, or thereabouts, to do what was formerly designed, not permitting the Besieged to be relieved. The French Army, rising then with this intention the first day of *June*, marched towards *Pavia*, which *Leva* being by his Spies advertised of, he resolved to pursue them, and if occasion should serve, to fight them. It was either his fortune, or rather the small experience of the Enemy that favoured his forwardness; for the French Army marched, divided into two parts, the one of which, led on by Count *Guido Rangone*, who commanded the Van, Artillery, and Carriages, was advanced eight miles before the other, which was slow in following them. Wherein was Monsieur de *S. Paule*, who commanded the Battle, and *Claudio Rangone* who ruled the Reer. When *Leva*, who advanced all in one body, in good Order, and very quietly, was got very near the Enemy, he found their disorder, and his own advantage, so as he resolved to fight them, and ordered that the Light Horse should hasten to fall on upon the

French rear: which was scarcely got two miles from their quarters, and looked for nothing less: so as, being all of them astonished and confused, at the unexpected accident, they easily grew into disorder: whereby the enemy coming presently up to the Foot of the Van, and charging them with their Light-horse, they forced the French to retreat. But Monsieur de St. Paul standing firm, and in good order with the battel, did valiantly resist the violence of the enemy for a good while: the combat being made on all sides with much courage, and equal fortune: But when *Leva* came in with the rest of the Army, wherein were the old Spanish Souldiers, the French began apparently to give back, and at last to run. Many were slain in the conflict, many taken prisoners, amongst which Monsieur de St. Paul himself, whilst despairing of good success, he sought to escape the enemy by running away. Some other escaped by flight into several places, and chiefly into the Venetians State, wherein they were readily received, and well treated.

The Duke of Urbine hearing of this success, and knowing, that to tarry where he was, was to no purpose, and not without danger, went from *Montia*, to return to his former quarters at *Cassano*; which was much commended by the Senate, and proved luckily. The Duke proceeded with much circumspection in his retreat, for the safety of his Army, wherein was as then about five thousand Foot, four hundred Curassiers, seven hundred Lighthorse, and many Carriages. He marched by the upper way, endeavouring to keep the enemy on the left hand, on which side he kept a great company of Harquebussiers to back the battel. He divided his whole Army into three squadrons, but so ordered, as each of them might commodiously succour the other, and be by them succoured. The light horse, travelling the Country, watched the enemies wayes, that they might give timely advertisement thereof to the General: and by this diligence the Duke brought himself, together with all his men, and Carriages, safe to their quarters at *Cassan*: which is a place seated near the river of *Ada*, which was on his back, whereupon there was a bridge made, to pass over into *Giaradada*, and to the end that victuals might be brought from several parts to the Camp, the quarter was every where invironed, and fortified with safe works, having but one way only open unto it, which was likewise well munited. This was thought to be a very convenient seat, since from thence they might relieve *Lodi*, and *Pavia*, and as occasion should serve, offend the enemy; defend the Territories of the Commonwealth; and upon need favour the enterprise of *Genoa*: wherefore the Duke, thinking that he might keep there with much safety, and honour, would not admit of *Janus Maria Fregoso's* opinion, and the like of some other Captains, who advised, that the Army might be brought into *Brescia*, and thereby not exposed to danger; they being much inferiour in numbers to *Leva's* men, who being encouraged by his Victory, and desirous to quite overthrow the Confederates forces, pursued the Duke of Urbine, and had taken up his quarters at *Vasfri*, some two miles distant from the Venetian quarters, which caused our men to fear, that they would pass over the *Ada*, to destroy the Territories of *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*; but

but the Duke relied much upon his Light-horse, which were more in number than the enemies, and exceeded them much in worth and discipline: who scouring all the adjacent parts, did not only disturb the carrying of victuals to the Imperial Camp, but had caused such terror, as none of them durst stir out of their Trenches. The Duke resolved therefore to tarry still in that quarter, to preserve his reputation, and to make use of the Provisions of the neighbouring Countrey, for the service of his own Army, which otherwise would have been left for the enemies use; whereas, if he should have retreated into the City, he should have wasted those Victuals which served for the use of his Friends. But *Fregoso* grew daily more and more afraid, that if the Army should tarry in those quarters, it might receive some notable prejudice, which his minde was so full of, as it wrought upon his body, making him fall grievously sick; to be cured of which malady, he was carried into *Brescia*. Whilst the Armies were quartered thus near together, many skirmishes past between them, wherein most commonly *Leva's* souldiers came by the worst; who desirous to repair himself by some more considerable action, sent *Cesare da Napoli* with three thousand Foot beyond the river *Ada*, to plunder the Territories of *Brescia* and *Crema*: which, the Duke of Urbine having notice of, he left Count *Giazso* with the Camp, and went, with some of his Souldiers, to lie in Ambush near the place where he knew that the enemy was to pass the river: and suffering some of them to pass over, he fell unlooked for upon the rear, who were yet upon the banks, having sent the Light-horse back to block up the way, that the enemy might not escape back to their own quarters. *Cesare da Napoli*, surprised by the unexpected danger, caused the bridge to be broken, to keep the Duke from passing over to fight him: so as, the souldiers, who were yet unpass'd, and were in number about one thousand five hundred, were either slain, or taken prisoners. And it happened, that amongst the rest, a Spanish Captain, was taken prisoner by a woman of a large stature, and manlike spirit, who being clad in souldier-like apparel belonged to the colours of Count *Giazso*; who sending one day, by way of sport, for the Spanish Captain, who was taken prisoner, to come before him, he shewed him *Malgaretone*, (so was this woman called by the Souldiers) and told him, that this was the souldier whose prisoner he was; the Spaniard, looking upon her, said, that he had comforted himself in this his misfortune, in his being made prisoner, by a valiant man, as she seemed to be: but when he knew, she was a woman, being overcome with shame and disdain, he dyed of very grief within a few dayes. The Armies kept many dayes after within their quarters. But the Duke, consulting with his souldiers, wherein several things were propounded, desired very much so to incommode the Enemy, as to make him forsake his quarters, and at last he resolved, having some advantage, and using Art and military discipline, to bring *Leva* to a battel. He therefore placed all his Artillery only in one place; from whence he went forth with all his Foot and horse, carrying onely three pieces of Artillery along with him, intending to leave them behinde, and to retreat as soon as the skirmish should be begun, seeming to do so out of fear and necessity;

cessity; so as, when the enemy should advance to get the Canon, he might disorder them by shot of Canon from the Camp, which, if it should happen, he would fall out again, and fall upon the enemy with greater violence, when they should be disordered and in confusion. But this could not be done as it was first projected: for Count *Giazzo*, being too far advanced with some of his Foot, and the battle being begun a great way off his quarters, and not being able to make his party long good with those few souldiers which he had, he was forced to retreat in some disorder, though in his own person he behaved himself gallantly. So as, it behoved the Duke, seeing him in distress, to advance speedily with the rest of his men to relieve him; which he did with such resolution, as the Imperiall Foot, who were at first so forward in pursuing our men, retired to their quarters in great disorder, being still followed and damnified by the Venetians. *Leva* lost in this action above one thousand five hundred Foot, so as, he durst not send his men any more out of his Camp, nor attempt any thing; but was much perplexed, being full of thoughts and difficulties. He could not tarry longer where he was for want of Victuals, wherein he suffered very much: nor could he hope, though he suffered so much, to get any good: he thought it stood not with his honour, to retreat to *Milan*, which would be, as much as to say, he did it for fear, and being driven away by a much lesser number of Enemies, to enter into the Venetian State, was to small purpose, and not without much danger, all their Towns being very well garrison'd: and on the other side, the inhabitants of *Milan* were very exceedingly discontented, and ready to despair, by reason of the Souldiers extortions, and injurious proceedings: Inasmuch, as they had a great inclination to mutiny, all of them crying out aloud for their Duke, who was then with his men in *Cremona*; nor did they doubt, but that the Venetians, being very desirous to see him reinstated, would be willing to hazzard their Forces, if they might see any hopes thereof. But at last, *Leva* being almost inforced so to do, retired to *Milan*. Who being gone, the Duke of *Urbine's* desire was, to remove his quarters nearer *Mouza*. But the Senate being somewhat jealous, that *Sforza* negotiated some agreement with the Emperour: which, if it should prove so, the way would be so block'd up, as their Army could not succour *Bergamo*; they thought it better, that he should go with his army to *Lodi*, that they might the better discover the Duke of *Milan's* minde. But, whilst these things were in Treaty, the news encreased every day, of the coming of the Dutch Foot, and that they were to enter into the Territories of *Verona*, to joyn with *Leva*; the Senate resolved, to bring all their Forces so within the Cities of their own Dominions. Wherefore the Duke of *Urbine*, having received such orders, retired with part of his Army into *Brescia*, and Count *Giazzo* went with the rest into *Bergamo*: the Duke having, by the opinion of all men, won great praise, and the renown of being a valiant and expert Commander, in all these actions. But *Janus Frigoso* growing still sicker, and his Melancholy humour encreasing, for that he saw, the affairs of the Camp proceeded so much differing from his opinion, dyed within a few dayes, to the great grief of the Venetians, who

who had been very well pleased with his loyalty and dexterity; which they witnessed sufficiently, by conferring honour upon his three sons, making *Cesare* General of their Light Horse, *Alexander* Conductor of their Curassiers, and *Hannibal* a Colonel of Foot.

At this very time, there was continual negotiation of agreement had between the Emperour and the King of *France*, wherein *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Cesar's* Aunt, was the chief stickler, whom he had authorized to treat of Peace, and to conclude it: Wherefore the having sent several Agents to the Court of *France*; and the business being already begun, the King thought good, before any further proceedings should be had therein, to send his Chamberlain *Leluzbairdo* to her into *Flanders*, to see *Cesar's* Commissions, and to examine whether they were really such as were sufficient to conclude a business of such weight: and he finding them to be very ample, the King likewise destined to send his Mother to *Cambray*, where she might meet with the Lady *Margaret*, and negotiate, and stipulate the particular conventions of Peace between these two Princes. The King did not acquaint the Venetian Senate with these Treaties, till it was very late, when by the departure of Queen Mother to the Diet at *Cambray*, it could be concealed no longer; nor did he then communicate any particulars unto them, but did only promise, he would come to no agreement with *Cesar*, without their consent and knowledge, and the like of the other Confederates: and afterwards, by endeavours which shewed him to be very well affected towards the Commonwealth, he exhorted to universal peace; which being (as he said) to be treated of at the Diet, he desired that the Embassadors who were at his Court, might have Commissions sent them to conclude it. But the Senate, though they were very jealous of the King's courses, by these proceedings; the rather, for that they found he had long cunningly nourish'd them with hopes of his coming in person into *Italy*, or of sending powerful forces both by Sea and Land, and that yet he had done none of all this; the King forbearing to do so, for fear of disturbing this Treaty, and expecting what the end thereof would be; yet to shew that they had still the same minde which they ever had to peace and agreement, they resolved to send commissions, and authority to their two Embassadors, who were yet together in the Court of *France*, *Giustiniano*, and *Navagiero*, to intervene, and promise in the name of the Commonwealth, what should be fitting to the Treaty of peace. But *Navagiero* having been very sick, was dead before this Order came to *France*, which was a great loss to the Commonwealth, and much lamented by them all, for he was a very learned Gentleman; and when he betook himself to the management of publique affairs, he shewed great ingenuity and wisdom: *Giustiniano* remained then alone to negotiate this Treaty, who received particular instructions from the Senate, which in brief were:

That all things contained in the agreement of the year 23. should be punctually observed, and likewise, that whatsoever had been formerly promised and confirmed in the Diet at Worms, should be effected; for in the not observing of these things, the difficulties between the Commonwealth and the House of Austria did depend: but chiefly, that whatsoever should be-

come of the Agreement, the restitution of the State of Milan to Francisco Sforza, should primarily and principally be regarded.

But the Embassadour had no occasion to make use of these Instructions; for though he followed the Queen to *Cambray*, yet he kept for the most part at *St Quintains*, some few miles from thence, nor was he made acquainted with the most important particulars of the Treaty. Wherefore the Senate began to be still more afraid, that the King would minde himself only in the Agreement, without any consideration of their, or of the Confederates Interests; and that his promise not to come to any Agreement without them, was made, not with any intention to keep it, but least the Confederates should prevent him, and by accommodating their affairs with *Cesar*, should make his Agreement the harder, and less advantageous. To this purpose, the King had likewise sent the Bishop of *Tarba* to *Venice*, to treat of the particular provisions for War; the which the less he intended, the more did he seek to advantage himself thereby in the Treaty of peace, that the contrary might be believed: And soon after, *Theodore Trivulzio* being come to *Venice*, by order from the King, required the Senate to deposite the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* in his hands, till some accommodation might be found in that business; affirming, that he did it to make the Pope declare himself, since it was a thing of great moment, to have him on their side, if he should come himself in person into *Italy*; to which, answer was made, that for as much as concern'd his coming, the Commonwealth would in no wise be wanting in lending such assistance as they had often promised; to witness the which, they would be content to send twenty thousand Ducats by way of Imprest for the first payment, to *Susa*, or to *Asti*: but touching the assignment of the Towns in *Romagna*, that if the Universal Peace should be treated of in the Dyet at *Cambray*, that was likewise to be decided, together with the other difficulties; and that the Senate would not be against such a deposition, when they should see their affairs in a safe condition, and when all other differences should be accorded.

But discovering the King's cunning, and contrary intentions in these intercessions, they very much longed to hear the result of the Dyet at *Cambray*. The Senate therefore ordered their Embassadour in *England*, *Lodovico Faliero*, that he should mediate with King *Henry*, who had always been a friend to the Commonwealth, to take upon him the protection of the Republique, as he had formerly done, when things went hardest with her, and endeavour, that in what should be treated off in the Dyet at *Cambray*, nothing should be concluded which might prove prejudicial to her, nor to the Liberty of *Italy*, whereof he for many years past, had to his infinite praise, been a particular Defender.

Whilst these things were in treaty, *Cesar*, who for all this negotiation of peace gave not over thinking, nor preparing for his coming into *Italy*, came to *Genoa*, accompanied with many great Lords, with thirty five Gallies, and eighty other vessels, having brought with him eight thousand foot, and a thousand Horse from *Spain*, which he caused to be landed at *Savona*, that they might pass the more easily into

into *Lombardy*. It was not easie to discern then what his design was; for he had still constantly given out, that he came into *Italy* to settle peace in her, and to accommodate his differences with all the Italian Potentates; yet he was very diligent in increasing his forces, raising many Souldiers from all parts, and giving order that all his men should meet in that place where he himself should be in person: and resolving to go to *Piacenza*, he sent forthwith to have his Lodgings prepared there. *Leva* had at this time twelve thousand foot with him, the Prince of *Orange* was gone from *Naples* with seven thousand to *Spoleto*, whither the Popes men were come: Ten thousand Dutch foot began to fall down from *Trent*, into the Territories of *Verona*, which were raised in the County of *Tirol*, and those that were lately come from *Spain* were eight thousand. So as when all these should be met together, the Emperour would have about fourty thousand foot in his service, besides Horse, whereof the number was not small; the Dutch foot being accompanied with ten thousand Burgonian Horse. The Italian Princes grew mightily afraid of this so very great power, which increased by the fame that was given out, (though the King of *France* continued to affirm the contrary) that peace was agreed upon between him and *Cesar* in the Dyet at *Cabrai*; all the other Colleagues being excluded. Only the Pope, measuring the danger according to the present state of affairs, thought himself safe, by reason of the particular agreement made with *Cesar* at *Barcelona*, which till now was kept secret; nay he thought to make use of the Imperial forces, to satisfy his desire, and particular ends, in placing his Nephews in their former power and authority in *Florence*, as it was agreed upon before between him and *Cesar*. Wherefore for the Emperours greater honour, he sent three of the principal Court Cardinals to meet him at *Genoa*, and to be assistant to him. The Florentines, who were in the greatest and most present danger, sent also their Embassadours soon after to *Cesar* to curry-favour with him, and to understand his will, excusing themselves for having entred into confederacy against him; for that it behooved them therein to follow the Popes authority and commandment, and shewing themselves ready to adhere unto him. But these men having brought no publick commission to accommodate the differences which depended between the City and the Pope, and *Cesar* continuing firm in his resolution, to keep his promise made to the Pope, and to give him all manner of satisfaction, this Embassie proved to no purpose, and their affairs continued in their former condition. Other Princes of *Italy* sent also their Embassadours desiring friendship, and fair correspondence; only the Senate of *Venice* persevered in their opinion of not coming to any agreement with *Cesar*, unless forc'd by necessity. Nor but that the Venetians would have been as glad of concord as the rest, but because they thought that *Cesar* intended nothing less then the Liberty of *Italy*; and that his end was to bring things to such a condition; as that all the rest should receive Laws from him. Wherefore they thought that to appear humble and submissive, served only to puff him up the more, and to confirm him in his desire, and hopes of commanding all *Italy*. They therefore thought it not fit to send their

Embassadours to him then; but they gave way that the Duke of *Milan*, who desired their advice in this point, as by conventions he was bound to do, might send his Embassadours, because they thought it might become him to do so, who was a Vassal of the Empire, and that it might turn to the common good, by opening a way upon that occasion to the accommodation of his own particular differences, upon which the conclusion of the universal peace did chiefly depend: whereof since no well grounded hopes did as yet appear, the Venetians who saw themselves left almost alone to undergo all the danger, betook themselves with all industry and diligence to provide for all such things as might secure their State the best they could upon this so important occasion. They raised new foot to increase their Army and their Garrisons, which between the one and the other arose to the number of fifteen thousand. They made *Francisco Pasquillo* their Commissary General on *Terra firma*, giving him a particular charge to survey the strong Holds, and to provide all necessities for them. They took divers chief Commanders into the Commonwealths pay, amongst which *Sigismund Malatesta*, together with a thousand foot, advanced already in great numbers from *Bolzano*, Commissary *Giovann Contarini* and *Cesare Fregoso*, were put into *Verona* with a good Garrison. And because the greatest concernment was to keep the other confederate Princes of *Italy* as firm to them as they could, the Senate failed not to minde the Florentines thereof, to praise their constancy, to exhort them to defend their Country, and the liberty thereof, promising to give them what assistance the times would permit them to do; and particularly, to make their men enter into the Territories of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, as soon as *Cesar* should be gone from thence, so to draw the Imperialists who were in *Tuscany*, to the defence of those Cities.

They used the like indeavours with the Duke of *Ferrara*, sending *Marc Antonio Veniero* Embassadour to him, who was to witness the constancy of the Common-wealth, in their resolution of defending the Common liberty, and their particular good inclination towards the Duke and his State, whereunto as they were joyned by neighborhood, and many other respects, so would they never shun running the same fortune with him:

"That therefore they desired to understand what his pleasure and opinion was; as knowing that in times of such difficulty, a great esteem was to be put upon his friendship and advice. But they chiefly laid before him the danger of the Florentines; saying, that as they were common to them all, so they ought all to assist them; that they should remember what the Popes desires were, which would be the more inflamed by what of prosperity should befall *Florence*; and that the Pope would the more molest his State, and the like of all others, unto which he laid any just pretensions.

The Duke seemed to take these Memorandums very well, and promised many things, and particularly that he would maintain a good body of men, which he was raising about *Modena*, which should not only be for his own defence, but for the service of all the Confederates.

At

At this time the Agreement made at *Cambrai*, was published, wherein as it was long before commonly said, none of the Confederates were comprehended; only place was reserved for the Venetians to be admitted thereinto, if within a short space the differences between them and *Cesar* should be reconciled; which was nothing but a meer complement, they being in effect totally excluded; since the greatest difficulties remained still undecided.

"The King of *France* was obliged amongst other things, to make the Towns in *Puglia* which were possess'd by the Venetians to be restored to the Emperour; which if they should refuse to do, he was to declare himself their Enemy, and help the Emperour to recover them by force. Which Article being to be put in execution, the King sent his Embassadours to *Venice*, to require the Senate that they would cause the Towns which they possess'd in *Puglia*, to be delivered up to *Cesar*, as he was bound to do by the conventions at *Cambrai*; alledging that he did this in observance of the League made at *Cognack*, wherein that was comprehended: And he further added, that he did so much rely upon the affection which the Common-wealth had always shewn to the Crown of *France*, as if they were not bound thereunto by Agreement, he was persuaded he might obtain it of them by way of meer gratification; the occasion and thing it self being of so great weight, and that without it he could not have his Sons, who were to succeed him in his Kingdom, set at liberty by *Cesar*.

To this the Senate answered, "That they did still continue that good affection towards the King, and Crown of *France* as they had done for many years past; and would still do so for the future; the Common-wealth being almost indissolvably knit fast to the Kingdom out of many common interests. That they could not deny but that they had very much desired their Common-wealth might have been comprehended in the Agreement made with *Cesar*; not only to the end that their safety might have been provided for, but that none might have doubted of the good intelligence had, and held between the Venetian Senate, and Crown of *France*. That notwithstanding they did confide much in the Kings goodness and wisdom; that he would not be wanting to the good and honour of the Common-wealths; by interposing his authority with *Cesar*, that her affairs might be reduced to such safety, and tranquillity as they desired; and reason required. But as concerning the restitution of the Towns in *Puglia*, it was clear enough they were not thereunto bound out of any obligation; for since the King had concluded peace with *Cesar*, without including the Common-wealth, he had freed them from that tie of confederacy, wherein it was agreed that the King should not make any accord without them. Yet they desired to give convenient satisfaction, even in this point, but that a fitting time might be waited for, to do it; the rather for that his Sons were not to be set at liberty yet these two months; in which time they hoped that some accommodations might be found out between them and *Cesar*'s differences, whereby this might be ended with satisfaction to the King. To which purpose the King sent the

Admiral

Admiral into *Italy* to *Cesar*, to exhort him to an universal peace, and particularly to compose differences with the Venetians; whereby he hoped he should be able to make good the Articles of *Cambray*; by procuring the restitution of the Towns in *Puglia*, having already as much as concern'd him begun to do so, by ordering *Renzo da Ceri* to deliver up all Towns, and places which he held under him; in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Imperialists; and had indeavoured that the Venetians would do the like but that they being first advertized of the Senates pleasure, had refused to do it.

This was the present condition of the affairs of *Italy*; *Cesar* very powerful, and in armes; the Pope his Friend, and Confederat; the other Potentates of *Italy*, all of them almost for fear, to obey his will; the French driven fully out of *Italy*; so as though they had not as yet laid down their arms, they were bound by articles not to meddle with any thing concerning *Italy*, wherein the Emperour might be prejudiced. Yet amidst all these difficulties the Senate kept still their resolution of opposing *Cesar*, if he should (as it was thought he would do) possess himself of the State of *Milan*. Wherefore the first confederacy being broken with the rest; they did again ratifie, and confirm it by new obligations with *Francisco Sforza*, wishing him: not to be wanting to himself, but to hope well, for the Commonwealth would willingly serve him with all their Forces.

At the same time *Soliman*, who had resolved to re-possess *John* King of *Hungary* in his Kingdom, he being driven out of it by *Ferdinando's* forces, was entred with a numerous and powerful Army into the confines of *Hungary*, and incamp'd before the City of *Buda*; whereat the Inhabitants being mightily terrified, he easily made himself Master thereof; and making his Cavalry over-run the Campagna of *Austria*, he plunder'd and wasted the Archdukes Country; threatening to come with his whole Army to before *Vienna*, towards the which he caused great preparation of victuals be made, and of warlike instruments, to be brought to before that City by the River of *Danubius*. *Cesar* was greatly troubled at this News, seeing his Brother imbroyl'd in so many troubles, wherein he knew his own honour was concern'd, and the safety of the Empire, if he should suffer so powerful an Army to come so near him, whilst he being busied about lesser affairs, should stand, as it were, an idle Spectator of so sore dangers which threatened his Country; and himself too. Other occasions of fear were likewise hereunto added; for he had received intelligence from his brother, that the Heretical sects increased much in *Germany*; that they raised forces; and that it was apparently seen they meant to put for novelty: which pestiferous seeds, if they should not be rooted out, it was thought they would soon bring forth malignant effects, to the great scandal of the true Catholick Religion, and to the as much prejudice of the States of Temporal Princes, and chiefly to that of the Empire.

These things being maturely considered, made the Emperour begin to think of peace, and to make him really intend that, which it was thought he did at first but seem to do. To forego *Italy* without having settled any of his affairs, was neither for his honour, nor for his

his safety; and he knew he could not make peace, though but for a while, without agreeing with the Venetians; upon whom, whilst things were in this commotion, the state of *Italy* did depend; there being no slight suspicion, that if the King of *France* could get the Venetians to joyn with him, as either open Enemies, or but meanly satisfied with *Cesar*, he would keep the articles of *Cambray* no better now that he had his Sons back again, then he had done those of *Madrid*, when he himself was set at liberty.

Cesar having then for these reasons resolved to accommodate his differences with the Venetians, and to establish the affairs of *Italy* by an universal peace, he suffer'd this his will to be clearly understood, which made many Personages of great authority, interpose themselves therein. *Andrea Doria* sent *Frederick Grimaldo* to *Venice*, to offer his service in this treaty, saying that he knew *Cesar* to be so well inclined to peace, as if the Senate would be pleased that he should undertake the business, he hoped to bring it to a happy end quickly. But the Senate neither accepting nor refusing this offer, answered, That they had always indeavour'd peace, and did value the Emperours friendship very much, as it became them well to do; and that they were still of the same mind: But they desired to see some sign, whereby they might be perswaded that *Cesar's* real intentions were what they were affirmed to be; for the tarrying of the Dutch foot still in an hostile manner in their State, ransacking, and ruining the Territories of *Brescia*, gave but small shew thereof. Soon after *Sigismond della Torre*, Chamberlain to the Marquis of *Mantua*, came as Ambassador from him to *Venice*, to exhort the Senate likewise to make peace with *Cesar*, affirming yet more constantly then *Doria* had done, *Cesar's* willingness to peace, and desiring them moreover that they would be contented that the Treaty might be held in the City of *Mantua*, whither he knew that *Cesar* would presently send his Agents with commissions to that purpose. And he the Marquis offer'd his best service herein, as an Italian who was very zealous of the Liberty of *Italy*, and as a friend to the Commonwealth.

Whilst these things were in Treaty, *Cesar* prepared to go to *Bologna* to speak with the Pope, according to the agreement made at *Barcelona*, which was chosen for the place of meeting instead of *Genoa*, as being more commodious for the Pope, and more convenient for *Cesar's* designs. Upon this interview the resolution of many important things was to depend. Wherefore the eyes of all men were upon the result thereof, especially of the Venetians, whose Interests were of most importance, and involved in greatest difficulty. The Pope seemed to consider very much the safety and convenience of this Commonwealth, and that he might purchase the better belief, he indeavour'd very much by the means of Cardinal *Marco Cornaro*, to perswade the Senate to lay down Arms, and to come to some fair composition: and he had formerly sent the Bishop *Vaccinence* his Nuntio to *Cesar*; who as it was thought, had help'd very much to bring the Emperour to be of the good mind he was in, to make peace with all men, especially with the Venetians. This was the cause why many of the Senators, proceeded with more reservedness

in this negotiation, expecting what the issue of the meeting at Bologna would be; but others were for accepting of the proposition made by the Marquis, and for the chusing of Embassadors immediately to send to Mantua, to treat of an agreement.

What is it (said these men) that we can expect more? Cesar is very strong in Forces, the Forces of the League are broken, weakened, scattered, or rather dissolved; the Florentines, the Duke of Milan, and we, are all that are left to sustain the burthen of so great a War: A thing altogether impossible, in respect of the weakness whereinto we are all reduced, by so many expences, and in respect of the great Forces and dependances which Cesar hath in Italy at this time; yet in such a disparity of Affairs, whilst his hopes increase every day, and ours grow less, Cesar is content to treat with us upon equal terms; nay I may say, to humble himself, and to be the first that propounds friendship and peace, and shall we refuse, or not value these invitations? No man can with reason doubt, but that the things promised first by Doria, and afterwards by the Marquis of Mantua, are not only done by the consent of Cesar, but by his express Order, since no man meddles in things of this nature between so great Princes, especially with such asseverations of their good will, without good grounds: And shall it be thought wisely done, to suffer an occasion slip out of our hands, of doing that which we have so often desired, and which we ought now to desire more then ever in a thousand respects? We have been for these many years in a continual War, wherein we have spent above five millions of Gold: So as this City, and our whole State, is almost oppress'd, all our means consumed, and yet when the way is opened unto us of finding some repose and quiet, with safety of our honour, and with provision, as it may be hoped for, of security to the Commonwealth, shall we be backward, and put our happiness to the Arbitriment of fortune, which may (as it often times falls out) cause some such accident arise, as may make Cesar alter his mind? And either tarrying armed in Italy, increase our present danger, or if he shall go from hence, and leave things unquiet and confused, oblige us to keep in War and trouble for as many years more, and with as much expence, and God knows what the end will be? Those who till now have praised the constancy of this Senate, in having, without any consideration of expence, or fear of danger, been so zealous in the defence of the common cause, and of the liberty of Italy, the very name whereof will cry up the glory of the Commonwealth to posterity, seeing how much the face of Affairs is now alter'd, and that other counsels are to be required, then to keep still the same course, and trust upon Arms, when our Affairs may be better provided for by negotiation; and that we may thereby arrive at the true and allowable end which thrust us upon War, may peradventure change their opinion, and think us to be too haughty and obstinate, since we will not weigh things by reason, but by our own will, and it may be, too over-wise, since we cannot accommodate our selves to times and occasions, nor temporize in difficulty, and expect better fortune. Advisedness is assuredly good and laudable, but it ought to be kept within its due bounds, lest it fall into extremes, which are always dangerous; for it is often seen, that as much harm accrues by too much slowness, which makes men perpetually irresolute, as by too much haste, we have hitherto kept excellently well from the latter,

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having maintain'd wars for so many years, and tryed all things possible, to bring our selves into a condition of true safety and peace; let us now take heed lest we run into the other extreme, lest whilst we covet too much security, and too much advantage, we do sufficiently disadvantage our selves, and expose our Affairs to greater dangers.

But others were of another opinion; these affirm'd it would be more honourable and more advantageous to expect a while, and not to seem too desirous of agreement, they considered the unsettledness of Cesar's Forces; they being in great want of money, and victuals; so as the greater his Army was, the sooner it was likely to dissolve; that all the strong Holds in their State were excellently well garrison'd, nor could Cesar attempt any thing against them, with hopes of bringing it soon to an end; moreover that Cesar was recalled into other parts out of weighty respects, and of very great importance to himself, and would be necessitated quickly to quit Italy; that Vienna was already assaulted by the Turks, and was reduced to great straits: That all the rest of his brothers Dominions, was overrun and wasted by the Enemies Cavalry: That commotions of no small consideration began to be raised by the Hereticks in many parts of Germany, if they were not quickly allay'd by Cesar's Forces, and by his presence; that when he should be gone from Italy, and his Army either dissolved, or very much lessened, there was no doubt but that they might easily make good the Dukedom of Milan, keep possession of their Towns in Puglia, and in fine, prove victorious throughout the whole War, and reap thereby a glorious name amongst all people, and in all ages: And whereas now they were to receive such laws and conditions as would be given them by others, Cesar would be compell'd to endeavour, and accept of the Commonwealth's friendship, upon terms which would be advantageous for her; lest the French, who were always ready to take up Arms, and to attempt Novelties, should go about to molest him, by making new Leagues, whilst they saw him otherwise busied: That no man could with reason believe Cesar would propound any conditions of agreement, out of any affection which he bears to this Commonwealth, since he thinks himself injured by us, for having for these many years adhered to France: But that it was to be held for certain, it was his own Interest that moved him thereunto, knowing upon how weak foundations his own Affairs stood, and how impossible it was for him to maintain an Army, and tarry any longer in Italy. That it is a general rule, what is acceptable, and advantageous to an Enemy, is to be shunn'd, as that which may produce contrary effects to the adverse party. That this which had an appearance of humanity, and looked like a desire of peace and quietness, was only a piece of cunning in the Imperialists, to conceal their weakness, and to make it be believed that they intended the common good, when they did only endeavour their own advantage. But suppose, said these men, that we may do well for the present to agree with Cesar, it will be sitting at least to expect what the result will be of the convention at Bullogna, where Cesar's mind and intentions may be better discovered, especially touching the settlement of the Duchy of Milan, upon which the best grounded resolution of peace ought to depend; by the obligation of ancient and new confederacy, and by the disposition of the Commonwealth her self, introduced by many weighty Interests: That it was also probable, that the Pope, though he were not very well pleas'd

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with them as touching the towns in Romagna, would not notwithstanding, for the Churches interest and his own, break the friendship and peace between the Emperour and the Commonwealth (the safety and honour whereof did finally result to the accommodation and grandezza of the Apostolique See) as that also the present peace, would make for the business of Florence, which the Pope did then so fervently endeavour, to the end that all other respects and jealousies being laid aside, Cesar might for the Popes satisfaction turn his Forces into those parts, and bring them to a sooner, and a more certain end.

These reasons wrought much upon the minds of many men, who being now wonted to War, were unwilling to lay down Arms, unless with great honour and safety to the Commonwealth; insomuch as they did for that time forbear the chusing of Commissioners to send to Mantua, to treat of peace, and resolved to send Secretary Andrea Rosso to the Marquis, To return their thanks for his offer, and for the good Will which he seemed to bear to the Commonwealth, excusing themselves for that they could not at the present resolve upon a Treaty, since the Emperour and the Pope were to meet quickly at Bullognia, to find out an accommodation for all the affairs of Italy; and for that Bishop Bosonienices, the Popes Nuntio, had interposed himself in that business, and particularly in what appertained to the Commonwealth.

This mean while the Pope being gone from Rome, went to Spolei, and from thence to Bullognia, to expect the Emperour, who came thither some few days after the five and twentieth of October, which was the day the Pope entred that City. As soon as they met, the Treaty of Peace began, both of them seeming desirous to settle Italy in a firm condition of quiet. The first and most important businesses to be accorded, were those which concerned the Duke of Milan, who, after many former practices and endeavours, for which the Protonotary Caracciolo, and Don Garzia di Padiglia, were gone with several propositions from Piacenza to Cremona, resolved (having formerly obtained a safe conduct, and being counsell'd so to do by the Venetians, who for his greater honour sent their Embassadour Mark Antonio Venieroto to accompany him) to go himself to Cesar in Bullognia, for one thing which made the business more difficult, was, that Cesar took it ill that Francisco Sforza should not humble himself to him, as it became a Vassal of the Empire to do, and that he did negotiate his business either too arrogantly, or at least, distrusting too much Cesars, either justice or clemency.

The first thing which disturb'd this Treaty, which was before brought near a conclusion, was, that the Imperialists would have the Cities of Pavia and Alessandria delivered up into their hands, as pledges for the observancy of what should be agreed upon; which Sforza (following herein the counsel and opinion of the Senate, who had put great Garrisons into those Cities, and had lent the Duke ten thousand Ducats to maintain them) utterly refused to do: This demand having renewed in him, and in the Venetians, their former jealousies, that the Imperialists desired to appropriate the State of Milan unto themselves; wherefore the Pope desired those Cities might be

be deposited into his hands, which the Duke said he could not do, without the consent of the Venetians, alledging that it would be better to refer the discussion of his cause to the convention at Bullognia: And thus he spun out the time, without coming to any conclusion. When Sforza was come to Bullognia, where he was graciously received by the Emperour, his business was brought to this conclusion, the Pope interceding therein, to whom Cesar had promised, that he would not dispose of the State of Milan, without his consent; that his cause should be decided by Justice: Whereunto the Duke did more willingly consent, then to any other proposal, to shew that he relied upon his own Innocence, and upon Cesar's Justice. But the Venetian Senate, seeing that the agreement with the Duke of Milan (which had been the chief cause of beginning the war, and of the continuance thereof,) was in a fair way of being concluded, sent Commissioners to Gaspero Contarini, who was their Embassadour with the Pope, to treat, and conclude of peace, if they could agree upon particulars: they having been very much, and with great expressions of love, solicited thereunto by the Pope, who promised to interpose both his authority and favour with Cesar, concerning this Treaty. The Embassadour Contarini, when he met the Emperour at his first entrance into Bullognia, was very graciously received by his Majesty: but nothing was as yet treated of, saving general civilities, which shewed a good inclination to friendship and peace. When the Embassadour had made it known, that he had Commission from the Senate, to treat of an agreement, and that therefore he desired to know, upon what terms it was to be made: The Emperour seeming to correspond very much in a will and desire to peace, deputed the Lord Chancellor Granville, and Monsieur di Prato, to this negotiation: in which Treaty the Pope himself would intervene. At first there was great hopes of coming to a speedy agreement: but when they drew near a conclusion, new doubts and difficulties were started: which made it be believed, that but little sincerity was intended therein: chiefly, for that, though many endeavours had been had, the Imperialists could not be brought to remove the Dutch Foot from the State of Venice, who continued still to the number of about ten thousand in the Territories of Brescia, and did prejudice the Country much. And moreover, twenty five Gallies being parted from Civita Vecchia, to go for Naples, it was publickly said, that these, together with four more which were in that Haven, were ordered to go into Puglia. So as; all expences and provisions for war were still to be continued: not onely keeping the land Army intire, but the Fleet also: whereof part of the Gallies being proposed to be disarmed, the Senate would not allow thereof, many of them being of an opinion, that they were to renew the war more eagerly: and it was commonly affirmed, that though the Emperour was well enough inclined to peace, yet this his good intention was corrupted by many of his Counsellours and Captains, and especially by Antonio da Leva, so as, at the last he would be drawn to alter his minde. Nor was the difference touching the Towns in Romania as yet accommodated with the Pope, a thing which procured new matter of disagreement; wherein there was somewhat

of difference in the Senate it self: some being of opinion, that they were to repose so much confidence in *Cesar*, as to put this business to be decided by him, to the end, that he, as a friend to both sides, might compose it. But others thought it better to negotiate this business with the Pope's self: because they might either continue their possession of these Towns, upon some recognition, or if they would resolve to part with them, they might ingratiate themselves with the Pope, to the advantage of the Commonwealth; making use of his favour and authority, in composing their differences with the Emperour. Whereas if they should leave any authority therein in the Emperour, they might be sure that he would prefer the Popes satisfaction before any consideration of the Commonwealth. And this opinion prevailed; so as the Pope continuing in his opintracy, and the Senate being unwilling that it should at any time be said, that for their own Interests they had interrupted the common good of Christendom, and disturb'd the hoped for peace of *Italy*, when an universal peace was in treaty, they at last resolved to restore the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to the Pope, the rights of the Commonwealth being preserved; and afterwards in their treaty with the Emperour, they were likewise content to restore the Towns in *Puglia* to him, having first a promise from him that he would pardon all those who had adhered to them in the times of War, and to deal well with them, cancelling the memory of what had been past. Agreement was likewise made with the Duke of *Milan*, who was enjoyned to pay 500000 Ducates for his Investment, or being put into possession, and 300000 for the expences of War; for pledg of which payments, the Imperialists desired that the Castles of *Milan*, and *Como* might be delivered up into their hands; but by the intercession of the Venetians, this desire was layd aside; for they made it appear to the Imperialists that thereby the Duke would be made the less able to raise the aforesaid moneys, or be necessitated to be the longer in paying it; for doubtlesly the people of *Milan*, being extraordinarily desirous to have their own natural Lord rule over them, would the more readily apply themselves to undergo any taxations. Thus all things tended towards peace & agreement; and it was hoped that *Italy*, after so many years of continual Wars, would now be brought into a peaceable condition; and all men began to rejoyce, hoping to enjoy better times for the future: There remained nothing to perfect this which was so much desired, but the accommodation of the differences between the Florentines and the Pope, which appeared to be made the more difficult by the present condition of the times, and by the agreement which was made amongst the rest; for the Imperial army having proceeded very slowly, after they came to the Confines of *Tuscanie*, which they did by orders from the Pope, who desired to preserve the City of *Florence*, and the Country as much as might be from being prejudiced by the Souldiers; the Florentines had opportunity to make the City more defenceable, by making several works about the Walls, and by taking in of a Garrison of 2000 foot which *Malatesta Baglione* brought with him thither, after he had yielded the City of *Perugia* upon articles to the Marquis of *Guasto*; so as

the Florentines began to grow the harder to be brought to the Pope's will. The slowness of these proceedings at the first, had begot a belief in the Florentines, that *Cesar* desired to satisfy the Pope in resemblance more then in sincerity, and he would more consider the interest of State (since the encreasing of the Popes power did not at all concern him) then the injury they had done him by siding with the French. But on the other side, the Pope growing daily more and more incensed, for that the City would not as he had desired them, put themselves upon his arbitrament, though he had promised them to proceed with all humanity, and ingenuity; and hoping to compass his desires so much the sooner, for that *Cesar* having now no more occasion to imploy his forces against the Venetians, nor Duke of *Milan*, would turn with the greater force and readines, to serve him in the business concerning *Florence*; seemed rather desirous to use his utmost force against the City, then to yield to any thing. The Venetian Senate was very much perplext at these troubles and dangers of the Florentines, as being their friends and confederates; but the Commonwealth was so over-burthened with disbursements, still maintaining all her Forces, as she could not at the present assist them answerable to their need. They therefore wisht the Florentines to bring their business to some reasonable conditions, if they could; and to agree with the Pope upon such termes as might not be prejudicial to their liberties. But the treaty of peace being as yet doubtful, the Senate in favour to the Florentine affairs, as much as the time would permit them, and to cause jealousy in the Pope, which might make him remove his men out of *Tuscanie*; gave directions to the Duke of *Urbine*, who had already mustered all their men, to above the number of 10000, that he might be ready to march, and to give out that he was to go to the confines of *Parma*; but after all these indeavours and proceedings, the agreement with the Florentines, being (as aforesaid) the further off, by how much the rest were likelier to agree, the Marquis *Guasto*, who had already taken *Tortona*, and *Arezzo*, received orders from *Cesar*, to advance with his army to the Walls of *Florence*; other particular respects being added to his desire of satisfying the Pope, to move *Cesar* to indeavour the return of the *Medici* into their Country for having promis'd to give his natural daughter *Margaret*, in Marriage to *Alexander* the Popes Nephew, he was the more obliged to do so, as that his Son in law might have an Estate, answerable to the greatness of his marriage. And moreover he thought it would make for the encreasing and confirming their power in *Italy* that the Government of that City which of her self had alwaies been much devoted to the French should for the future depend upon him. Thus the whole War being brought into *Tuscanie*, and to about the Walls of *Florence* all the other parts of *Italy* were free and quiet; the Pope, the Emperour, *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, and the Senate of *Venice*, having at last ratified an Agreement upon these conditions.

"That the Venetians should relinquish the Cities of *Cervia* and "*Ravenna* the Apostolique See; and to the Emperour, *Trani*, *Monopolis*, and whatsoever they were possess'd of in *Puglia*, that all o-

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“ther Cities, Towns, & places, which were as then in their possession, should remain under the Jurisdiction, and Dominion of the Commonwealth; which was to enjoy them peacefully, and quietly. That the Inhabitants who were in those Cities, and who had adhered to the Venetians, might be suffered either to tarry there, or to goe elsewhere; and that wheresoever they should be, they might enjoy the goods which they possess’d in their countries: and particularly, that it might be lawful for such Venetian Citizens, as had any possessions in those Territories, not only to enjoy their Incomes, but to carry them whithersoever they should please, without being subject to any prohibition or Tax. That the Venetian Citizens should also have all those privileges, and immunities confirm’d unto them, throughout the whole Kingdom of Naples, which they had before enjoy’d by the concession of the former Kings; and that generally, free and safe abode and commerce, should be allowed to all the Subjects of the Confederate Princes, in all their several Dominions, and that they should be well dealt withal, and have Reason and Justice done them, as if they were of the same Country where for the present they did inhabit, or negotiate. That all past faults should be forgiven to those, who during the time of War, after that Maximilian took first up Arms against the Commonwealth, for having followed the Imperial faction; or had either been accus’d and condemned for any thing thereunto belonging; and that they should be restored to their Countries, and goods, except such goods as were formerly confiscated, for which the Venetians promised to pay yearly 5000 Ducates. And that all faults should be forgiven to Count *Brunoro di Gambaro*, by name, and that he should be received into favour, who was then the Emperours Chamberlain. That moreover the Venetians should pay unto the Emperour for what remain’d unpaid of 200000 Ducates, promis’d at the agreement made the year 1523. 25000 Ducates within two Moneths, and the rest which should appear to be due, within one year following: But upon expresse condition, that before the disbursement of these monies, those Towns and places should be restored to the Commonwealth, which were thereunto due upon the same Articles; wherein if any dispute should arise, the same should be determined by two Arbitrators, and one Umpire. Moreover, the Venetians were contented to gratifie *Cesar* with 100000 Ducates more within six Moneths; and that because the rights of the Patriarch of *Aquilegia* were reserved in the Diet at *Worms*; wherein he pretended to be injured in his jurisdiction by *Ferdinand of Austria*, that this cause should be decided by two Arbitrators, and one Umpire, to the end, that the Patriarch might be restored to what should be found due unto him: and that this agreement might not only aim at the present peace of *Italy*, but to provide for the future quiet and security thereof, each of the aforesaid Princes were bound to enter into a perpetual League for the defence of each other, in as much as concern’d the Estates in *Italy*. And it was particularly expressed, that the Venetians, and *Francisco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, for whom the Emperour promised and stood bound, should alwaies

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“have each of them five hundred Curassiers in readines, and that when either the Dukes State, or the Commonwealth, should be assaulted by any Foreign Army, each should be bound to assist the other with eight hundred Curassiers, wherein the foresaid five hundred were to be comprehended, with five hundred Light Horse, and six thousand Foot, together with a sufficient Train of Artillery, ammunition, and all the expences thereunto belonging, during the war: and that neither of them should grant passage, victuals, or any other accommodation, to such as should intend prejudice to either of them, but should use all the means they could to hinder them. And on the other side, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Venetians, were bound to defend the Kingdom of *Naples* from any assault that should be thereupon made by any Christian Princes, with sixteen Gallies at their own expence. In this capitulation, all the friends and confederates of these Princes were comprehended, so as they should not prove enemies to any of the chief contractors; and the Commonwealths of *Genoa*, *Sienna*, and *Lucca*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, and Marquis of *Monferrat*, were particularly nominated by the Pope, by the Emperour, and by *Ferdinando*, and by the Venetians, *Antonio Maria Montefeltro* Duke of *Urbine*. But with this difference, that the Venetians were not bound to defend the States of the others, though they were nominated: and the Duke of *Urbine* was comprehended in his person and State, under the same conditions as were the chief contractors, as having a dependancy upon the Commonwealth, and as being by her taken into protection. Touching the Duke of *Ferrara*, it was declared, that he was only understood to be comprehended with the rest, when he should have accommodated the differences which were between him and the Apostolique See.

Thus after so many vexations and long Wars, things were settled and accommodated, and a certain and secure peace was made, to the great comfort of the Subjects, and the no less praise of the Princes.

All men thought that this peace and agreement amongst the Christian Princes was made at a very opportune time, so as they might joyntly make head against *Soliman*, who being wholly set upon the glory of War, and being encouraged by the discords of the Christian Princes, was come with his forces against their Kingdoms, threatening ruine. For though he was forced to rise from before the Walls of *Vienna*, and freed her so from danger at that time, by reason that the Winter came on, and that he had no great Train of Artillery, as also, for that the City was defended by very many valiant Souldiers, yet he declared that he would return the next Spring with greater forces, to assail that City, and other Towns in *Germany*. *Soliman* at his departure from those confines, declared *Johu* to be King of *Hungary*, shewing that he aimed chiefly at the praise of valour and generosity. He also made *Luigi Gritti* chief Treasurer of that Kingdom, who was natural son of *Andrea Gritti*, Duke of *Venice*, born at *Constantinople*, whilst *Andrea* being a young man, was there upon his own private affairs. *Luigi* proved to be a very ingenious man, endowed

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with many noble qualities; so as getting first into favour with *Ebrahim*, the chief Balhaw, and of supream authority in that Court, and afterwards by his means, into the like of *Soliman*, he had done the Commonwealth very good service in their last troubles, by keeping them in friendship with the Turks; which was the more requisite for them upon such occasions, for that the Haven by Sea lying open to the City of *Venice*, whereby they trafique, and merchandizing was preserved, they had the better means to maintain War in *Terra firma*, whilst they maintained the stock of their publique revenews whole. But the Senate, as for such respects they had been very careful to keep peace with the Turks, so with a noble and generous mind, had they alwaies refused the offers of assistance made by them against Christian Princes, with which pious intention of theirs, God being well pleased, he so favoured the conclusion of Peace, as that a firm foundation thereof being laid, the Commonwealth had been able to preserve her self in honour and safety, even until this day.

The End of the sixth Book.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK VII.

THE CONTENTS.

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other Pope chosen. A Treaty of Peace between Cesar and the King of France. The Pope's pretensions to the Dukedom of Cambray; they are quieted. Cesar arms for Tunis; passeth into Africa, takes Tunis, and gives it (together with the whole Kingdom) to Amulcas. The Duke of Milan dies, which causeth commotions. The French take Milan. They assault Picmont. The Pope strives to agree them, but in vain. The Emperour assaults France, but gets little thereby. The Venetian Embassadors go to meet him at Genua, where they treat of many things. The Publication of the Council, which was afterwards that of Trent.

Peace being made in manner as hath been related, the Senate being desirous to establish it, and to work themselves, as much as they could, into the favour and good will of the Princes, shewing themselves well affectioned towards them, and how constant their desire was to preserve the peace of Italy, resolved to send Embassadors to the Pope, and to the Emperour, to witness the great satisfaction which they had received by the agreement, and the desire which they had to continue long peace and friendship with them. Those who were deputed to this Embassy, were of the prime men of the Commonwealth, and of a clear reputation for their own endowments, for the many places they had passed thorow, both at home and abroad, Marco Dandolo, Luigi Gradinigo, Luigi Mocenigo, and Lorenzo Braggadino; to whom, that the Embassy might appear the more solemn, they added Antonio Suriano, who was with the Pope, and Nicolo Tiepolo, who was to remain Liedger with the Emperour.

These six went all together in the beginning of the year 1530. to *Bullognia*, where the Pope and the Emperour were as yet, by whom they were graciously received; they delivered their Embassies severally, first to the Pope, and then to the Emperour. "They did not only praise the Pope, for having (as the common Father) piously and prudently embraced the cause of Christendom, and put a period to so many mischiefs and miseries, but they likewise thanked him in name of the Commonwealth, for his particular care, which he had therein of her, in composing the differences between her and Cesar, and in freeing her from the expence and troubles of War. They shew'd Cesar the necessity which had made them take up Arms, and to continue the War, their being displeas'd at what was past, but chiefly, their constant and firm resolution to make good the agreement which was made, and their endeavours of perpetual friendship between the House of *Austria* and the Commonwealth.

Though when the Embassadors had delivered this, they had no more to do, yet were they commanded to tarry in *Bullognia*, that they might be present at the Emperours coronation, which was to be celebrated in that City. For *Charles* who had first designed to go to *Rome*, to take the Imperial Crown upon him there, according to the ancient custom of the Emperours, was resolved to accomplish that ceremony in *Bullognia*, being called for back into *Germany*, upon other more weighty State affairs; for which purpose, great store of people flocking thither, and Embassadors from all Princes, such an Embassy seemed

seemed to beset that days solemnity and pomp, which was on the 24. of February; which being over, the Embassadors returned to *Venice*, being presented by Cesar with five hundred pieces of Portugueses, to the value of ten crowns each piece, which according to custome, were put into the Exchequer, for the publique service. It was wisely provided for by the first Founders of the Commonwealth, and established by Law, that any who should be sent Embassadors to forreigne Princes, and should receive any presents from them, they should bring them into the publique Bank, it being not thought convenient to refuse such demonstrations of honour done to those who represented the Commonwealth, nor to permit that such things as were given to publique persons, should be converted into private mens purses; which if they were permitted peradventure sometimes to keep, it must be allow'd of by the votes of the Senate, and be acknowledged from their favour and liberality: thereby prevention was had, that evil men, out of hopes of such gain, might not prove partial to other Princes, and prejudicial to the Commonwealth.

Three Embassadors were afterwards sent by Cesar to the Senate; as well by way of correspondency in friendly civilities, as also to end certain differences, belonging to the articles of peace. They were received with great demonstrations of honour, and were presented with cups of Gold to the value of a thousand crowns a piece. And in favour to Cesar, who sought it at their hands, many Subjects of the Commonwealth had their faults forgiven them, and others had other favours done them. After he was crowned, Cesar went to *Mantua*, where being received very magnificently by the Marquis *Frederick da Gonzaga*, in memorial of which civil hospitality, the Emperour made him a Duke: and being to pass from thence through the State of the Commonwealth, that he might go into *Germany* by the way of *Trent*, the Senate ordered *Paolo Nani*, and *Giovann Dolfin*, who were Commissaries General on *Terra firma*; and likewise *Giovann Moro* who was Captain of *Padua*, and *Pietro Grimani* Captain of *Vicenza*, to meet Cesar, with an honourable assembly of Gentry at *Villa Franca*, which lyes upon the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, and to wait upon him as long as he should be in the States Territories. And they charged the Rectors of *Verona*, that they should be very careful in providing victuals, and all things necessary for the Court and Souldiers: and particularly, that they should present Cesar self in the name of the Commonwealth, with excellent wines, fish, venison, sweet-meats, and with every thing else of rarity which could be found for his refreshment. Thus Cesar past on with all his people, being accompanied by a great many Lords, and Princes Embassadors, and amongst the rest by *Nicolo Tiepolo*, who, as hath been said, was appointed to stay as Leiger Embassador with him: and crossing over the Territories of *Verona*, without entering into the City, where double Guards were placed at the gates and about the castles, he went to *Chiusa*.

As these things did increase confidence amongst these Princes, and establish peace and friendship, so it was suspected that they would beget jealousy in *Soliman*, that the Commonwealth would joyn with

other Christian Princes against him, which might be occasioned by many speeches that were spread abroad; that these Princes had made peace, to the end that they might march with their forces jointly against the Turks, and oppose *Soliman's* too deep and dangerous designs upon Christendom. Who having been already before *Vien-na*, threatened to return with more powerful forces, and being made to hope for better things by his recent victories, promised to himself successful progress in *Germany*. Some convention of Cardinals deputed thereunto, and wherein the Embassadours of other Princes did intervene, were made at *Bullognia*, that they might think how to govern themselves in their taking up of Arms against the Turks; and though the Venetian Embassadours did not intervene at these Treaties, and that no result was had therein, yet fame (which always useth to amplify) had brought greater tidings to *Constantinople* than were true. So as this course was blamed by those that were wise, for experience shew'd, that whilst they consulted in vain how to remedy our mischiefs, they drew on greater and more certain dangers, incensing *Soliman* the more, and enforcing him to make greater preparations for War.

The Senate being advertised of these the Turks suspicions, by *Luigi Gritti*, who as Embassadour to *John* King of *Hungary*, had attended *Soliman* when he parted from those confines, to *Constantinople*; and considering that they might be of very evil consequence to the affairs of the Commonwealth, if they were any longer credited by *Soliman*, and his *Bashaws*, they resolved to send an Embassadour to *Constantinople*, who was to give an account of the peace which they had made with *Cesar*, and of the reasons which perswaded them thereunto; and who was afterwards to affirm, that the Senate was resolved to continue constant in their friendship unto the family of the Ottomans, and in their commerce with that Nation, and that if the Embassadour should find the Turks desirous thereof, he should again ratify the ancient articles of peace. The Senate thought it the fitter for them to do this, because *Soliman* a little before, as he went to *Belgrade*, had sent *Ibraim* his Embassadour to *Venice*, to give an account of his success in *Hungary*, and particularly of his having re-placed their ancient friend King *John* in his Kingdom. He had also sent another *Chiaus* to *Venice* upon the occasion of the solemnity of circumcising two of his Sons, inviting them to send their Embassadours, who might be present at the doing of it; and at the same time, in witness of his good affection to the Commonwealth, he had presented them with 100000 pound weight of Salt-peter, hearing that they were in great need thereof. *Tomaso Mocenigo* was chosen for this Embassie, who began his journey a few days after, and came very opportunely to *Constantinople*, in respect of the aforesaid considerations; for a *Cruzado* being published, the fame and expectation whereof was the greater, because the Preachers by the Popes directions, had earnestly exhorted the people in their pulpits, to contribute monies readily and cheerfully to the war against the Infidels. These things had raised no light suspicions in *Soliman*, that the Venetians had conspired against him, together with the other Christian Princes, af-
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ter the confederacy at *Bologna*; wherefore looking the more narrowly into all their former actions, *Soliman* complain'd that the Venetians upon the making of peace, had contributed monies to the Princes of the House of *Austria*, who being his Enemies, might be thereby the better enabled to make war against him. Hereunto was likewise added, that he took it ill at the Venetians hands, who professed friendship to him, that he had not understood any thing of a business of so great moment, save only the conclusion. But these rumours which were already spread abroad amongst the *Bashaws*, and other chief Personages, were quieted at the coming of the Embassadours, and friendship was readily renewed, and re-confirmed upon the former articles. The Embassadours were afterwards present at the festival of the circumcision, which was performed with great pomp and cost; in all which shews, the Embassadours had honourable places provided for them; and they, according to the custom of that Nation, and of that solemnity, did present many rich vestments to the Grand Seigneur, and other things of price, amongst which a fair Unicorns horn, a thing which *Soliman* had much desired, and which was very welcome to him.

In the time of these sports and festival, *Soliman*, who was born to effect great things, was full of weighty and important thoughts. He discoursed often with his *Bashaws*, of raising an Army to return into *Hungary*, and into *Germany*, to abate the forces of the Austrian Princes, towards which he gave order for many things. He in the next place designed to send out a great Fleet, whereby he might upon occasion fall upon any enterprize, but with full resolution to secure the Seas, which was at this time much infested with the Gallies belonging to the Knights of *Rhodes*, who being permitted by *Charles* the Emperour to come into *Malia*, molested Ships, and the Turkish affairs in all Seas: and at the same time, as concerning affairs of peace, he endeavoured to make *Constantinople* the Staple Town of Merchandize, especially of such spices as were brought from the Eastern parts into *Alexandria*, and other places of his dominions, intending (as he said) to make that City, the Seat of the Empire, to abound in all things, and especially in Gold: to which purpose, he had forbidden men of all Nations to buy any Silks or Spices, and had already bought a great quantity of these merchandize with his own monies, that he might bring them to *Constantinople*. The Venetians were much troubled at these proceedings; for though the Turkish forces seemed to threaten other parts, yet their power encreasing by the ruine of other Princes, it would become likewise more formidable to them, and the going out of the Fleet would alwaies be occasion of trouble, and of expence to the Commonwealth, especially if the Fleet should come (as it was said it was to do) into the Gulph of *Venice*, where the Western Vessels came oftentimes to pillage with much insolency. And the removing of Traffique from the usual places, did much disturb their Merchandizing, and the ancient Navigation of their Galeasses, which were wont to go every year to *Soria* and *Alexandria*. The Venetians thinking how to give a timely remedy to these things, exhorted the King of *Hungary*, who was found to have some inclination to make peace
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with the Archduke *Ferdinand*, to pursue it, and thereby to rid Christendom of so many occasions of danger and prejudice. They likewise encouraged the King of *Poland*, who had formerly interposed himself in this business, to re-assume the Treaty of Agreement. They sought by many endeavours with the Bashiaws at *Constantinople*, and especially with *Luigi Gritti*, who grew daylie greater in favour and authority there, to keep the Grand Seignior from sending forth his Fleet, by shewing the care and diligence used by the Commonwealth in keeping the Sea open, and free from Pyrats; and likewise from his other intention of bringing the Merchandize of *Soria*, and *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*; shewing many inconveniences that would arise thereby, so as without any considerable advantage to *Constantinople*, and to the great prejudice of his other Provinces, and of his Imposts, traffic would lessen, by leaving those of the Western parts no occasion of making those Voyages, if they should not be permitted to send forth so many sorts of Merchandize, which they vented in great quantities in those Countries, and wherewith they contracted for Spices, and other Merchandize, more then with ready money. But to take all occasion from the Turks of sending out Gallies, and especially into the Gulph of *Venice*, the Senate ordered the Commissary of their Fleet, that he should warn the Gallies of *Malta* not to come into the Gulph, nor to prejudice any Vessels which sailed into the Eastern Seas, which were guarded by them; which if they should deny to do, that then he should endeavour to disarm them. The Turks thought themselves very much injur'd hereby, and complaining of the Venetians, they said, that it did not suit with the friendship which they profess'd to hold with the Grand Seignior, to suffer that the Turks, who were their friends, should be so much prejudiced at their own homes, and before their faces, especially since their security was to rely upon the provisions and forces of the Commonwealth; in which respect, to preserve her jurisdiction, and to shun occasion of disorder, the Turks forbore sending any men of War into the Gulph.

At the same time, *Cesar* having summoned a Diet of all the German Princes in *Augusta*, many things appertaining to the State, and to Religion, were therein treated on. The Protestants insisted chiefly in demanding a General Council, wherein their opinions concerning the points of faith, might be examined and decided: which they did, not out of any desire of sifting out the truth, but because they believed that the Pope would not give way therunto, lest they might enter into some other Treaties, whereby his authority might be endangered, so as they thought they might have good occasion thereby to foment their false opinions amongst the people. The Emperour seeking how to appease so many humours, and how to cut off this root of greater evils, propounded the business to the Pope; who looking for little good thereby, nay rather, occasion of greater disorders, and yet being unwilling to seem to refuse it, sought to spin out the business at length, alledging many respects, which gave just occasion of delay; and chiefly, the discords which were then on foot amongst Christian Princes; to appease the which, he said, it would be best first to think how they might all concur jointly to assist and favour the Council

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Council. But the Protestants growing more earnest in this their desire, and the Popes fear increasing, he who greatly detested this sort of people, began to propound, that they might be prosecuted by temporal arms: which he oftentimes mentioned not onely to *Cesar*, but to the Venetian Senate also: to whom he sent an express Nuntio to exhort them to use their Counsels, authority and forces herein, and to make *Cesar* undertake this business the more willingly, he offered him a certain sum of money. But the Senate were much of another opinion, and sought to dissuade the Pope from it: "Whose piety when they had praised, they shewed him afterwards, that to take up arms at this time, and without any pressing occasion, was no better then to shew his fear the more in a just cause, which he would go about to secure, by preventing by way of Arms, the power which the concurrence and favour of the people might bring unto the adverse party. That it became those who sustained the cause of Religion, to try all things, especially by Scripture, and by reason. Moreover, that the Protestant Princes would be necessitated to procure forces, and more followers, and their cause would be more favoured by the people, and have some fair appearance, since they were to withstand the violence of Enemies, that the Princes of Italy were wholly exhausted, by the so many wars. That it was to be suspected to what party the Electors of the Empire would adhere in such a case, they being more desirous of agreement, then of war, as appeared by their Embassadours, who were sent to the Emperour at *Brussels*: That the Hans Towns of *Germany* were resolved not to assist *Cesar*, if he should go about to attempt any thing rather by power then by reason; That *Cesar* was not able of himself to raise sufficient forces to oppress the Princes and people, who were in commotion. There appeared such reason in these things, and the Authority of the Senate was so great, (from whose advice the Pope had very much differed) as changing his opinion, he forbore sending his Nuntio to *Cesar*, as he had intended to do, and suspended any such Treaty. And truly it was thought to be a much wiser course, and better becoming the condition of the present times, to think rather of sustaining the Turkish Wars, and to keep the forces of Christendom united as much as might be, especially those of *Germany*, who were to withstand the Turks first violence: For it was held for certain, that *Soliman*, whose haughty mind must needs be scandalized, for his being inforced to rise from before the Walls of *Vienna*, not only without Victory, but with some shame, would return very strong to the same Enterprize; whereof there was much speech already in this respect, *Cesar* did also incline more to agreement then to War; as also because he was very intent and busie to get his Brother *Ferdinando* chosen to succeed him in his Empire. Therefore without resolving any thing absolutely, he was contented with ordering some things to be observed in point of Religion, till the next Council. *Cesar* also, that he might bring all things in all parts to a peaceful posture, desired that the differences which remained yet undecided, between the Arch-duke *Ferdinando*, and the Commonwealth, might be fully ended; wherefore he propounded that Arbitrators

trators might be chosen to that purpose, as was agreed upon by articles. To which, though the Senate did not only willingly assent, but solicited the dispatch thereof, yet what was desired by both parties, was not effected, for they could not agree upon an Umpire. The Archduke named the Marquis of *Manina*, the Bishop of *Augusta*, the Popes Nuntio that was resident with him; and the Venetians, the Bishop *Teatino*, the Archbishop of *Salerno*, of the House of *Adorni*, and the Nuntio resident in *Venice*. But those that the one side liked, the other disliked; so as affairs continued still undecided, and much prejudice ensued amongst the subjects, upon the confines, and occasion of disagreement between the Princes. Nor was the Castle of *Milan*, nor City of *Como*, restored as yet to *Francisco Sforza*, by the Emperour, though it grew towards the end of the year: wherefore the Venetians being very desirous that the delivery thereof might be no longer delayed, lest time might prove prejudicial thereunto, and *Sforza* not being able of himself to raise all the money which he was to pay *Cesar*, they offered to lend him fifty thousand Ducats, to make this payment, which was to be repayed by the profit of a bargain of Salt, which was offered him also by the Commonwealth, which was, to give him an hundred and fifty thousand Bushels of Salt, at the rate at 31 *Soldi* of Imperial money, the bushel, to be brought to *Pavia*, which being vented in the State of *Milan* at reasonable rates, the Duke would gain as much thereby in a short space, as would enable him to repay the fifty thousand Ducats. But *Cesar* being desirous to please some Merchants of *Genoa*, and the Duke being willing to please him, refused this bargain, but made another of the like nature with others, which was less advantageous to himself; and by the same way of Salt, found out monies sufficient to satisfy *Cesar*; who presently after, caused the Castle of *Milan*, and City of *Como*, to be delivered up to *Sforza*; whereat the Venetians were well pleased, whose chief aim was, to secure *Sforza's* State: who finding by many evident signs, that the Senate of *Venice* had still the same care of his State, and of his Affairs, that he might make use thereof to his own advantage upon any occasion; or else, that he might therein please *Cesar*, by seeming to be jealous of the French, he earnestly desired the Senate, that they would use their intercession and authority with the King of *France*, to appease those rumours of Wars, which (as hath been said) had been much spoken off: And though it were not altogether believed, yet continuing constant in their resolution of defending that State, and in maintaining the capitulations, and thinking it expedient that their resolution should be made publicly known, so to take all hopes from the French that the Commonwealth would ever part from *Cesar*, and the other Colleagues, it was resolved, that they would endeavour it, not only in *France*, but in all other Courts; and to shew themselves the more firm and resolute, it was resolved, that when this should be discoursed of in the Colledge where such propositions are usually made by Embassadors, that without taking time for any further consideration, the Duke should say plainly in his answers, that the Senate was fully resolved not to part for whatsoever accident should happen from the League established with *Cesar*, and the

the other Confederates. But *Cesar* not being herewith satisfied, did moreover desire, that those men should be raised, which the Commonwealth by their Articles were bound to raise: Whereunto the Venetians, fearing lest his aim might be at some particular end of his own, and to draw them further then they were bound by the Articles of the League, answered, that the state of affairs being now such as did promise peace in *Italy*, they ought not to be put to so needless an expence.

King *Francis* had at this time taken a wife unto himself, and had recovered his two sonnes, wherefore he seemed to be rather given to festivals and delights, then to the troubles of war: and the Commonwealth, that they might congratulate therein with him, had, to that purpose, sent *Giovanni Pisano*, procurator of *St. Mark*, as Embassador extraordinary to him. But if any real commotions should appear, they promised, they for their parts would not suffer the common peace and quiet to be disturbed, nor would they be any wayes faulty to their engagements. The Commonwealth being at this time in a safe and secure condition, the Senators sought how to restore her integrally, and to recover the preheminiencies which she enjoyed before the late wars: amongst which the Authority practised by the Senate in nominating such as were to be promoted to any bishoprick within their State, was thought a great priviledge; they had often pressed the Pope much in that point, but not getting any resolution, they forbear giving temporal possession of divers Bishopricks of their best Cities to those upon whom the Pope had bestowed such benefices, a thing whereat he was exceedingly troubled, and which he did so much resent, as it seemed, he sought to break with the Venetians. This business growing every day more hard, the Senate differed in their opinions; some were of opinion that they were either to give it over, or to put the dispute off till another time; others who were resolute in denying temporal possession, were for endeavouring to get the Pope to gratifie the Republicque, and to restore this preheminance, and power unto them, which other Princes enjoyed in their Dominions.

Those who dissented from this opinion, shewed, how hard a business it would be to effect, the Pope being so highly incensed, who would not be appeased by any new endeavours, but was still the more offended: and, to nourish his anger, he recalled to memory such things wherein he had formerly received but little satisfaction from the Senate, and did sinisterly interpret their good actions. They said, that the Popes of Rome were too deeply interested in this business, who had means to gratifie their Kindred, and servants, by concession of these rich Prelacies, as also, thereby to keep themselves in the more respect and grandeur: so overcome which difficulties, it would behove them to wait for a better time and opportunity, or expect a Pope, who might be better minded to the Commonwealth. They further added, the thing was not in it self so much to be desired, nor so advantageous to the Commonwealth, as to be so highly pressed for, and so violently, endangering themselves, thereby to incur the Pope's displeasure, and Ecclesiastique censures; things which had formerly proved very prejudicial, and almost ruinous to the Commonwealth; in depriving her, as it had often

done, of her chiefest Senators: By giving them these dignities, and charge of Churches, and by interressing so many Families in Ecclesiastical goods and preferments; so as by the Law, many Citizens were excluded from the most important negotiations of government. How could it be thought to tend to the publique good, or that it was of small moment in their Cities, to introduce hereby a Court-like life in many of their families; and more of grandezza and deliciousness, then became a private life, which their Ancestors had always endeavour'd, as much as they could, to keep in an equality, thrifty, and far from such things as might corrupt the ancient customs of their forefathers, or as might beget in some citizens too haughty thoughts, and in others, envie at their too great fortune. That the ambition which was in all men, of attaining unto the usual employments of the Commonwealth, was sufficiently advantageous, without adding another ambition thereunto, of thirsting after ecclesiastical dignities, which would be so much the greater, as the thing endeavour'd seemed the more desirable, by the perpetuity of honour, and by the profit which waited thereupon: and that though they were formerly suffered, it was to be consider'd, that the manners of these times (as is usually seen in all other human things) were already gone far beyond the bounds of that naked honesty, wherewith their predecessors had govern'd themselves and the Commonwealth. But others held to the contrary, that they were not to forbear their former resolution of drawing the Pope to condescend in their reasonable requests, that they had had experience enough, by their late successes, of what force a constant and generous resolution was, whereby having overcome so many difficulties of the severest and saddest times, they had recovered almost their whole State on Terra firma. That it was not to be doubted, but that they might soon reduce their Commonwealth to her former dignity, authority, and honour, if they would still use the same means: And what reason was there to believe, that the Pope, to whom peace was more advantageous then to any others, since thereby he might settle his Nephew in that Grandezza in his country, which had cost him so much Labour and expence to put him into, would now, by troubling the affairs of Italy, expose so great, and now so certain a Fortune, to new and doubtful events of War. That they could not expect a better occasion or opportunity: That Cesar would further this request, both out of the common Interest, and for the need he had of keeping Friendship and good Intelligence with the Commonwealth. That the thing it self was such, as length of time would prove prejudicial to it; for, by enduring the longer deprivation thereof, their former pretence of possession, would become the weaker. But that, if they would consider the particulars of this business more inwardly, the advantages, and conveniences thereof would appear to be so many, as there would be no doubt of the contrary. That other great Princes had this concession, and used it with ample authority; and why should the Commonwealth, which was Mistress of Kingdomes, be inferiour to the rest? That it was apparent enough, how much it imports Princes, in point of State, that Prelates, who are of such Authority in Cities, should not only be their Confidants, but should also be bound unto them: and that they should acknowledge that Dignity, and all their Fortune, from their Natural Prince; so as they might proceed in all things with more sincere Faith, and greater Respect. Nor could the Ambition after this

this degree be more harmful, then that by which the magistracies of the Commonwealth are usually procured: and that it had always been thought, that the need that one Citizen stood in of anothers favour in the attaining unto honours, doth help much to the preservation of civil Government. Whereof, the more various & important occasions are offer'd, so much more the love and union of Citizens are confirm'd and augmented. Nor was that wealth to be blamed in Citizens, which is justly conferr'd upon them by the Publick. And that it was the comfort of many families, and made many out of such hopes to be the more careful in breeding up good Subjects, who by their learning and manners might be capable of such preferments, and prove after very fit for the Government of the Commonwealth. And when provision is not had by the good Orders of a City, that Citizens may of themselves love good demeanour, and the good of their Country, it was in vain to blame riches, or praise poverty; since both of them may equally allure corrupt minds to wickedness, though by several ways.

These and other reasons were alledged according to the diversity of opinions, so as the business rested in suspense, and undecided. But at the last, taking a middle way, it was resolv'd, that to gratifie the Pope, possessions should be given to all such, as till then the Pope had conferr'd Bishopricks upon in their Dominions. But that nevertheless, not desisting from their former demands, but professing that they had done this only out of respect, and observancy to Clement, they should seem to hope the more to obtain their desire. Yet the Pope, who did first require this in sign of their obedience, could not be appeased, but appeared still more obdurate, so as the business could be brought to no better condition.

But other more weighty affairs diverted them from this care, and advised them to endeavour a good intelligence with the Pope; for in the beginning of the year 1531. 'twas known that Soliman intended great war upon Christendom, having already accommodated his differences with the King of Persia, from whom some were already come to Constantinople, to confirm the peace. Many things raised a jealousy that he would make attempts, not only by land but by Sea too; for he had sent his Standard to Cariatino, surnamed Barbarossa, a very famous Pyrat, for his skillfulness in Sea affairs, and for the great harm he had done to Christendom: and this man he had received into the number of his Commanders; which he acquainted the Venetians with, to the end that they might not proceed with him any more as with a Pyrate, but as with one that belonged to him. And though the Bashawes did often affirm that they would keep friendship and peace with the Commonwealth, yet it being neither honourable nor safe, to leave the Sea open to the discretion of these barbarous people, it behoved them to make extraordinary provision of Gallies, and of Souldiers: which was the more grievous to them, for that the publick purse being exhausted by the late wars, they could not well find monies for so great an expence; therefore they were forced to have recourse to other means, amongst which they thought, that to seize on the Tythes of the Clergy within their Dominions, which were very many, was a very good course; which they endeavour'd

vour'd to obtain of the Pope, wherein they proceeded with him, with much dexterity and humanity: But yet they could not overcome many difficulties which stuck with him; so as the business was protracted, nay, to a double displeasure of the Venetians, he designed to lay two tenths upon all the goods of the Ecclesiasticks throughout *Italy*, meaning to make use of these monies, as he said, in assisting the Catholick Cantons of the Switzers, against which the Hereticks had taken up Arms. So as the Commonwealth was not only deprived of this benefit of Tythes, which being to be taken out of the Incomes of their own Territories, seemed imployable for the benefit thereof; but occasion was thereby given of greater disturbances, by the jealousies given to the Turks, that these monies raised in the Popes name, might be for the service of some League to be made against them. Yet the Senate, though they were deprived of these aids, and of all hopes of ever attaining thereunto, the Pope being mightily scandalized, for that out of confidence of obtaining this favour, they had begun a little too early to exact them, would not delay making requisite provisions; but overcoming all difficulties, resolved for the present to arm fifty Gallies, which were forthwith put to Sea, in excellent order. But this great noise of war, did soon after cease of it self; for *Soliman* being gone into *Andrinopolis*, with intention (as was given out) that he might mind these preparations the better, gave himself to the delight of hunting, and did so defer the affairs of war, as he did not this year trouble any place with his Forces. Yet the Venetian Fleet was not all this while idle, the Sea being full of Pyrates, who assembled together in great numbers, infested all the Seas, and disturb'd navigation, and commerce: But these were driven away in all parts, and many of their Vessels were taken, and destroy'd, to the general advantage, and to the great praise of the Venetians. At this same time, the King of *Hungary*, though he kept himself in good order for war, and that his forces were greater then *Ferdinando's*, yet were it either that he did expect succour from the Turks for his greater security, or that he feared the aid which *Charles* was said to prepare for his brother, or that he desired to accommodate his affairs rather by treaty then by arms, by reason of the little confidence he had in his own Subjects, did not attempt any thing.

Thus Arms being suspended, as it were by a tacit consent, on all sides, he sent *Jovanni Lasco* Embassadour to the Emperour, from whom not being able to get any resolution, *Lasco* past on to *Ferdinand*, and meeting with no less doubts and difficulties touching his proposals in him, he intended to go to other German Princes, to treat of his Kings affairs with them; but his safe conduct being deny'd him by *Ferdinando*, he was forc'd to return to *Hungary*. But King *John* made it known by other means in the Dyets which were held in several parts of *Germany*, and especially amongst the Hereticks, that he might keep *Ferdinand* from being assisted by them; that *Soliman* would esteem them his friends or enemies, who should appear friends or enemies to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. And leaving nothing unattempted, he sent his Embassadours also to *Venice*, desiring

ring the Senate that they would mediate both with the Emperour and Pope to embrace his cause, and bring affairs to some composition; wherefore the Senate knowing that King *John* was resolv'd to try all extremes, so as he might keep his Kingdom, and that the Turks were still ready to defend him, they, that they might remove all new troubles and dangers from Christendome, readily embraced his cause, and mov'd the Pope in his behalf. But they could not do much good therein; for the Pope, were it either that he did rather favour *Ferdinando*, then King *John*, or that he was really so minded, seemed more inclined to have the business decided by Arms, then by Treaty. So as the rumours of war beginning again to be renew'd, and *Soliman* having more certainly published his resolution, of coming with very powerful forces into *Hungary*, to recover the City of *Sirigonia*, which was possess'd by *Ferdinando*, the Pope sent his Nuntio, the Bishop of *Verona*, to *Venice*, to require the Senate to declare what their intentions were, and what they would do, if the Turks should return with an Army into *Hungary*; and to desire them that they would joyn with the rest of the Princes of Christendom, in shewing their good will to oppose these common Enemies. The Senators were very doubtful what to do herein; they were set upon on one side by their zeal to Religion, and State Policy, by reason of the great danger which accrew'd to the Commonwealth, by the increase of their Neighbour the Turks forces, who were Enemies to all Christian Princes: And on the other side, they were afraid they should find but little constancy in the Princes, and that to shun more uncertain, and farther distant dangers, they might run upon such as were certain, and present. Their inward thoughts were very fervent, but they cool'd therein apace when they considered the nature of the business. The Enemy being very strong, and their friends not likely to agree in uniting their minds, and forces; and that these very things had been many times propos'd rather to shew an appearance of zeal, then out of any resolution, or well grounded hopes, of effecting the thing propounded. So as neither totally embracing this invitation, nor yet seeming altogether averse thereunto, they return'd this answer to the Pope.

"That the desire of the good of Christendom was ancient, and hereditary in the Venetian Senate; but that as this made them readily willing to do any thing tending to the service thereof, so did it grieve them, that the present condition, neither of times, nor affairs, would suffer them to shew it. That the greatest Princes of Christendom were now at great odds; so as there was small hopes that they would joyn their forces against these common Enemies. That the Commonwealth was too weak of her self, to oppose the Turks with any hopes of much advantage. That they might affirm their State did confine for the space of two thousand miles, leading from *Cyprus* to all *Dalmatia*, upon the Turks; in whose power there was always likewise great numbers of their Citizens; and of their substances to a great value; which things impos'd upon them a necessity of temporizing with the Turks; and which would not easily permit them to declare themselves their Enemies.

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“That they did notwithstanding very much praise the wisdom, and piety of the Pope, in fore-seeing, and in providing against the dangers of Christendom; but that they did trust their too just and too well known respects, would be both acknowledged and allowed of throughout Christendom.

But *Ferdinando*, though he saw all these indeavourings of Leagues would prove vaine, hoping that he might obtain better conditions by Arms, then those that were profferd him by King *Fohn*, despised all Treaties: for he was already declared in the convention of *Cullen*, to be the King of the Romans, and Succesor to his Brother *Charles* in the Empire; and he had got many aids in the Diets held at *Lins* and *Prague*, and hopes of greater succours from his Brother. But the Venetians continued still in their indeavours for peace; and having sent their Embassadours to *Ferdinando*, to congratulate his new dignity, they inserted many speeches, wherein they exhorted him to imbrace peace, and to make good the hopes which were conceived of him; that as a wise and an excellent Prince, he would above all things, study the peace and good of Christendom. Peace was the more indeavourd and desired by those who did sincerely desire the common good, and considered the conditions of the present times, because it was known, that grievous Wars, and the beginnings of other calamities were threatned elsewhere; for the Kings of *France* and *England*, finding that they had opportunity offer'd them of molesting the Emperour, by reason of the necessity he lay under of defending the Territories of his own family, and of the Empire, from the Turks, plotted several waies how to make War against him. The former being moved by his antient desire of recovering the State of *Milan*; the other, by a new distaste conceived against *Charles*, for defending his Aunt———wife to *Henry*, but who was by him repudiated, through the desire he had of another Wife. They therefore joyntly endeavour'd to egg on many German Princes against *Charles*, who were not well satisfied with him, and they themselves prepared for Arms: So as it was imagined that nothing was expected to the making of War, but that the Turks should be the first who should draw the Emperours forces into those parts, whereof greater and more certain rumour now arose; for *Soliman*, who heard daylie of these intentions of the Christian Princes, and thinking for the same reasons, to find *Cesar* busied in several Wars at one and the same time, seemed every day more resolute to defend, and maintain the cause of his friend and confederate King *Fohn*; and more desirous also to recover the reputation of his Forces, which he thought, was not a little lessened by his retreat from *Vienna*.

In the beginning therefore of the year 1532. he went to *Andrapoli*, where he divulged what he intended to do; and having before his departure, shewed both in words and actions, a great desire of preserving friendship with the Venetians, he had given order for the expedition of the great Gallies, which for the aforesaid reasons had lain idle in *Soria*, and in *Alexandria*; permitted all free commerce to the Merchants of that Nation; laying aside the thought of reducing the business to *Constantinople*; readily granted the carriage of Corn and

and Salt-peter, out of divers parts of his Dominions, giving many other signs of putting an esteem upon the Commonwealth, and of his desire to continue peace with her. But being intent upon assembling his Army, he had sent orders to all the Spacchi of *Greece* (these are a sort of men who serve on Horseback, receiving a perpetual proportion of land, granted them by the Prince) to come and meet him, well provided with Horse and Arms. He had likewise demanded such Auxiliaries from the Tartarians, Wallacchi, and Transilvanians, as they were bound by Articles to send unto his Camp; so as having taken the field, and begun his march, he had, when he came near the confines of *Hungary*, about an hundred and fifty thousand souldiers, amongst which there was twenty thousand gallant Janizaries, all foot, bred up from their youth, perpetually and solely to this sort of Militia. When *Soliman* was come with this his Army to *Belgrado*, a Town lying in the lower *Hungary*, he made it be proclaimed, that he would give Battel to *Charles* the Emperour, and assuring himself of victory, heinsolently threatned, that he would drive him out of *Germany*, and assume unto himself all the Rights and Territories of the Western Empire; affirming them to appertain unto him, as to the true Emperour, and Lord of *Constantinople*: But *Charles* had raised a no less powerful Army to oppose these Forces, which he had gathered out of almost all the Nations of Christendom; which was greater and gallanter, then had been seen in many former ages; and herewith he stayed, expecting the enemy before the Walls of *Vienna*. All mens minds were held in suspense touching what would become at this so great a rumour of War, chiefly the Venetians, who for other important reasons, were much concern'd in this business, and were very solicitous in expecting what the event would be: but in their wishes they were for the Christians, and permitted the souldiers of their dominions, to go to the Emperour, and did that underhand, which they were not allowed to do in publique. But truly, it was very miraculous, that so great a preparation for War, should produce no notable effect on either side: for *Soliman*, without passing any further, and sending only one of his Captains, by name *Cassone*, to pillage *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*, who was afterwards supprest, and destroyed by the Count Palatine, returned back to *Constantinople*: and on the other side, *Charles* not having ever stirr'd with his Camp from before the walls of *Vienna* (for his Captains thought it not safe to quit that quarter, that they might not go far from *Danubius*, and go into the open champagnia, whereby they might want the conveniency of that River, and be exposed to the violence of *Solimans* so numerous Cavalry) having received certain news whither the Turks were gone, dissolved his Army suddenly, and leaving a Garrison of Souldiers with his brother, resolved to come himself in person into *Italy*, and to pass from thence to *Spain*; which gave the French occasion to upbraid him with this sudden departure, when their King was at another time accused by *Charles* for keeping him from advancing against the Turks, since (as they said) when he himself was in Arms, and free as then from all other Wars, he had not used opportunity of pursuing the enemy, but suffered him to retreat with such safety and conveniency, as that he

carried

carried away above thirty thousand Prisoners from off his Territories. So as it seemed *Cesar* was to confess, either that he had not forces sufficient, or else courage and resolution to fight the Turkish Armies.

At this very time, the Imperial and Turkish Fleets were gone forth very strong to Sea, wherefore the Venetians thinking it became them, both for the honour and safety of their State, so as they might be provided for whatsoever should happen, they resolved to add a great many Gallies to their Fleet, and to constitute a Commander of great authority over them. Thus by order from the Senate, twenty Gallies were suddenly armed in the Islands of *Candia*, *Zante*, and *Corfu*, and in other Towns of *Dalmatia*, which made up the number of the Fleet sixty, the Government whereof was given to *Vicenzo Capello*, who was created Captain General at Sea: His Commission was to look carefully to the preservation of all places, and Subjects belonging to the Commonwealth, not suffering any injury to be done unto them, but not to meddle by any means in the affairs of any foreign Fleet; that both the Imperialists and Turks should be treated as friends, that they should be allowed Havens and Victuals, but neither Arms nor ammunition, nor any thing appertaining to War; for the Senate was stedfastly resolved to keep peace and friendship with all. The Turkish Fleet being then put forth into the Eastern Seas, to the number of eighty Sail, some twenty lesser Vessels being nimbred amongst the Gallies, commanded by *Immerale*, and the Imperial Fleet into the Western, consisting of forty nimble Gallies, to boot with a great number of Men of War, commanded by *Andrea Doria*, and it not appearing as yet, what the commanders ends or commissions were, General *Capello* kept between *Zant* and *Corfu*, endeavouring (according to his Commission) to secure the Subjects, but to shun all occasion of encountering with this Fleet, in case it should advance, that he might give no suspicion of favouring one party more than the other. *Immerale* being come to *Pevessa*, *Capello* tartying at *Corfu*, sent one of his Gallies to make him a friendly Visit, which he took very kindly, and promised to have a great care to the affairs of the Commonwealth, not suffering any of her Subjects to be injured; and it was a great truth, that the Turkish Fleet having touched at *Zant*, and at other places, had not injured any one. But *Doria* putting from *Sicily*, where he had tarried long, sailed towards *Greece*, and hearing that the Venetian Fleet was at *Zant*, he would go thither also with his Gallies, that he might speak with General *Capello*, intending, as it was believ'd (for he had often said he would do so) to put a necessity upon the Venetians of joyning with him, by making the Turks jealous that their Fleets would joyn; concerning which union, he had written many letters to the Senate; and the Emperours Embassadour then resident at *Venice*, had several times with much importunity, prest to know, that if it should so fall out, as his Masters and the Turks Fleet should have a conflict, whether the Venetian General was to assist *Soliman*, or no: Which it being very well known how far the Venetian were from doing, they knew these queries were made, to bring them to some farther justification of themselves, by some promise which might

might make them quit their Neutrality: Therefore the Senate, and General *Capello* gave such answers, as might witness their forwardness, and willingness to keep friends with *Cesar*, but that they would not be brought, either out of favour to him, or out of any vain hopes of self-interest, to break peace with so powerful an Enemy. Thus the Imperial and Turkish Fleets being almost equally ballanced in point of force, they lay idle all the Summer; neither of them daring to fall upon any Enterprize, for fear of being worsted by the other. At last the Turkish Fleet beginning, because it was much weakened by the Souldiers sickness, to retire towards *Negraponte*, to the end, as it was believed, that they might winter in *Constantinople*, *Doria* grew thereupon the bolder, and having a great many Souldiers in his Fleet, after many consultations, steered his course towards *Morea*, resolving to attempt the taking of *Corone*; which after some resistance made by the Turkish Garrison, he took by force, and soon after took *Patrasso* by agreement. But winter being now at hand, both the Fleets with-drew into their several Havens, not doing any remarkable action. Wherefore the Venetians, that they might not be at so great an expence to no purpose, disarm'd their extraordinary Gallies, which had been armed abroad, and some of the oldest also, which had formerly been in their Fleet.

This happy success of the Imperialists, encouraged the Christians to hope for greater things; every little acquisition being highly esteemed by them, who were always wont to come off with the loss. But others, weighing the condition of affairs better, said, that such things were vainly undertaken, as could produce no true, nor greatly considerable advantage to the service of Christendom; for since the Turkish Forces remained intire both by Sea and Land, what reason had they to nourish any hopes of maintaining those places long, to which the Enemy might easily bring their most powerful Armies both by Land and Sea? And certainly, the sequel made this be the better known; for the next year *Corone* was re-taken by the Turks, to the great loss and shame of the Christians. And the like not many years after befell *Castel Novo*, which was first taken, and soon after lost by our men, as shall hereafter be related.

These things were done abroad; but in *Italy* all things were this mean while peaceable, save that the Duke of *Milan* was forced to send his men against the Commander of the castle of *Mus*, who desirous to better his condition by some novelty, and hoping to be assisted by the Landsknechts, had taken some places amongst the Grisons, and threatened the City of *Como*: which caused the Duke to send a Servant of his, *Jovan Battisto Spettano*, to crave help from the Senate. To which the Senate answered, that they were to proceed herein with great caution, lest they might trouble the quiet of *Italy*, and raise jealousies that they had deeper designs: But that if the occasion should increase, he should find them as ready as they had been for so many late years, to assist the Duke and his affairs. Which was the occasion of the quenching of this little spark; which, if the Venetians should have taken up Arms, was feared might have broken out into a greater fire: For the Grisons being assisted in this interim

by some of the Cantons of the Switzers, had assembled a good number of men, with whom they made head against the aforesaid Commander, and brought him to agreement; to the which the Duke when he understood the Venetians resolution, did the more willingly assent, and at last had the town of *Lecco*, and the Castle of *Mus* restored unto him, for a certain sum of money. At the same time, the possession of the Cities of *Modena* and *Regio* was confirm'd to the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the Emperours favourable decree in his behalf, though the Pope complain'd much thereof. To whom the Duke, being to pay for this 100000 Duckets within a prefix'd time, and the Pope requiring Pledges, the Duke gave him fifteen Gentlemen of *Venice*, whom the Pope accepted of, upon the Senates word, that they were sufficient security for such a sum. A little before this, the Duke was return'd to favour and friendship with the Common-wealth; whereby he was freely re-admitted to the possession of a noble Palace in *Venice*, which was formerly given to his Predecessors by the Senate, and had been taken from him by reason of the late wars; and a greater desire of good intelligence was daily discover'd to be in them of both sides, the Senate favouring the accommodation of his affairs with the Pope, as much as they could, with whom the Duke was yet in contumacy; for his Holiness could not well content himself to forego those two Cities, to which he had very much aspired, out of other designs of his own. Wherefore *Cesar* finding that some grudgings did remain in the Popes mind, and being willing to sweeten him by some good turn, he bethought himself of coming again into *Italy*; and of speaking once more with the Pope in the same town of *Bullonia*. He knew he might stand in so much the more need of *Clement's* friendship at this time, for that he understood the French began to stir again; and he hoped to be able by his interposition and authority, to draw the other Princes of *Italy*, and especially the Venetians, to a stricter confederacy, by the which the defence of the State of *Milan*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples* might not only be provided for, according to the capitulations made two years before, but that the affairs of *Genua* might also thereby be secured, upon which he understood the French had some design. But the Pope was glad to meet with *Cesar* for other respects; for having bethought himself of marrying his Niece to the King of *France* his second Son, and fearing lest *Cesar* being offended thereat, might put some stop to the marriage formerly agreed between his Nephew *Alexander de Medici*, and *Margaret*, *Cesar's* natural daughter, endeavour'd to hold *Cesar* in hand by his usual artifices, and to give him some satisfaction. He therefore caused all the Potentates of *Italy* to send their Embassadours to *Bologna*, to treat about the new confederacy, which he knew was much desired by them all.

But the Venetians were as much troubled hereat, for as they were fully resolv'd not to come to any new confederacy with *Cesar*, so would they not willingly be put upon a necessity of denial, and of displeasing him thereby. Many respects concurr'd in confirming their resolution of not altering their first capitulations at *Bullonia*, the consideration of not raising jealousies in the Turks, that their treaties aim'd

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ed not at the affairs of *Italy*, but at Leagues to be made against them: And they were to proceed the more cautiously with them; for that they understood a very powerful Fleet was to come from *Constantinople* the next Spring. Likewise the King of *France* his Interests, and the opinions which he might conceive hereat, seem'd not to be set at naught; since the further incensing him, must needs redound to the disadvantage of the Common-wealth, by entering into new obligations with the Emperour, to boot with those which they had formerly alledged upon many occasions, in excuse of being compell'd by necessity to embrace peace; or else alienate him wholly from thinking of the Affairs of *Italy* any more; with which the Venetians were not displeased, that *Cesar's* aspiring thoughts might be allay'd; and whereby he might be occasioned to value their Friendship the more.

These things were the more weigh'd, for that they knew *Cesar's* chief drift in this new League, was to defend *Genua*, whereat the Turks and French, were very much troubled. The Turks, because the very name of that City was odious to them, for that the Fleet came from thence which had taken *Corone* from them, and done them so many other mischeifs. And the French, because the securing of *Genua*, forc'd a necessity of taking up Arms against them; by reason of the noise already spread abroad, that they were to attempt this enterprize. They suspected likewise, lest this might be a trick of *Cesar's*, to raise jealousies by these Treaties in the Turks, and King of *France*, against the Common-wealth; by bringing her into a necessity, not only of joyning with him, but in making her depend upon his will, and follow his fortune, declaring themselves to be friends to his friends and enemies to his enemies. The Venetians answered therefore the desires made in this behalf by *Cesar's* Agents who were at *Rome*, by deviating from the proposition, and by asserting their constant resolution of maintaining the League which they had already made with *Cesar*, and the other Colleagues, and their desire of the peace and quiet of *Italy*.

But this mean while, *Cesar* came himself in person into *Italy*, coming by the way of *Villaco*, whither he was accompanied by his Brother *Ferdinando*. He was received at *Pontieba* by four Venetian Embassadours, *Marco Minio*, *Feronimo Pesaro*, *Lorenzo Bragadino*, and *Marco Foscar*, who were appointed to receive him by the Common-wealth, and to wait upon him, as long as he tarried in their Dominions. But when the meeting was had at *Bullonia*, in the end of the year 1532. in the beginning of *January* the next ensuing year 1533. he began to think upon more weighty affairs, and chiefly to renew his intercessions with the Venetians, touching the new confederacy, for which the other Princes had sent their Embassadours to *Bullonia*. He therefore sent for *Mark Antonio Veniero*, and *Mark Antonio Contarini*; the one of them being Embassadour from the Common-wealth, resident with the Pope, the other with himself, whom these Princes did joyntly persuade to make them mediate strongly with the Senate, in persuading them to embrace such things as were propounded for the greater common security, and for the quiet of *Italy*, which was so advantageous

and so dear unto them. And moreover, the Pope sent his Nuntio, *Roberto Maggio* to Venice, for the same end; but as it was thought, he did it more to satisfie *Cesar*, then himself. But the Senate seeking several times how to deviate from this proposall, as they had formerly done, by attesting their settled resolution, and good will to observe the agreement made the year 29. which stood yet firm and valid; being still solicited to the same thing, resolved to discover their reasons in part, concealing the Affairs of *France*, which peradventure, they were not so much troubled at, as was *Cesar*.

They answered, That the Turks were well acquainted with the first convention made at *Bullognia* for the safety of Italy, so as if they should now come to a new League, all the affairs of Christendom being conveyed to that Court, and they being by many accidents increased, so foment distrust and jealousy, certainly they would believe, that this League was made against them; therefore as these just respects had been several times formerly allow'd and admitted of, when the very affairs of *Genua* were in treaty; the condition of the present times were such, as they might now be thought to be of more importance, and to deserve truer excuse. Moreover, it was sufficiently known, that there was no need of any capitulation for the safety of the affairs of Italy; for that *Cesar's* Fleet was sufficient of it self, against any attempt that should be made by Sea, and that sufficient provision was had for any attempt that might be made by Land, by the former confederacy: Even for the affairs of *Genua*; against which no Forces could be brought, which were not to pass through the State of *Milan*, which was comprehended within the Articles of the League, and that experience her self did demonstrate, that sufficient provisions were had for all things in the first agreement, since Italy had already enjoyed three years peace, which was respected even by those that had a mind to disturb her.

The King of *France*, seeking how to strengthen these allegations made by the Venetians, strove to remove all suspicions of his making War. The French Cardinals urg'd this much with the Pope, & the French Embassadour as much with the Senate; so as *Cesar* having no hopes to prevail with the Venetians, and the Pope himself growing cool therein, seeing his intercessions could do no good, and two Months being already over, since the convention met, so as *Cesar's* desires and occasions called him back into *Spain*. The League between the Pope, and the Emperour, and the other Princes of Italy, to wit, the Dukes of *Milan*, and *Ferrara*, and the Cities of *Genua*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, and *Florence*, was concluded, and published, about the end of February.

In which it was agreed upon, That the aforementioned should deposit 110000 Ducates; that the same provision should be monthly paid, according to the certain proportions by them all; in time of War, and in time of Peace 25000 Ducates; for the entertainments of the Commanders: And *Antonio da Leva* was declared Captain General of the League. The Duke of *Savoy* was likewise comprehended herein, for what concern'd his Territories in Italy; and also the Duke of *Mantua*; but without any particular Obligation to pay their part of this contribution.

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And it was observable, that though the Commonwealth had neither assented unto, nor intervened by her Agents in any Treaties, yet, either to give more reputation to the business, or to make other Princes jealous of the Commonwealth, it was said in the contents of the draught of this agreement, that the League made the year 1529. between the Pope, and the other Confederates, with the Commonwealth of *Venice*, was confirmed and established, adding thereunto the names of the aforesaid Italian Princes; and this was not only proclaimed, but printed; so as copies hereof coming to *Constantinople*, and to *England*, it gave occasion to those Princes, both of which were *Cesar's* declared enemies, to complain somewhat of the Senate, and to seem jealous of them. And to aggravate the business with *Soliman*, it was added, that many of the inhabitants of the Islands belonging to the Commonwealth, were in the Fleet, when it went to *Corone*: and to work the like effect in *Henry*, that the Doctors of *Padua*, publicly appointed thereunto, had determined the point of marriage on *Cesar's* side, and against the King of *England*, whereby he lay at this time under Ecclesiastical censure by the Pope. Yet the Senate was very much pleased, that in this convention, wherein the Duke of *Milan* was present, the match was concluded between him, and the Lady *Cristerna*, daughter to the King of *Denmark*, by *Isabella*, *Cesar's* Sister; which was very much desired by the Venetians, that they might see the succession of the State of *Milan*, settled in the Family of the *Sforzas*, and in a Prince of that State, and an Italian: for which the Commonwealth had undergone so long, and so fore Wars. *Cesar* went then from *Bullognia* towards *Milan*, intending to take Sea (as he did) at *Genua*, whither twenty five Gallies were brought by *Doria*, to convey him to *Barcelona*; and when he came to *Cremona*, he writ lovingly to the Venetian Senate, in which Letters he seemed to admit of their excuses, in not assenting to the new League, and desired to be serviceable to the Commonwealth.

Thus fair intelligence and friendship continuing between the Commonwealth and the House of *Austria*, and all parties appearing desirous, that the disputes between the King of the Romans, and the Commonwealth, touching the restitution of certain places possess'd by *Ferdinand*, but belonging to the Commonwealth, might be decided, wherein *Cesar* himself did also intercede, at last, by consent of all sides, *Lodovico Ferro*, a Senator of *Milan*, was chosen Umpire, and *Girolamo Bulfark*, a Dutch Doctor, Arbytrator for *Ferdinand*, and *Masheo Avogaro Bressiano*, Doctor, and Chevalier for the Venetians: These met in the City of *Trent*, whither also Secretary *Andrea Rosso* was sent by the Senate, that he might be assistant at this negotiation, and might inform the Senate of all that should pass; who hoping to have the Forts of *Marrano* and *Gradisca* restored unto them by friendly composition, upon the disbursing of a certain sum of money, sent *Jouannit Delfino*, Podesta of *Verona* to *Trent* likewise, to assist in this business; but so many difficulties were met withal in this, and in other affairs, as the convention was dissolved, without having concluded any thing. The Austrian Commissary would have nothing treated of, but such things, and in such manner, as might prove advantageous to his Prince: But when it

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was proposed on the Venetians behalf, that such things should also be decided, wherein they and their subjects suffered; as the restitution of some Towns, and chiefly those which were wrongfully possess'd by the Austrian subjects, after the capitulation of *Bullognia*; *Bulfarch* either saying he had not sufficient commission to treat thereof, or making some other excuse, sought to delay, & deviate such Treaties, but chiefly he would have nothing to do with the restitution of *Aquila*, which *Ferdinand* was ty'd to return to the Patriarch, as to the lawful owner thereof: a thing which was desired, and endeavour'd by the Venetians for many respects, and without which they would not assent to other things, though they should be agreed upon.

Whilst these things pass amongst the Christian Princes, the Turks being very intent upon the recovery of *Corone*, had prepared a gallant Fleet, and sent it early to Sea, to that purpose: To give a counterpoise to which, *Doria* had likewise put together many Men of War, in several places. These preparations forc'd the Venetians to re-arm their Gallies, which they had in the preceding Winter disarm'd; but howsoever, continuing their former resolution, of not intermeddling in any thing between these Princes, they renewed their orders of the former year to their General *Capello*, who continued still his charge in the Fleet: wherefore he sent *Francisco Dandalo*, Captain of the Gulf, with a good Squadron of Gallies into this our Sea, to guard it from the Pyrats, who being very many, did much harm, and sent four other Gallies for the same end to *Zant*, and the great Gallion to *Capo Malio* (a very commodious place for the Navigation of our Ships which go unto the Levant) a very great Vessel of stupendious building, and excellently well provided of men and artillery: and he, with the rest of the Fleet, kept about *Corfu*, being contented, according to the Senates intencion, to keep their State and affairs uninjured. But all inconveniencies could not be prevented (it being always dangerous, and very scandalous, that men of War, belonging to several Potentates, should keep in the same Seas) *Francisco Dandalo*, Captain of the Gulf, being come with 6 Gallies towards the coasts of *Dalmatia*, and being gotten to the *Sasine*, a place not far from *Vallona*, he might discover twelve of the barbarian Gallies, which taking at first to be those of the Proveditor *Canale*, he bare up with them: but when he came so near them, as that he saw they were Pyrats, he fell roomward, intending (as he said afterwards) to make way for them, to the end, that putting further from land, in hope to escape the better, he might the more commodiously fall upon them, and fight them, where they should not be able to save themselves, but not having communicated this his intencion to any of the Masters of his reserve, they thought he fell roomward, not to fight, but to fly: so as they carrying behind, he was followed only by *Marco Cornaro*, who commanded a Bastard Gally: being this mean while got very near the Pyrats, they, finding the advantage of our Gallies being separated and divided, and being themselves very well provided of arms and souldiers, advanced, fell upon our Gallies which were parted from the rest, had the better of them, and carried both them, and them that were in them, into *Barbary*, and amongst the rest, *Dandalo* and *Cornaro*. The Venetians resented this very much, both by reason of the Pyrats daring and

and of their Commanders negligence and indiscretion, who had been the cause of shame to the Gallies of the Commonwealth, which were so highly esteem'd at Sea. Some of the Senators did therefore move, that a good Squadron of Gallies should be sent to the Rivers of *Africa*, particularly to the *Gerbi* and *Algiers*, to burn all the Gallies that they should finde in those parts, in revenge of the injury receiv'd from those men: But finding afterwards that they should do ill to provoke all the Inhabitants of that Country, with whom they held commerce, whereby the Venetian Navigation might be hindred and disturbed, they abstained from that advice. But to free the Commonwealth from any note of infamy, which they might seem to have contracted thorow the cowardize or ignorance of one Officer, *Dandalo* having first been carried to *Constantinople*, from whence, chiefly by *Giusti's* means, he was set at liberty, and return'd to *Venice*, was banish'd to *Bari*, for having badly administr'd the affairs of the Commonwealth.

Another more remarkable accident fell out at the same time, *Giro-limo da Canale*, Commissary of the Fleet, was gone from *Corfu*, with twelve Gallies, to convoy the great Gallies of Merchandize, bent for *Soria* and *Alessandria*, and to secure their Navigation, wherein they were at that time much disturbed by Pyrats; and being all of them come in company together to *Candia*, when they came near land, they were forced to cast anchor in a place where the great Gallies rid some miles distant from the lesser. Being in this posture at Sun-setting on all Saints day, some Vessels were discovered making towards them, by those that were on the Top-mast in the greater Gallies. The Commissary being soon advertized hereof by *Danielle Bragadine*, Captain of the Gallies that were bent for *Alessandria*, the Commissary thinking that they were Pyrats, generously resolv'd to put to Sea with his Convoy, and to fight them: This his suspicion was increased, by the news he heard of what way the Turkish Fleet took; which being gone from *Modone*, to winter at *Constantinople*, the Pyrats were dismiss'd; who at such times, go in greater numbers, and more licentiously a Free-booting. The Commissary was the more encouraged, because his Gallies were very well provided with old Mariners, the most of them being of *Dalmatia*, and well arm'd; but when he was gotten far out to Sea, he found he had only seven of his Gallies with him; for the rest, were it either that the rowers were not of equal strength and discipline, or that their Captains were not alike courageous, carried behind.

The Commissary not being any ways abash'd hereat, playing the part of a good Commander, and skilful Seaman, commanded that all the Gallies which were with him should set up two Lanthorns a peece, to make the Enemy believe the number of his Vessels were more. Then staying in sight of them, he resolv'd to let all their Gallies pass by him, that he might have the wind of them, and fall upon them at advantage. These were twelve Turkish Gallies commanded by a Son of the Moor of *Alessandria*, one of *Solimans* Captains, who when the Fleet was dissolv'd, returned with those Gallies to his Guard of *Barbary*. The young Moor, when he saw our Gal-

lies, were it either that he never intended to come nearer the Island, or to commit any pillage, or that seeing so many Lanthorns in our Gallies, he was afraid and durst not do it, steering on his course, past by the Commissaries Gallies; who plying his Oars followed the Turkish Gallies in the Rear, and began to shoot at them, both on the Flank and poop, and did much prejudice them, not receiving any harm himself by the Turks Artillery by reason of his Station. The first of our Gallies that grapell'd was the Admiral, which luckily light upon the Moors Admiral, between whom a close and dangerous fight began. Many Janesaries were upon this Gally, who for a long time valiantly withstood the assault, but there was another Gally which kept close to the Commissaries Admiral, from whence he was continually supply'd with Souldiers, to make good the conflict; so as the young Moor being sorely wounded, and despairing of being able to defend his Gally any longer, threw himself into the Sea, and sought to save himself, in some other of his Gallies; but being taken by our men, and with much ado making himself known, he obtain'd his life, but his Gally became our prey, and was delivered by the Commissary to the Master of the next Gally, whilst he himself with the rest pursued the victory: In fine, four of them were taken, two sunk, and the rest hoisting all their sails, saved themselves early from the danger. The Turkish Admiral, when he saw our Gallies assault him on the Flank, hoisted sail, and sought to save himself, but his sails being burnt and consumed by certain artificial fire-works shot from out our Commissaries Gally, and his Rudder being by and by born away by a Cannon-shot, he was forc'd to stay, and to endeavour his safety by fighting.

The Souldiers and common people of *Candia*, were well pleased with this success, but the Magistrates and graver sort of people, were as much displeased, considering that the Gallies which were taken, were no Pyrate Vessels, but belonging to *Soliman*, a powerful Prince, who it was feared might hold the peace made between him and the Common-wealth, violated by this act, and might easily be provoked to make war against her Territories. Wherefore the Magistrates of *Candia*, and Sea Captains meeting together, they resolved to send the Gallies immediately back to *Barbary*, and took order the mean while for curing the Turkish Captain, using him civilly, and excusing their fault by the error of night.

When this News came to *Venice*, the Senators were for the same cause greatly troubled, and the rather, for that the Harvest proving very bad this year, and they having hoped to feed the numerous Inhabitants of the City, with corn which they expected out of *Turky*, from whence they had not only obtain'd transportation of corn, but had begun to load divers of their ships therewithal, they feared lest this offence might be done unseasonably: For the Turkish Officers who were upon the shore side, had already, without expecting any farther Orders from the Court, embargode the Venetian ships, which were at the loading places, ready to carry corn away. For this it was propos'd by some, that another Commissary should be chosen in lieu of *Canale*, who should be deprived of that place, and sent for

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back, to give an account of what he had done. But this action was by others stoutly defended, as done by military reason, and worthy to be rewarded, not punished; for that it did not become the dignity and honour of the Commonwealth, which was so highly esteemed, to punish, or but to appear inclined to punish such servants, who behaving themselves well and valiantly, had discharged the trust imposed in them faithfully. Thus these proposals being laid aside, it was resolved by a joyn't consent, to send *Daniel de Fedirici*, Secretary to the *Progradi*, to *Constantinople*, who was a discreet man, and well experienced in other affairs; that he might justify what was done, *viva voce*, to the *Bascia*, and to *Soliman* self; shewing the necessity which had enforced our Captain, out of apprehension of the armed Vessels which came so near him, and by the darkness of the night, to fight their friends Gallies; and that on the other side, the sudden sending back of those, and the good usage of their Captain, might sufficiently prove their sincere good will towards the Grand Signior. The admittance of these things was much furthered by the good offices done by *Ebrakim* and *Gritti*; but especially by the new war of *Persia*, on which *Soliman* having already fix'd his mind, he would not promote any thing that might divert him from it. Thus these communications being honourably appeased at *Constantinople*, *Canale* reaped the more praise and glory; who dying not long after in the same charge, the Senate in acknowledgment of his long and faithful service, granted a certain annual Revenue in fee, during *Canale*'s life time, to his Son *Antonio*, in the Island of *Cosfu*. *Canale* was certainly a gallant man in his time, and very famous for his experience in Sea affairs, and for his noble daring, which made him easily attempt whatsoever difficulties.

These things hapned in the Venetian Fleet, but that of the Emperours, after it had tarried long about *Naples* and *Messina*, went boldly on to relieve *Corone*, though her Captains knew, that the Enemy was very strong in those Seas: And they were successful therein, for according to their intention, they brought relief to their men who were besieged in *Corone*, and were already reduced to the utmost extremity: But conceiving some better hopes afterwards of greater success and victory against the Turkish Fleet, which leaving the way open to its Enemies, did by its direct running away, declare the weakness, and fear thereof, it proved by fault of the chief Commander, or by the perpetual misfortune of Christendome, vain, and to no purpose. Nay it may be said, that this cowardise of the Turkish Commanders proved more prejudicial to Christendom; for *Soliman*, not satisfied with those to whom he had committed the Government of his Fleet, and blaming their fear and want of experience, sent for *Caviadino*, nicknamed *Barbarossa*, who of a Pyrate, being become a Prince, did then command over the City of *Algiers*, and gave him the charge of his maritime affairs. This man was very expert at the Mariners art, and having roved a long time with armed ships upon the Sea, knew very particularly all the Christian situations, and Sea-coasts about *Barbary*, and had got a great repute, by many prosperous successes against the Moors in the African Rivers, and particularly by the rout which

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he gave the Spanish Gallies as they past four years before under the Government of Don *Hugo di Montada*, to *Genna*, to find out *Doria*. He may be said to be the first that taught the Turks how to manage a Fleet & all things else belonging to the maritime Militia, who had hitherto minded the grounding, and increasing of their power only by Land Armies. By his counsel the arming of Gallies with Slaves was first instituted, which were formerly used to be armed with raw and unexperienced men; & by him were many other orders made, whereby the Turkish Fleets are become more formidable to Christian Princes. *Soliman* being resolved to make use of this man, gave the Venetians quick notice thereof, to the end that they might treat with him, if they should meet him hereafter, as with one that appertain'd to his Court, knowing that he was continually pursued by their Gallies, as one who had done them much prejudice. And truly he was afterwards an Instrument of much mischief to Christendom, and particularly to the State of *Venice*, as shall be made known by what succeeded.

At this time, for all these eminent dangers that threatned Christendom, the Pope was notwithstanding so intent, and more then ever fervent in his accustomed desires, of exalting his Nephews, and his Family, as he had had secret Treaties with the King of *France*, of a Marriage between *Katharine*, to his Nephew *Lorenço de Medici*, and *Henry Duke of Orleans*, the King's second Son, to effect the which, he promised the King to come to *Nize*. The News of this interview being noised abroad, though the business which was there to be treated of was not certainly known, did much trouble the Venetians; chiefly, because it was given out, that the Emperour was to meet there also. The actions of these Princes were therefore diligently observed by the Senators, who had learned by what had pass'd at the Diet at *Cambray*, and by more recent affairs, that all things ought to be apprehended, and suspected, from the ambition of Princes. But the interview which should have been in *July*, being put off to *September*, the true cause of this meeting was discovered; for the better ordering whereof, the Bishop of *Faenza* met at *Nize* for the Pope, and Monsieur *Le Grand* for the King, which freed the Venetians of their jealousies. The Pope acquainted them afterwards with his designe, and with the cause thereof; wherein not concealing his intention of his Nieces Marriage any longer, he thought to disguise it in other colours; and that he did not look so much at his own particular interest in this Treaty, as at the common good, and the safety of *Italy*: Which he knew, and which the Senate had formerly well considered, did consist in nothing more, then in keeping the Forces of these two Princes as equally ballanced as might be; so as the power of the one, might be counterpoysed by the others; wherefore doubting lest the King of *France* despairing of the Italian Princes friendship, might not give over all thoughts of the affairs of *Italy*, and so *Cesar* might be confirm'd in his grandeur, and be made as it were Arbitrator of all things, he had desired to tye himself in the band of alliance with him, as he had done with *Cesar*; so as his authority might be still the greater with both the one and the other of them, upon all occasions. But though

though the Venetians knew these reasons, yet thinking that they had discharged themselves sufficiently therein, by refusing the new League proposed by *Cesar*, whereby the King of *France* might hope in time to alienate them wholly from him; and they desiring quiet at this time, whereby the Common-wealth might take breath, after so long and so sore molestations, and put themselves into a better condition; all things must needs be troublesome to them, whereby this quiet might too soon be disturbed; which they thought might happen the more easily by this alliance between the Pope and King of *France*; for that having found by many experiences, that the desire of aggrandizing his Family, prevailed with the Pope above all other affections, they thought he might easily be drawn by the King of *France*, to favour the affairs of *Milan*; the King promising him to do it for the Duke of *Orleans*, now become his Nephew. But though both the Interview, and the Marriage were had, the Pope not going to *Nize* to meet the King, but to *Marcelles*, to please him the more, where the Marriage was celebrated with a great deal of Pomp; yet these aspiring thoughts which were suspected, succeeded not; by reason of divers accidents which hapned both before and after the Popes death, which ensued not long after. Thus *Italy* remained quiet, and the Venetians free from being bound to take up Arms. The commotions in *Germany*, helped, as was thought, to keep the Pope from thinking of Novelities; for the Landgrave of *Hesse*, having (together with many other Protestant Princes) raised many men, to reinvest *Ulderick*, Duke of *Wittenbergh* in his State, it was said, that they meant to pass therewith into *Austria*, against *Ferdinand*, and to come from thence into *Italy*; a thing which the Germans did much desire, and by the very name whereof, their Army became the greater. But these tumults were appeased, by the agreement made with the King of the Romans, against whom their chiefest quarrel was, for his possessing the Territories of the Duke of *Wittenbergh*.

Thus *Italy* enjoyd great quiet, and the Common-wealth was on this side free from trouble. But for the matters of Sea, they were at continual expence, and full of State jealousies; so as she could not be said to enjoy the benefit of peace perfectly.

The next ensuing year of 1534, was not freer from the voyages of Fleets, and from these suspicions, then were the preceding years, for a powerfull Fleet was prepared at *Constantinople*, which was likely to be the more formidable, in that it was to be commanded by one so valiant and so well experienced as *Cariadino* hath been said to be. Great store of armed Vessels were likewise provided in the West: for *Charles*, thinking that the Turks would turn their forces chiefly against his Territories, did all he could to encrease his Fleet, so as it might be able to resist them; and the King of *France*, who grew dayly more impatient of being in peace, armed 30 Gallies at *Marcelles*, to what end it was not yet known. Many Frigates were also rigg'd on the Coasts of *Barbary*, not onely to pillage, but to joyn with the Turkish Fleet, and to adhere to *Cariadino*; and amongst other Pyrates, *Sinam Cisar*, a renegade, surnamed *Il Gindco*, was very famous, as being a bold man, and very well experienced at Sea affairs.

Wherefore

Wherefore the Pope, to secure his channels from these Incurfions, and, as some thought, out of other designs, armed ten Gallies. These so many Fleets made the Venetians very jealous, and forced them to be at great expence in increasing the number of their Gallies, and of their Garrisons upon the Sea coasts. Wherefore being necessitated to use all helps, by reason of so many extraordinary expences, they had recourse unto the Pope again, that they might be permitted to raise an hundred thousand Duckets, for these publick, and important necessities, out of the revenues of the Clergie of their Common-wealth.

There were some, who having found the Pope to be very hard to be brought to this, advised, that either the State might raise these moneys of themselves, or that they should be a little more urgent with the Pope, alledging that great store of wealth was appropriated to the Church in their State, which being free, and exempt from all publick contributions, the rest of the Country was subject to insupportable grievances, and yet the charges of Fleets and Souldiers was raised for the generall freedoms and possessions: and that it was not to be believed, that it was the intention of those pious men, who had thus endowed the Churches, to destroy the Common-wealth thereby, by depriving her of making use of the revenues of any particular men, whereby the publick Treasury was maintained: That they found the Pope to be ill affected to their Common-wealth, and the affairs thereof, which had made him often deny these so reasonable requests, by still interposing new delays, and difficulties.

Yet such was the Senators zeal to religion, and their respect such to the Apostolick see, as suffering these to overcome all other considerations, these mens advice was not listned unto; but the major part of the Senatours did resolutely affirm;

That it did not become that Common-wealth, which was borne and continued Christian, and had been perpetually obedient, and kept joyned to the Church and Pope of Rome, whereby she had purchased great and exemplary glory; to do now any thing which might detract from her so many former meritorious actions, or to differ from what she had been for so many preceding years, by seizing upon the Churches revenues, or by violating therein the Pope's will: That the Commonwealth had governed and justified her self in harder times then these, without any such means, or using any such scandalous courses: That they were not to distrust, but that he who sees the hearts of men, and who is able to do all things, would even in greater necessities, furnish them by unknown ways, with much more prevalent means, then those weak ones, which they sought to finde out by such inhumane and dangerous counsels: That if the Pope should continue in his wonted obdurancie, the wisdom of the Venetian Senate ought to appear both before God and man, to be so much the more pious and mature.

This opinion prevayling, and they continuing to proceed with the Pope with all humanity and reverence, they at last obtained a subsidie of one hundred thousand Duckets to be raised from the Clergie; a thing

thing not of so much esteem in it self, as that divers difficulties being thereby overcome, it was thought, the like might be come by the more easily afterwards; as also, that it argued the Popes good opinion of the Common-wealth. Monies being raised by this means, and by many other ways, the Senate minded the increase of these Gallies, (which were still commanded by General *Capella*), and the sending of Foot into their Islands, and Maritime Towns, that their affairs might be safe, and that they might expect what the Issue of so many Fleets would be.

The Turks ceased not, whilst their Fleet was preparing, to attempt the regaining of *Corone* by land Forces, wherewith they did besiege it so closely, as the Spanish Souldiers growing impatient, and being almost desperat by reason of their so great sufferings in almost all things, sallied out to assault the Turkish Camp: but succeeding ill therein, (for they were worsted by the enemy) lost many of their men, and were forc'd to retreat back into the Fort: They found themselves by these losses, and by the pestilence, reduced to so small a number, as when the ships arrived which brought relief from *Cicily*, the Spanish Commanders despairing to be able to maintain the Fort any longer, got into the same ships, and left the Town in the power of the Turks. Yet it was a common opinion, and not unlikely, that this was done by expresse order from the Emperour; who knowing, that he could not maintain that place, which was envied by the enemies forces, but by continuall great expence, and with small hopes of further progress; resolved to keep it no longer, to but little purpose. The loss of *Corone* proved grievous to the Venetians in one respect, since they saw the little hopes which they and the other Christian Princes had of keeping the Turks under; seeing they were not able to keep what they had got: But, on the other side, finding that *Corone*, though possess'd by the Christians, not to be a situation sufficient to overcome so many difficulties, not to attempt any thing against the Turks, with any hope of considerable profit: and that, on the contrary, this place afforded occasion of many scandals, and was apparently dangerous to draw them into another war, the Imperiall Fleets being upon this occasion to frequent their seas, which would cause great jealousies in the Turks, this did a little allay their sorrow; for the loss of that City. *Cariadino* being this mean while put to Sea with an hundred sail, and come very near the mouth of our Gulf, the Venetian Generall, who watched his ways, prepared according to the Senates former orders, to draw more inward, that he might not abandon the custody, and safety of the Gulf: But the Turkish Fleet steering its course towards the *Tirren* Sea, made for the shore of *Calavria*, and landing suddenly, did not onely plunder the Country; but took two Towns on the Sea side, though of no great value; great was the fear which possess'd the mindes of all that were in *Naples*, and in *Rome*, by the Fleets coming into these parts. For had *Cariadino*, pleased to bend his course towards these Cities, the inhabitants wanting souldiers, and being in great confusion, had neither power, nor will to withstand so unexpected an assault. But the Turks taking many prizes, went to the Island of *Ponze*, where taking in water for their occasions

occasions, they went from thence to the *African* rivers, to effect their chief design, which was to assault *Annalcassus*, King of *Tunis*. *Cariadassus* was very well inform'd of all the affairs of that Country, of the situations, places, the Prince his forces, and how the people stood affected towards him. Wherefore using both force and fraud, he hoped to compass his end easily, as he did. He gave out, that he brought along with him, *Rosette* the King's brother, whose name he knew those people would be very well pleased with; and falling upon the Enemy, and upon the City, where he knew they were weakest, after some variety of fortune, at last he took *Tunis*.

At this time the other Fleets did not any great matters; but it happened that he behoved the Venetians Commissary to proceed with violence against some *Malta* Vessels, and to rebuke their Captains; who was *Phillippo Mazzas*, Knight of *Jerusalem*; who having rashly not only passed through the Eastern Seas with armed Vessels, but even entered into the Gulf, pillaging not only the Turkish Bottomes, but those of the Christians also, was taken by the Captain of the Gulf, and sent to *Venice*; where his cause being to be heard before the *Consiglio di quaranta criminale*——to whom the business was by the Senate refer'd, he, who had his liberty upon Bail, not waiting for his sentence, fled away with three Pinnaces, and with much arrogance, and neglect of the Commonwealth, continued doing mischief. Wherefore the Commissary, who watch'd his ways narrowly, lighting upon him at unawares, caused his head to be cut off. The Turkish slaves were set at liberty, and sent to *Constantinople*; the Pinnace wherein *Mazzas* was, was burnt; the other two were soon after sent to the Emperour, who desired them; who seeming at first to be somewhat troubled at this accident, because the *Malteses* had put themselves under his protection; being better inform'd of the action and of the occasion thereof, was pacified, and the great Master of *Malta*, blamed *Mazzas's* action, as done not only without his leave, but contrary to his orders.

Whilst these things went thus, the Pope had been troubled with long sickness, whereof he dyed in the height of all his prosperity.

He was a Prince of high, but unsettled thoughts; addicted beyond measure to his own affections, so as (suffering himself to be master'd, sometimes by fear, sometimes by covetousness, he appeared various and inconstant in his actions; chiefly in his friendship with Princes, and with the Commonwealth, he preserved peace and union a long time, more for his own interest, then out of any good will; and because the Senate, according to the present condition of times required, would not give him any the least cause of breaking with them, by their being obedient to him in all things.

Alexander Fernelse a Roman, and an ancient Cardinal, and one much esteem'd in the Court, succeeded him in the Popedom, who took to him the name of *Paul the Third*. Divers were the conceptions which were had of the new Pope; but most were of opinion, that continuing to keep neutral amongst Princes, as he had done for fifty years together, whilst he was Cardinal, and which was no small cause of bringing him to this supreme dignity, he would only mind the common good, without siding with any Prince, that he might

the better intend the peace and quiet of *Italy*. Which the Venetians did not dislike, who desired to see a fair settlement made of all things, and perswaded themselves by reason of the good affection which he seemed always to bear to the Commonwealth before his being Pope, that if he should forego this his neutrality, he would rather confirm the Leagues which they made first with his Predecessor *Clement*, then think upon any new affairs. They therefore resolv'd to send him eight Embassadors; *Marco Minio*, *Tomaso Mocenico*, *Nicolo Tiepoli*, *Feronimo Fesaro*, *Jovan Badoaro*, *Gaspardo Contarini*, *Frederico Rini-ero*, and *Lorenzo Bragadine*: To whom they gave no other employment, save according to the usual custome, to promise obedience to the new Pope, not thinking it fit to demand any thing till they might discover somewhat of his thoughts, since this his new fortune and dignity. But the Emperour being more desirous to know what his designs might be, and being still apprehensive of the French proceedings, try'd the Pope presently, touching the renewing of the League which he had made with his Predecessor: Whereunto that he might the more easily perswade him, he used means likewise to the Venetians, that they would re-confirm their first capitulations with him; exhorting them thereunto out of the consideration of the quiet of *Italy*, which they so much desired. And the which, if they would joyn with him, they should be able to make good against any commotions of the French, though the new Pope should dissent from it; and that nothing could prevail more to make *Paul* side with them in the beginning of this his Popedom, then to see this union and good intelligence between the Commonwealth and him; whereby it would be- come the other Potentates of *Italy* to depend upon them. To the which the Venetians neither totally assenting, nor dissenting, as being far from any innovation, they shewed first that there was no necessity to re-confirm the League, and then, that they would be very ready to do it, if it should be needful; and thus ended the year 1534.

The next year the Pope, who diligently attended all weighty affairs, declared himself more openly, that he would interpose in making peace between *Cesar* and the King of *France*, to whose Courts he sent express Legats. But he seemed to be chiefly mindful of the affairs of *Italy*, and particularly of the protection of the Commonwealth; notwithstanding, (as all humane actions, especially those of Princes, are various, and accidentally changeable) an occasion hapned of suddenly altering this good intention of the Popes, with danger of troubling the peace of *Italy*.

In the time of the vacancy of the Popedom, the marriage was celebrated between *Guido Ubaldo*, Son to *Francisco Maria*, Duke of *Urbine*, and *Julia* sole daughter to *Jovan Maria Varano*, Duke of *Camerino*, upon whom her fathers estate descended. This Match was at first approved of by *Paul*, and it was thought that affairs would pass peaceably on. But soon after, the Pope being either perswaded to the contrary by others, or falling of himself (as it is often seen in those who are got to great prosperity) into greater and higher thoughts; began to think this a fit occasion to exalt his house, to which this fee-farm of the Church was to be granted, as a beginning

to raise it above the condition of private men. He therefore declared openly, that he would not suffer that the Dukedom of *Camerino* should be possess'd (as he said) contrary to reason, by the Duke of *Urbine*, since it appertain'd only to him to dispose thereof, as of a Fee-farm escheated to the Church. This did much trouble the Venetians, who had taken the Duke of *Urbine* into their protection, and who bare greet good will to him, and to his family, for the good service he had done unto the Commonwealth: For the Pope, to boot with Ecclesiastical censures, prepared to take up temporal Arms, and had rais'd a good number of Foot, to hinder the fortifying of *Camerino*, and the Garrison which the Duke was preparing to put thereinto. They therefore used all the means they could to appease the Pope, and the rather, because the Duke willingly condiscended that the business might be decided by reason. But the Pope listening neither to intreaties nor to reason, said, he could not govern himself herein, otherwise then reason of State did advise him; and not dissembling his intentions, he said he would regain that, by force of Arms, which was taken from him: A thing which was thought by all men to be of great concernment, the condition of these times being considered, by reason of the so many troubles of Christendom, of the Turkish Forces, and of the new Heresies, which did increase apace in many noble Provinces. Therefore the Venetians, not leaving any thing undone, to extinguish this small spark, which might burst forth into a greater combustion, represented it to *Cesar*, intreating him to interpose his authority, in maintaining that peace throughout all *Italy*, of which, to his so great praise, he had been the chief Authour. This being listened unto by *Cesar*, who interceded fervently therein with the Pope, helped very much to allay his very first heat; but it was thought he was the more pacified by other proposals made by those that favoured the Duke, and the Venetians, of greater moment for the advancement of his house; that he might give a noble fortune in *Romagna*, to his son *Pietro Luigi*, and restore the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to the Venetians, to the end, that the State and person of *Piero Luigi*, might be taken into protection by the Venetians, whereby the new Prince might be in great safety; for it was not to be doubted, but that the Venetians, both in gratitude for the favour received, and for their own interests, (since it would be better for them to have a particular person be Lord of that State, then the Church) would upon all occasions, maintain the greatness of the Family of *Farnese*. This offer being willingly listened unto by the Pope, hoping to meet with some greater preferment for *Luigi*, did satisfy his ambition, till some better opportunity might be met withal to effect his desire. He therefore began to value the Counsel of the Venetians the better, and in particular favour to them, was content, that the deciding of the difference concerning the state of *Camerino*, should be deferr'd to another time. But there were many greater things which troubled the cogitations of Princes at this time; not without some molestation to the Venetian Senate; For *Cesar* prepared a great Fleet, to pass therewith into *Africa*, to recover *Tunis*. He was eagerly bent upon this enterprise, moved thereunto chiefly by reason of State, to secure the Kingdom

Kingdome of *Naples*; which *Cariadino* did insolently threaten to assault: and also not to suffer the Turks to grow more powerfull in these parts, whereby they might intercept, and trouble the rivers of *Spain*: which made his Subjects much desire this enterprise. But he was herunto incited also by a great desire of warlike honour; thinking it a thing becoming so great a King as himself, to assist the forlorn King *Amulcastes*, and to repossess him of the State whereof he was legitimate Lord: though others, seeking to detract from his glory, said, that he sought hereby to shun the renewing war in *Hungary*, and to evade the recovery of what the Turks had taken from his brother *Ferdinando*, fearing to encounter the Turkish Armies. He gave a particular account of all these his designs, to the Venetian Senate, seeming very zealous of the common good of Christendom, but particularly, a desire of assisting the Commonwealth, and of keeping friendship with her. Wherefore, to satisfy him, the League was renewed in the very self same terms, as was contained in that of *Bologna*, to remove all doubts, that it might be null'd or weakened by Pope *Clement's* death. And their Embassadour *Mark Antonio Contarini*, the more to shew the continuance of their Amity, was commanded to follow the Emperour whithersoever he should go, as he accordingly did: and processions were made by all the religious orders, throughout *Venice*, and prayers poured out to God, for the happy success of this business. This so great preparation begot severall suspicions in the Turks, which were augmented by the sinister Offices done by *John Forrester*, the French Embassadour at *Constantinople*, who very falsely, but with efficacious reasons, went about to make the *Bashaws* believe, that the Venetians egg'd the Emperour on, to go with those so great forces into *Greece*, against *Soliman's* dominions.

And notwithstanding the King proceeded otherwise by his Embassadour at *Venice*, desiring the Senators, out of great Zeal, (as he would have it believed) to their service, to be very vigilant in observing *Cesar's* wayes; saying, that they might very well be jealous of this so great preparation for a Fleet, and that many things might be said thereof, tending to the prejudice and eminent danger of the Commonwealth; that they might upon all occasions make use of his Forces, and promise unto themselves all things from his kingdome; and that he desired to witness this unto them again, to the end that they might rely upon these his offers, as might be most useful and advantageous for them.

The Senators were not a little troubled hereat, finding clearly, that all this tended only to make the Commonwealth mistrustful, and peradventure, to move them to open war, either with *Cesar*, or *Soliman*. wherefore they should be forced to have recourse to *France*, either for their intercession with the Turks, or for their assistance against the Imperialists.

Yet concealing these their suspicions in part, they returned thanks to the King, for these his friendly offers, which, though they did not think they should now need, yet they acknowledged, that thereby the Commonwealth's obligations to that Crown were increased: But they complained much of the bad Offices done them by his Embassadour at *Constantinople*, which were so contrary to what was true, and so destructive to their affairs.

The King hearing this, sought to free himself from fault, by denying, that he had given any such commission to his Embassadour. But it was very certain, that the King of *France* had already begun to hold some secret intelligence with the Turks, concerning things of great concernment, and very prejudiciall to Christendome. And as *Soliman* being now busied in the wars of *Persia*, deserr'd the conclusion of this business, and the future evils, so was it foreseen, that he would the more easily embrace the King of *France*, his propoals; for, that being become more haughty by his having victoriously overrun *Persia* with his Forces, he would be the more desirous to abate *Cesars* greatness and glory: as also, that finding how much his people had suffered by the length and difficulty of their march, and how much the *Persian* Forces were to be valued, by which he had been much indammaged in his return, he would seek to turn his war elsewhere. But the endeavours of the *French* could not yet prevail so much against the Venetians, as to trouble their peace; nay, *Soliman* (who was got so far with his Army into the confines of *Persia*, as that he had plundered the City of *Tavris*, the Regal seat of those Kings, and then passing into *Babylonia*, had driven the *Persian* garrison out of *Babylon*, and brought that City into his own power,) gave a particular account to the Senate of his prosperous successes, and of his putting the enemy to flight; which though it were in high terms, as concerning the enemy, exaggerating their loss, and his victories, yet was it with great shew of good and continued friendship to the Commonwealth. But it was given out, that presently upon his return to *Constantinople*, he would rigg out a very great Fleet, to which purpose he had sent for *Cariadino*, and given other orders, which were evident signes, that he would not give over waging war. And in this Interim, the winter being over, *Cesar* had disposed of all things for the *African* enterprize, and had embarked himself at *Barcellona*, whether his whole Fleet was come, consisting of three hundred sail of several ships, commanded by Prince *Doria*, and wherein were forty thousand fighting men, besides a multitude of Mariners, and slaves, and he was accompanied by the chief Lords of *Spain*, and by the Infante of *Portugal*, who brought eighty sail of ships to *Barcellona*.

The Fleet Sayled first to *Sardignia* and put in at *Cagliari*, where necessary orders being given for the administration of War, it pass'd on to the Carthaginian shore (this Country is called *Martia*, famous for the ancient and noble seat of the Common-wealth of *Carthage*) where coming to Land near *Goleia*, he suddenly landed his Army, & incamped before it, the taking of this place being thought requisite toward the taking of *Tunis*. The Turkish Gallies in *Goleia* made valient resistance; but the Fort being almost quite thrown down by Cannon shot, the Town fell into the Spaniards hands. Which is a Cittadel consisting of many Bastions, lying almost in the mouth of the Channel, where the Sea water makes a Lake, upon which stands the City of *Tunis*, about twelve miles from the Sea. The Spaniards entring into this Lake, they took without any manner of contest, about 50 Saile of Gallies, and Flie-boates, which were put there by *Cariadino*, as a safe place. *Cariadino* was so discouraged

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at this loss, as though coming at first out of *Tunis* with his Army, he shew'd as if he would give the Emperour Battel, yet he soon retreated, into the Town of *Bona*; and not thinking himself safe there neither, for he heard he was pursued by *Doria*, pass'd into *Algiers*. The Cities of *Tunis*, and *Bona* though they were very well Garrisoned, when they say themselves abandoned by their chief Commander, fell soon and easily into the power of the Spaniards. but *Cariadino* escap'd all these dangers, being reserved as a scourge to Christendom for the sins thereof; and he went soon after to *Constantinople*, whether he was sent for, and meeting *Soliman*, before he was come thither with his Persian Army, he excus'd the loss of the Kingdom as well as he could, and was by him received into grace again, and made Governor of his Fleet. And *Cesar* parting victoriously from *Africa*, gave the Kingdom of *Tunis* which he had won (a noble gift) to *Amuleafes*, upon obligation of paying him every year as his Fuditory, 6 Barbary Mares, 12 Falcons, and 12000 Crowns, for the pay of 1000 Spanish Foot, to be kept as an ordinary Garrison in *Goleia*, and so sayled with his whole Fleet into *Sicily*: Where having arriv'd a good while in *Palermo*, and *Messina*, he dismiss'd the greatest part of his Ships and disbanded his Army, keeping only 2000 Foot for his Guard; which things being done he wintered in *Naples* where he was received with extraordinary honour, and entertained with many Solemn shows; these demonstrations of joy being made the greater, for that never Emperour was seen before in that Kingdom; and by reason of the marriage which was at this time there consummited, between his natural daughter the Lady *Margaret*, and *Alexander de Medici* Duke of *Florence*. Divers Princes and Princes Embassadors, came to *Naples* to meet him; and the Common-wealth, as he had done formerly sent four Embassadors thither, *Marco Foscati*, *Fovan Delphinio*, *Vicenzo Grimani*, and *Thomaso Comarini*, who were to congratulate his African Victory, and acquisitions; which truly were very acceptable to the Venetians: For though the increasing of *Cesar's* power, was being considered in it self, but bad tidings, and much to be suspected in a Prince so highly spirited, and so powerful as was *Charls*, yet was it welcom, since thereby his greatness did counterpoise the like of the *Ottoman* family, and made for the good of Christendom, and especially for the Venetians, who were most exposed to the Turkish forces.

Whilst the Emperour was busied in these affairs, *Francisco Sforza* Duke of *Milan* died, leaving no Heirs male behind him, to inherit that State; who being dead, the Senate of *Milan* gave the care of that State to *Antonio da Leva*, who was to administer it in the name of the Dutche's Dowager, till *Cesars* mind might be known: Who graciously receiving the Dutche's, who went to meet him at *Naples*, seem'd to be much troubled at the Dukes death, either for the love he bore him, or for fear lest this accident might trouble the peace of *Italy*; or out of dissembling, seeking hereby to shew that he did not aspire unto that State. But the Venetians were much more truly grieved hereat; who having long, and with much expence, maintained war, to the end that that State might have a particular Lord of its own, and one who might be an Italian, saw that this their

desire

desire grew doubtful, and dangerous by the Dukes death: and that occasion, and peradventure, necessity might thereby arise of reassuming Arms. Therefore when *Cesar* was come to *Naples*, they acquainted him with their desires, and with the affairs of *Italy*, desiring him to find out some means of preserving that peace which he himself had introduced, and seemed to desire so much. To which *Cesar* answered, That as the care of providing for that State which held in Fee of him, did belong to him, so he desired to do what might be acceptable to the Italian Princes, and chiefly to the Venetians; that therefore he would willingly hear what they could inform him of, that so he might the better order things for the good of *Italy*, and according to their intentions. But the Senate desiring exceedingly that the Dukedom of *Milan* might be still governed by one particular man, and not knowing well what *Cesar's* intentions were therein, nor being willing (though peradventure little to their good) to offend either him or others, were resolute in their proposal, that some one should be invested in that State, who should be thought proper for the peace of *Italy*: therefore though the four aforesaid Embassadors went to *Naples*, they committed nothing concerning that unto their charge: at which the Emperour marvelling a little, and desiring to keep fair with the Venetians, as the occasion required, he promoted new discourse concerning it, concluding finally, as he had formerly said, that not being as yet resolved on whom to bestow the Dukedom of *Milan*, he would willingly hear from what proposed herein by the Senate, and that he would very well consider what they should advise him to therein: and afterwards growing jealous of the proceedings of the French, he desired the Venetians, that as they had renew'd their league with him upon occasion of the Popes death, so they would do the like now upon the death of the Duke of *Milan*; that he desired this, for the better security of the affairs of *Italy*, and to take all occasion away from any one that might have a mind to disturb the quiet which she now enjoy'd; and the Venetians desiring the same, satisfied *Cesar* therein, and confirmed the League upon the former conditions, wherein they reserved a place for the Pope, and for him who should be chosen Duke of *Milan*. They thought it good to yield to *Cesar's* first desires, as well to shew their readines to please him, as likewise, to shun the treating hereof at *Rome*, whither *Cesar* was suddenly to come, which would have given some suspicion to the Turks; by reason of the usual proposals made by all Popes against Infidels in their Leagues, though of a long while but of little advantage. Which reasons being either not well known, or not well considered by the Pope, he complained of the Venetians, saying, that they had taken this resolution too soon, and that they ought to have deferred it, till his pleasure had been known therein, and till the Emperour had been come to *Rome*. By the Duke of *Milan's* death, the King of *France* soon renewed his ardent desire of getting that State; preparing therefore for it, he resolved first to try the Venetians minds concerning it, whose State and Forces were of all other things most requisite to effect his desires therein. He therefore sent Monsieur de *Bionet*, Gentleman of his chamber, to *Venice*, To know what the opinion of the Senate was, upon this occasion, which (as he said) was now offered, of securing, and enlarging

enlarging their Commonwealth. He said, he had forces, monies, friends, and all things else, whereby this enterprise might be undertaken with assured hopes, for which he promised to reward them honourably, if they would declare themselves his Friends and Confederates: which things it not being thought fit to listen unto at this time, answer was made in general terms, That the Commonwealth had always desired peace, and endeavour'd it, and that it ought now chiefly to do so, for that it had need of some rest, after so long, and so sore wars; and because the present troubles of Christendom, by reason of so many heresies risen in several parts, perswaded rather to the extinguishing of them, then to the undertaking new Wars; yet they humbly thanked his Majesty for these offers, and for this his confiding communication, which they would never be unmindful of, and that a fitter time might peradventure come of making use thereof.

But the King of *France*, not foregoing his thoughts of sending his armies into *Italy*, to acquire the Dukedom of *Milan*, was very diligent in raising men, that he might assault it as much at unawares as he could: and to force his way the sooner, and the more easily, and that he might therewithal revenge the injuries which he thought he had received from *Charles Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, he thought to enter his State in hostile manner, and to possess himself of his Towns. The King was ill satisfied with the Duke, for divers reasons; because he would not restore unto him the Towns of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, which were formerly pawn'd by the Kings of *France* to the Dukes his predecessors: because he would not consent, being often desired, that the pretensions which the said King had to the Dukedom, by his Mother, *Madam Lodovica*, sister to the Duke, might be argued by Law: but chiefly, because the Duke, adhering too much to his wife, who was sister to *John* King of *Portugal*; and *Isabella*, wife to *Charles* the Emperour, appeared in all things too partial to his wives brother.

It was hereby seen, that the next year 1536. would prove remarkable, by reason of the discords between these great Princes, which must prove the original of great evils. The beginning of this year, the King made the Admiral of *France*, *Philip Chabotte*, Captain General of his Army, and sent him to assault *Piamont*; where finding the Country but badly provided for defence, he took *Turin*, *Fossano*, and *Pinnierello*, and had taken *Vercelli*, had not *Antonio da Leva*, who was in the State of *Milan*, speedily advanc'd, with resolution to succour it, hindred him. The Emperour was exceedingly offended at these proceedings, and much incens'd against the King of *France*; so as preparing diligently to raise a powerful Army against him, he said, he would assault him in his own Kingdom of *France*, and being not long after come to *Rome*, he complained of the King of *France* publickly in the Consistory; and exaggerating this new action as much as he could, he broke out into open rage, saying, he would challenge the King of *France* to fight a single combat, that so they might once end so many quarrels, themselves alone: which things caused much wonder amongst all men, and detracted much from the praise of these otherwise sage and generous Princes, since professing never to give way to anything, yet giving themselves over to this affect on, they suffered themselves to be led on to many unworthy actions. The Pope laboured

boared exceedingly to reconcile them, who had formerly treated of many things to that purpose, but in vain: the chief difficulty lay, in finding out a means which might please them both touching the affairs of *Milan*. In which Treaties, though the Venetians interposed themselves (for by *Cesar's* pleasure, all things therein were communicated to them) proceedings were had with great caution, by reason of the aforesaid respects, which were made the greater by these new accidents; which occasioned some doubts, that the Emperour to free himself of the troubles of War, and that he might restore the Duke of *Savoy* to his State, who being gone to meet him at *Naples*, entreated him continually to procure his restitution, would at last make some agreement with the King of *France*, who entering *Italy* again, would not suffer the injuries to pass unrevenge'd, which he thought he had received from other Italian Princes. This was the rather believed, for that the King of *France* had at the Popes perswasion, condescended to send the Cardinal of *Lorain* to *Rome*, to treat of the conditions of Agreement; by whose coming, there was also a cessation of Arms in *Piamont*. And in these Treaties, *Cesar* was contented to yield the Dukedom of *Milan* to the King of *France*, on condition, that Monsieur *d'Anguleme*, the Kings third Son, might be thereinto invested by him. But this business was not fully decided, because the King desired that this State might not be conferr'd upon *Anguleme*, but upon the King's second Son, the Duke of *Orleans*; which *Cesar* absolutely denied to do; alledging that this would not be to confirm the peace of *Italy*, which was his desire, but to make way for some other dangerous novelty, by reason of the pretensions that *Orleans* had by his wife *Katherin de Medici*, to the States of *Florence* and *Urbino*. Thus the business not being perfected, *Cesar*, who being gone from *Rome*, carried some days in divers Towns of *Tuscany*, went forward to *Aste*, where having assembled all his chief Commanders, of which the most famous were, *Errando di Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, the Marquis *Gualto*, and *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, he advis'd which might be the best way to carry on the War; wherein following rather his own desire, than the reasons and counsel of more experienced men, he resolv'd to pass with his Army into *Provence*; so as mustering all his men at *Nice*, whither *Doria* came also with fifty Gallies to back the Army with his Fleet, he himself came in person to the same place; from whence penetrating into the confines of *France*, he stay'd with his Camp about the Town of *Aix*, not being resolv'd whither to bend his course, but intending chiefly to assault either *Marcelles*, or *Ardes*; he spent many days in these his irresolutions, and gave the King (who was come for this purpose to *Lions*) time to gather together a powerful Army of Dutch Foot, and Switzers, to oppose his Forces, and likewise, to get divers Italian Commanders to side with him; who having mustered a good many men about *Mirandola*, prepared to attempt some novelty in *Genoa*, and to bring it to the devotion of *France*; so as *Cesar* being now to think of defending his own affairs; and his Army being already much incommodated by the bad temper of the *Ayr*, where it lay encamp'd, he was forced to retreat, not having done any thing, but shewn a great desire to offend the King of *France*.

But

But before he went into *Provence*, he had sent *Roderigo Davilar* to *Venice*, to inform the Senate of his preparation for War, and of his design of falling upon *France*; and then to entreat them, that they would have those forces in readines, which they were by their articles bound to have, that they might speedily march, as occasion should require, to the defence of the State of *Milan*. To which the Senate gave this answer, that as they had been ready to renew the League, so would they be as ready to maintain those things to which they were thereby bound; that therefore, for what appertain'd to them, the State of *Milan* should not want for defence. So they resolv'd to raise 6000 foot, to be commanded by *Antonio da Castello*, General of the Artillery, by Colonel *Babone Naldo*, and others: To which they added 500 light Horse, armed after the Burgonian manner; ordering, that all these should go to *Asala*, in the Brescian Territories; to the end, that upon occasion, they might pass into the *Cremense*: and the Duke of *Urbino* was sent for from his State, that he might be ready to go in person with the Army. But after the first Brunt of the French was over, by the Truce made by the coming of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, by which it was thought they would make way to greater Victories, it seem'd that the Army, according to the custome of the Nation, would be lazie, and idle, so as the Venetians were not necessitated to go out of their own Confines. Yet the King of *France* seem'd ill satisfied with the Venetians; not that he knew he had any just occasion to be so, because they had not exceeded the bounds of the Confederacy, but because he hop'd by these complaints, to make them be more reserved in observing those things which they were engag'd to do to *Cesar*; and that they might abstain from entering into any new, and stricter capitulation with him: he therefore took occasion to complain of all things. *Cesare Fregoso*, having the command of a Troop of Light Horse, wherewith he was then in *Verona*, went from thence, without leave, to *Genoa*, that he might adhere unto the King's party; wherefore he lost not only his pay, and command, but was banished out of all the Commonwealths Dominions. The King complain'd bitterly of this, and of other such things, because the Venetians went about (as he said) to hinder his proceedings. And on the other side, *Cesar's* Agents seeming to resent that some Foot were dismissed, who were taken into pay, more than needed, interpreted this, as done to increase the Enemies Army, which was gathering together in *Mirandola*. Thus jealous were these Princes the one of the other, in their having the Commonwealth for their Friend and Confederate.

The Emperour being parted from *Provence*, came to *Genoa*, intending to pass, (as he did afterwards) into *Spain*, having left the Marquis of *Gualto* in *Italy*, with twenty thousand Dutch, Spanish, and Italian Foot, in the place of *Antonio da Leva*, who was now dead. Other Embassadors from the Commonwealth came to meet him at *Genoa*, as *Nicolo Tiepoli*, *Mark Antonio Veniero*, *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, and *Antonio Capello*; and he at the same time sent *Don Pietro Gonzales di Mendoza*, to *Venice*, to give an account of the reasons of his return, and of the desire he had of Peace: Touching which, relating particularly the things which he Treated

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of with the King of *France*, which Treaties were afterwards renewed, he said, he had given the King three moneths space to resolve, whether or no he would accept of the Dukedom of *Milan* for Monsieur d'Anguleme; who by this Agreement was to marry the Widdow Dowager of Duke *Sforza*: But that if the King should not resolve within that time, he intended to give that State either to Don *Luigi*, Infante of *Portugal*, or else, to *Emanuel*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon which he desired the Venetians opinion. But he added, that for the establishment of these things, it would be requisite to make a new confederacy amongst the Italian Princes, without the which, he saw not how he of himself alone could undergo so great a burthen; therefore if they should not conditend to this, they could not blame him, if failing of this assistance, he should be forced to betake himself to other Aids, which would be little to their satisfaction.

But the Senate being constant to their first resolution, of not declaring their minds concerning the Dukedom of *Milan*, unless they might be first assured of *Cesar's* pleasure, nor to put themselves into new and greater Obligations, more then those of the confederacy of *Bullognia*, which had been oftentimes renewed; answered, As touching the new Duke of *Milan*, That *Cesar* should first nominate one, and that thereupon the Senate might the better consider both their own, and the common Interest, and put on the better resolution: and as for the New League, they alledged the same reasons which they had formerly done, that it was not necessary: and the same respects concerning the *Turks*, which were now strengthened by the same of the preparations of the *Turkish Fleet* for the next year. The Venetians acquainted the Pope with these Treaties and consultations, wherein they still attested their ancient Desire of the peace and safety of *Italy*, for which they desired the Pope to be fervent in interposing his authority: for he having reassumed the thought of the business of *Camerino*, seemed to appear somewhat cooler in this other important business: inasmuch as *Ascanio Colonna* being left at *Rome*, after the Emperors departure from thence, with a particular charge of having a care of such things as might concern the quiet of *Italy*: This Treaty was not pursued, so as the weight of the business, and the present condition of times seemed to require, the Pope pitching only on this, that amongst these Princes, he would stand neutral. But at last, being warn'd both by the Venetians solicitations, by the still encreasing dangers of the *Turkish Fleet*, and by his being bound to celebrate the Council, which was declared to be in *Vicenza*, instead of *Mantua*, which was first chosen to that purpose, and whereunto the Venetians readily yeilded: he resolved to send express Legates to each of these Princes, to treat of the universal Peace amongst Christian Princes, of the League against the *Turks*, and of the celebration of the Council. Agostino Trivulzio was sent to the King of *France*, and Cardinal Caracciolo to *Cesar*: But these Embassies produced no better effects then many others had done, for none of all this could be effected, by reason of divers difficulties which arose.

The End of the Seventh Book.



THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARRUTA.

BOOK VIII.

THE CONTENTS.

THE King of *France* endeavours to part the Venetians from the Emperour, and to incite the *Turks* against him. Losses received in the Common-wealth, by the subornation of Soliman's Officers. Severall discourses touching the *Turkish* preparations; the Venetians prepare to resist Soliman; so does the Emperour. Soliman his Army and Fleet: the Venetians Fleet, and severall difficulties touching the Government thereof. A speech made by Mark Antonio Cornaro, perswading not to desert the Emperour. Leonardo Emoe, his speech to the contrary. Soliman bears respect at Sea to the Venetians Territories: Accidents which alter him therein, and make him declare open war against them: The Emperour, and the Venetian Fleet, and the success of each of them. How the Senate resents the accident fallen out with the *Turks*, and their resolution thereupon. Soliman makes open war against the Venetians; and what is thereby done. Corfu described: The Senates actions in resistance of the *Turks*, against whom the Christians publish a League. Orders given to the Generall. The Spaniards sail therein; the *Turks* assault Corfu, but at ten dayes end quit it: They besiege Naples, and Malvestia, but in vain. Both these places are described. Barbazossa over-runs the Archipelagus, and takes many Islands therein: The Venetians besiege Scardona, which yeelds unto them. Severall thoughts of Princes, the year 1537. those of Soliman, of the Emperour, King of *France*, Pope, and

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Venetians, Germany, and the condition thereof. The Senate consult touching the making, or not making League. Caesar's Embassadors solicit the Common-wealth to declare enmity to the Turks, but in vain.



He fire of War being rekindled hotter than before, between the Emperour, and the King of France, grew to such a height, as the most barbarous and Foe-Nations, were called in to the prejudice and ruine of Christendom; and the very State of Venice behoved to be concern'd therein: all her Art and indeavours, whereby she had sought amidst the troubles and dangers of others, to preserve her selfe Newtrall amongst Princes, and to keep friendship and peace with all, not being able to free her. You may know, by what hath already been related, what the thoughts of Francis, King of France, were, and how he was bent to leave nothing unessay'd, to weaken the power of Charles the Emperour; and to revenge the so many injuries which he thought he had received from him. Wherefore he had oft-times tri'd the Venetians, and indeavoured by severall wayes to alienate them from Caesar. And lastly he had sent Monsieur de Rhodes to Venice, who filling the Senators with great hopes and promises, laboured to make them alter their resolution of continuing in League with the Emperour, but all to no purpose; the Venetians being as firm in their faith to Caesar, as they were far from desiring anything which might disturb the quiet of Italy. Wherefore Francis failing of this hope, and his anger against Caesar increasing, for that he had assaulted him within his own Kingdom; and knowing that he was not able of himself to effect the businesse of Milan, so long as it should be defended both by Caesar, and by the Venetians; He thought he could compass this his desire by nothing better, than by pursuing the friendship which he had already begun with Soliman; whereby he hoped, either to get the Venetians to side with him, or else to make them forbear favouring of Caesar; the reasons being known to be very great, which made the Venetians highly value Solimans authority: And on the other side, the Emperours forces might be diverted, and the defence of the State of Milan weakned, by the coming of the Turkish Fleet into Puglia, or into other Rivers belonging to the Emperours Dominions. The King therefore turn'd all his indeavours towards Constantinople, where though he had his Embassador, John Farnese resident, he notwithstanding sent Don Serafino de Gozi of Ragusa, with new, and more efficacious orders, and with larger promises.

This man meeting often with the chiefeest Bashaws, proposed many things to them, which being represented to Soliman, might make him comply the more easily with the King demands. As, the greatness of Charles the 9th, the which if not moderated, would either become formidable, or at least suspicious to all other Potentates; to the diminution, if not of their States, at least of their reputation and dignity: the easinesse of the attempts that might be made against him, especially in the Kingdom of Naples, by the convenience of the straits, and since by a short cut at Sea, the

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Turkish Armies might passe from Albania into Otranto and at the same time draw near those Rivers with their Fleet. The generall hatred which those people bore to the Spaniards Government; nay, that the dispair of some of the chiefeest of that Kingdom, was such as promised readinesse to embrace any occasion which might tend to novelty and change of Government, whereby the way would be opened to the further abatements of Caesars power. Agiase and Lustebe, were then of great authority in that Government, as those who being in the first rank of Bashaws, after they had with much praise discharged the place of Belgerbei of Asia, which purchas'd them much reputation. Lustebe being the grand Signors sisters Husband, and one of the six Bashaws della Porta, and both of them great enemies to the name of Christianity, and who often after Ibraims death, had counsel'd Soliman to turn his forces upon Christendom, making use of this occasion, and applauding the French Embassadors proposalls, much amplifying also the reasons promoted by him, indeavoured to set Soliman upon the Enterprise of Italy. They amongst other things, minded him of Mahomess example, a wife and valiant Prince, who with a prosperous beginning, had easily taken the City of Otranto, and by the terror of his Arms, put all that Country into great confusion, and opened the way to his acquisition of the noblest part of Christendom, had not death interrupted his designs.

These things being represented to Soliman, prevailed much with him, who was ambitious of Glory, excessive proud, and haughty, thinking that it made much for his honour, that so great a King should have recourse to him for assistance against another powerful Prince, his Enemy; and thought he had a fit occasion offered him to forgo his enterprises in India, and Persia, wherein he saw he consumed many of his men without any great advantage; without lessening his honour, or the reputation of his forces. He therefore readily promised the French Embassadors, to molest the Emperours affairs the next summer, with powerfull forces both by Sea and Land: but thinking it of great concernment towards the effecting of these things, to take the Venetians from off their friendship and confederacy with Caesar. He resolv'd to send Janusbei, one of the Dragomani della Porta, to Venice, to exhort the Senate, that since there was a powerfull Army and Fleet to go from Constantinople, the Common-wealth would shew her selfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies, promising that he would see great respect should be given to the affairs of the Common-wealth, and that he would preserve peace inviolably with them. To which the Senate did with mature deliberation return answer, That the Common-wealth had alwaies fervently desired peace with all Princes, and especially with the Ottoman Lords, with whom they had had long friendship to the free and advantageous commerce of subjects; that they did still continue so firm and constant in the same resolution, as there needed no further declaration thereof. Soliman seemed well enough pleased with this answer; a Prince, as much as such qualities can have place in a Barbarian, nobly minded, and for the most part friend to what was just and honest. But false complaints being made unto him, by many of his people, (who for their particular

cular respects and interests, desired an interruption of peace) of divers actions done by the ministers of the Commonwealth, with little respect (as they said) to the honor and advantage of his Empire; they perswaded him to permit, that his Officers might also be allowed to do some novelties, which might shew a mind ill affected to the Common-wealth, and bring things at last to an open war. Thus many Venetian Merchants being at *Constantinople*, and in other parts of the Turkish Dominions, upon their private occasions; some were imprisoned upon severall false pretentions of delinquency, and had their goods forfeited into the Exchequer: two Venetian ships were imbargode upon various pretences, the one belonging to *Alessandro Contarini*, taken in the Seas of *Cyprus*, by the gallies of the guard of *Rhodes*, as a Pirates vessel; and another in the havens of *Alexandria*; alleadging, that they were to make use of it upon important occasions. There was also a new impost of ten in the hundred laid upon such merchandizes as were wont to be brought by Venetian Merchants from *Soria*; the publick Letters of the Consull were severall times intercepted: and now no longer cloaking their intentions, *Musajsa*, one of the chiefe Bashaws, complaining, that the Commonwealth was too straitly linkt to their Enemy the Emperour, said, That she had pull'd the anger, and the forces of the grand Signor, upon her.

These things gave just occasion of resentment, and were a pretence of just war, if *Soliman* had a minde to take up arms against the Venetians; yet there were other reasons and arguments, which perswaded to the contrary. It was not at all likely, that since the Turks might make war against the Emperour onely, who was not very well provided at sea; and might beat his forces, which they appeared very desirous to do, that they would put a necessity upon the Venetians, of joyning with the Imperialists, and of uniting their forces, which being very strong at sea, might not onely be an hindrance to them, in their attempts upon other mens Estates, but might endanger their own affairs. That for the space of thirty eight years, friendship and peace had been so constantly preserved by the Turks, for these respects, with the Venetians; and that *Soliman* had alwaies shewed himself most desirous thereof, both by his words and actions: That there had not as then been any injury done, or any occasion given on the Venetians side, that he should molest them with Arms; since the Venetian Senate had wisely and justly, measured the forces of the Ottoman Empire, and accommodating their thoughts and actions to the condition of times, had proceeded with great temper and respect towards the Turkish affairs, so long as the dignity of the Common-wealth might not be injured, and did temporise as well as she could, with so great and formidable a Potentate; whom not being able to quell, it would be wisely done to preserve his friendship, and to wait for the benefit of time, or for the Common-wealth's better fortune. At this time, *Tomaso Mocenigo* was come Embassadour from the Commonwealth to *Constantinople*, to congratulate with *Soliman*; according to custome, for his prosperous successe in the Persian war, and for his

his happy return to that city, who having kiss'd *Soliman*'s hand, and presented him with accustomed vestures, was fairly received, and favoured by the whole Court, particularly by *Agiaze*, the first Bashaw, who severall times assured him, that the grand Signor stood very well affected to the Common-wealth, and desired to continue the ancient peace with the Venetians, if they would correspond with fitting respect, and with alike good intentions towards him. That it was *Solimans* inviolable custome to keep his word, and that it must not be believed, that he could differ from himself. He therefore very modestly excused the businesse concerning *Contarini*'s ship, and the other novelties used towards the Venetian Merchants and Merchandizes, as done without any directions from the Grand Signor, and which should be suddenly remedied. It was likewise famed, that the *Sophi*, King of *Persia*, was ready to march into the field with a powerfull Army, which would force the Turks to turn their forces upon the confines of *Persia*; and that the news spread abroad, that the Turks were to fall upon Christendom, tended rather towards the keeping up a certain reputation and esteem amongst Christian Princes, than to any resolution he then had of employing his forces at that time against them. It behoved the Senators to be very jealous and doubtfull, by reason of these so differing reasons, and so discordant within themselves of the Turks proceedings, being drawn severall wayes, sometimes through suspicion of War, sometimes through hopes of peace; which various affections were very cunningly fomented by the French Embassadour, who perswaded himselfe, that by this means, he might make the Venetians yield to his Kings desire of siding with the French, and to forgo their friendship with the Imperialists, by which means, he said, they might secure themselves safely from the dangers threatned by the Turks. But severall were the reports which were given out by the Souldiers and people at *Constantinople*, of this businesse; some affirmed, that the grand Signor made this warlike preparation with a firm resolution to pass into the Rivers of *Puglia*; others said, that the Fleet was to enter the gulph of *Venice*, and to attempt somewhat there against the Emperour: there were some also, who believed these forces were to go into *Barbary*, which counsell was known to be given by *Ariadeno*, Bashaw, surnamed *Barbarossa*; and there wanted not those that said, it went against the Venetians, naming particularly the Island of *Corfu*. But whatsoever the intention was, it was most certain, that great preparations were made, and great care taken therein for men, both by Sea and Land. It was held for certain, that what of gallies, what of other Vessels, there were above 300 sayl to go to Sea, many Instruments and Engines to take Cities, great store of Ammunition of all sorts, that the *Belgerbei* of Greece was already gone with Orders from *Constantinople*; that very many Souldiers were raised in *Scopia*, and that the grand Seigneurs quarters were to be taken up there, who was said to go himselfe in person to *Vallo-na*, where provision of Bisket, and of other things, were providing for the Fleet.

The Venetians being much troubled at these great preparations for

for War, and by divers accidents growing jealous of the Turks fidelity, though the Articles of peace made many years before, stood yet firm with *Soliman*, resolved to arm themselves as strongly as they could; thinking they had no other way to secure their affairs, than to breake the Turks of all wayes of molesting them, if they should have a mind to do so. The Senate therefore immediately took 8000 foot into pay, wherewith they increased their Garrisons on the Sea coasts, and furnished them with Ammunition, that upon occasion that might make their party good against the Turks. They gave order, that the old gallies in the *Arsenall* should be caulked, and that 50 new ones should be built; but they chiefly minded the re-ordering of their great Gallies, or Gallions; they stayed some of their own ships, and some forrain vessels, which were bound for severall voyages, to make use of carrying Garrisons into their forts, and munition for their Fleet; which being to be numerous and powerfull, since the danger did increase, they resolved to arm 100 Gallies, and to create a Captain-Generall at Sea; whereunto, according to the custome of the Common-wealth, *Girolomo Pesaro*, a man vers'd in severall imployments of the Republick, and principally in maritime affairs, was chosen by the *Consiglio de Pegadi*, and confirm'd by the *Consiglio Maggiore*; and there were ten Governours of Gallies chosen by the councill of Ten, who were to sit in council with the General.

But amongst other things, the want of Monies did much molest them, the publick Exchequer being much exhausted by reason of the late long Wars. Wherefore they were forced to have recourse to extraordinary means, to raise Monies sufficient to serve their occasions. There were three Procurators of *St. Mark* created, the supreme degree of the Common-wealth, next to the Duke, *Andrea Capello*, *Girolamo Bragadino*, and *Jacopo Cornaro*, each of them having assisted at the present necessity; by the Lenc of 12000 Duckets. Great suit was made to the Pope, that, the urgent necessities of the Common-wealth requiring it, he would give way to the raising 20000 Duckets out of the Venetian Clergy, by the way of Tenths, wherein the Pope made severall excuses, and pleaded difficulties. Sometimes seeming not to believe, that *Soliman's* forces tended to the prejudice of Christendom, sometimes pleading the Priests poverty. And to make the expence of arming the Gallies in severall places the more supportable, all the schools of Artificers (these are certain Congregations of men of severall Trades, and Mechanick Arts, assembled together under fraternities, and heads; instituted by themselves) were commanded to contribute a certain number of men, for the service of the gallies; and that the Towns under the *Dogado*, should be particularly obliged to arm certain Gallies; and that the weighty burthens which were then in hand, might be more safely, and more securely adviced upon, to the number of the six *Savoy* of the Councell (a Magistracy of great Authority, and the chief of those whose office it is, to present the Senate with what they are to treat upon); three others were for the time added upon this occasion; *Tomaso Mocenigo*, *Nicolo Bernardo*, and *Mark Antonio*

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Cornaro, three of the chiefest, and best esteemed Senators. In this perplexity, the Senate forgot not, according to the religious and pious institution of their Ancestors, to have recourse to divine assistance; whereupon solemn prayers were ordered throughout all the Churches, and 400 Bushels of wheat were given in Alms to the poor Fryers, that they might pray for a blessing upon their Counsels, who did consult upon the common good; but the Imperialists were no lesse afraid of the Turkish Forces, nor lesse carefull to secure themselves from them. They sent a great number of Spanish foot into *Italy*, wherewith to furnish the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and other places which lay exposed to the Turkish Fleet. And *Andrea Doria*, Prince of *Melfi*, who was then Lord Admirall of the Emperours Fleet, was ordered to be very diligent in seeing his gallies put in good order; that he might joyn with those of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and of the Knights of *Jerusalem*, which were all to be commanded by him. But these provisions came far short of what was requisite; for *Cesar* was at the same time to think of defending his other Dominions, against which the King of France armed himselfe strongly. Being come himselfe in person to *Lyons*, from whence he forthwith dispatcht away 15000 Dutch, and Guascon foot towards *Italy*. To divert which designs, *Cesar* prepared a great Army of 20000 foot, and 8000 Horse in *Flanders*, to enter the confines of *France*; but the divulging, that the French would fall upon *Genoa*, was amongst other things, a great hindrance in making provision against the Turks; for the *Genuefes* being hereat much terrified, said, They could not permit that *Doria* should abandon his Country in so great danger, and go with his Gallies from thence, which were the very Nerves of the Imperiall Fleet; for the 22 Gallies which were at *Barcellona*, were in no good posture to undertake so long a voyage.

Whilst the Christian Princes were thus ordering affairs for their own defence, the Turks taking occasion from their discords, to trouble Christendom (as they had often done formerly) and to increase their power and reputation, with assured hopes of rich booty, had prepared an Army, and a Fleet, to assault the Territories of other men. *Soliman*, who being gone in the beginning of *March* from *Constantinople*, had staid some dayes to passe his time away in hunting at *Andrinopolis*, all requisite provisions for the army being in a readinesse, began his journey, and towards the end of *June*, came to *Scopia*, a City in *Macedonia*, where having staid a while, and having tane his voyage through the confines of *Albania*, he went with all his men to *Vallona*, by the Ancients, called *Aula*. But the Fleet being already parted from the straits of *Galipoli*, was come at the same time to the Island of *Cervi*, being in number above 300 sayls, of which there were 220 Gallies, the rest Gallions, fly-boats, and other lesser Vessels; and all men said, that of a long time, there had not been seen so great a Fleet upon the Sea, nor better appointed, and provided of all things, especially of Souldiers, there being 12 Sangiacchi aboard, each of which commanded 800 valiant men, and moreover 4000 Janesiers. *Cariadino* commanded

manded this Fleet in chief, for what belonged to the Seabur the Bashaw *Luffi*, who represented the person of the grand Signor, & who had the Imperiall standard assigned unto him, had the supreme command over the Souldiers, and in ordering the undertakings. What these mens Commissions were, and what course they were to steer, was not yet known; some said, they had orders from *Soliman*, if occasion should offer it selfe to fight the Venetian Fleet: others affirm'd the contrary, that they were straitly commanded to bear respect to the Venetians, and their affairs; but the most common opinion was, that the Turks were to attempt somewhat in *Puglia*: this mean while, *Doria*, being first gone to *Civita Vecchia*, and not finding the Popes gallies in order to joyn with him, was gone to *Faro di Messina*, there to gather up the gallies of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and other men of War, which he expected from other parts: which when they were come, he found his Forces notwithstanding to be inferior to the Turks, as he could by no means think of giving the enemy battel; he therefore resolv'd to re-inforce the greatest number of Gallies that he could, and leaving the rest of the gallies, and smaller Vessels, and six armed ships behinde him in a safe place, and one Gallion, to advance with those select ones towards the *Levant*, to molest the Turkish affairs, according as he should finde occasion, shunning to meet the Enemies Fleet, joyn'd altogether. But the Venetians, when they understood the Turkish Fleet was come to *Modone*, not knowing whither they were to go, nor what to doe, the Senate had been very dubious in their Counsels, what the Generall *Pesaro* should do, who was already come to *Corfu*, and had about 70 Gallies under his Command: the 15 that were armed in the *Levant*, being come unto him, to wit, ten in *Cardia*, one at *Cefalonia*, two at *Zante*, and two in the same Island of *Corfu*.

The Generall had not as yet received any commissions, save such as were universal, and answerable to the Senates intention, to keep Neutral, to wit, to endeavour to keep peace with the Imperialists, and with the Turks, and not to meddle with any, farther then to keep the Subjects, and the Affairs of the Common-wealth uninjured; to grant vittuals freely to all; to shun giving suspension, to keep far from all the Fleets, and not any waies to disturb their designs, nor meddle in anything which either of the Fleets should have to do with. He therefore required some particular order touching either his stay, or whether he was to go. Some Senators were of opinion, that the whole Fleet keeping still together, the Generall should alwaies keep before the Turks, leaving them behinde him, alleading, that their chiefe care should be to preserve the Cape, and not to leave the Gulph to the discretion of the Turks, when being gotten well within it with so great Forces, they might be hindred from being able to joyn the Gallies of *Dalmatia*, and others which were still appearing in *Venice*, with the rest of our Fleet. Others agreeing, that the Fleet should keep together, were of a contrary opinion touching where it should stay, thinking it neither honourable nor advantageous, to abandon the *Levant*, and to deprive themselves of the opportunity (if they should find it fit to do so) of joyning our Fleet with that of *Spain*; some blaming both these

these opinions, as extream, and which would produce some disorder, propos'd that the Fleet should be divided; commanding the Generall, that when he should understand the Turkish Fleet did make for the Gulph, he should choose out 40 of the best Gallies, wherewith himselfe, and Commissary *Contarini* should tarry about *Corfu*, and that he should send the other Commissary *Pasquillio* with the rest into *Dalmatia*. That he should diligently watch the proceedings of the Turks; who if they should make for *Puglia*, the Generall should not stir from *Corfu*; but if, entering into the Gulph, and seeming to go for *Puglia*, when they were past the mount *St. Angelo*, they should bend towards *Ancona* and *Romagna*, he should follow them, but at such a distance, as he should by no means endanger his Gallies; and others were of opinion, that all accidents which might occur, not being to be foreseen; and yet the Commanders being to govern themselves thereby, they should leave all to the Generalls discretion and diligence. Amongst which diversity of opinions, theirs prevailed, who were for the Fleets keeping in an inire body in the *Levant*. But it being soon after known, that the Turks advanced into the State, so as there was no open war declared, nor was there yet any certainty of peace, it behoved them to divide their Fleet; so they resolv'd to create a new Sea-Generall in the Gulph, but who should be inferior to *Pesaro*; for that when they should be together, he was to take down the standard and Lanthorn, and yield obedience to him. And this imployment was given by almost all the votes of the Senate, to *Jovan Vetturi*, who by tryall given of himselfe in the late Wars, had got a great renown for wisdom and valour. He putting himselfe speedily in order, and parting from *Venice* with some armed Gallies, went to *Dalmatia*, whither Commissary *Pasquillio* came to meet him, with some of those gallies which were at *Corfu*; *Nicolo Bondimiero*, Captain of the Gulph, and *Dominico Contarini*, Captain of the fly-boats. So as *Vetturi* had quickly under his charge 46 Gallies, besides six fly-boats; and 54 Gallies, one Gallion, commanded by *Battuzzi Contarini*, and a Frigate under *Jacopo d'Armero*, remained with Generall *Pesaro*. But the same doubt rose soon again, which had at first divided them, in giving out these orders, which was made the greater, by the newes which encreased daily, that the Turks were coming in an hostile manner, to the Island of *Corfu*, and that their Fleet was already discovered from the Island of *Zante*; some being of opinion, that the Fleet should keep divided; others, that General *Pesaro* should have liberty, to make one entire body of the whole Fleet, if he should see occasion for it; and *Vetturi* was ordered, that if *Pesaro* should require it, he should obey him, without expecting further orders from the Senate. This opinion was much withstood by many, who mentioned the great danger, and little advantage, which would thereby accrue; for the Turkish Fleet being very numerous and strong, in the Channel of *Corfu*, and therefore the western Point being well guarded, how could our Gallies come near the Island; whereas *I Venti di Provenza*, which were wont to be constant in that season, made the entry thereinto hard, and the abode there

there unsafe. So as when they should know, that the Peace was broken, they were to think of the safety of *Corfu*, and of the rest of their Dominions by sea, by other more prevalent means. That the Emperour offered to joine his Gallies with ours. That if *Generall Pesaro* should receive orders, to keep good intelligence with *Doria*, that this conjunction might speedily be made with more honour, and greater hopes of doing good. Yet the Senate being moved, either by fear of making the Turks jealous, and of accelerating the evill, which they sought so much to shun, if they should hold closer intelligence with the Imperialists; or else by the hopes of being able to do some good of themselves, the businesse was carried, though but by a very few votes, for leaving it in *Pesaro's* power, to joine our Fleet together, if he should see occasion for it, and therewith to defend the subjects and affairs of the Common-wealth.

The French, hoping hereby to bring the Venetians by new applications, to consent to those things, which they would not before listen unto, sent Count *Guido Rangone* speedily away to *Venice*, who having had audience in the Colledge, in presence of the *Capi del Consiglio di dieci*, without the Embassadour of *France* his intervening, who afterwards did of himself almost the same things. *Rangone* delivered the Kings credentiall Letters, and began in a very effectually manner to relate the love, which his King bore to the Common-wealth, and the esteem he had of her, commemorating divers things done by the Crown of *France*, tending to the Venetians service. Then entring into consideration of the particular accidents of that time, he exhorted them to forego their confederacy with *Cesar*, and to joine in friendship with *France*, making great offers, by order from the King, and in the Kings name, of yielding up unto the Common-wealth, when the State of *Millan* should by their joyned forces be recovered, the city of *Cremona*, with whole *Giaradada*; and to assist them readily in repossessing them of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*; and also of the Towns in *Puglia*, as *Otranto* *Brandizzo*, *Monopoli*, *Puglianin*, and *Travi*: so as the Venetians should be made masters of all, that they possist before the late wars. But he insisted chiefly upon the present condition of times, which he knew would be of great force; promising, that by the Kings intercession and authority, they should be free from all the present dangers, which were threatened them by the Turks, to the honour and advantage of the Common-wealth; that the disputes which did yet remain betweene and *Soliman*, should be ended, the new *Imposts* laid upon the Merchants of *Soria* taken away, the *Cantarinian* ship restored, and that the Merchants who were imprisoned, should, together with their goods, be set at liberty. The Auditory was much in doubt what to do concerning these proposalls; on the one side, they had great hopes, and large offers promised them, but which would draw on sore wars, and much trouble; on the other side, doubts of but small quiet, and no lesser difficulties, continuing still in the same danger, which would be made the worse by the King of *France* his indignation, if he should see his friendship refused and neglected, after so large offers. After long consultation, it was proposed to the Senate, by the joyned opinion of the *Collegio de Savi*, That the same *Rangone* being desired to return many thanks to the King,

King, for his favour, and for his so many and so loving offers, he should tell his Majesty, That as for the Union which was proposed, the King might know, what esteem the Common-wealth had of the Crown of *France*, by what she had often done formerly; and that as she had not been hitherto wanting, so her actions should still be such, when any occasion should be offered, as might confirm the King and all others in a good opinion of her. *Mark Antonio Cornaro* was the onely man that opposed this, a man famous for eloquence, and of great reputation, though not very old, and who was then *Savio di Terra ferma*; he would have it freely told to *Rangone*, That to keep promise, was that which became a Prince, and was the ancient uninterrupted custom of the Common-wealth. Wherefore being tyed by a new confederacy to *Cesar*, they could not think of any other agreement contrary to it. But that they were, notwithstanding, confident, that the King, as a wise Christian Prince, and a friend, would not give over the good offices, which he had begun with the Turks. He therefore spake thus.

He who will give his opinion in any weighty and important Affair, must be so free from passion, as his reason be not contaminated. Hope and fear, as evill consultors, which keep truth concealed, ought always to be banished such resolutions. These are the affections which I desire may be chiefly driven from your bosomes, most worthy and grave Senators, that the resolution which shall this day be put on, may be right and sincere, agreeing with the publick good, and with the opinion which the world hath of this Senate's wisdom. The offers made unto us by the King of *France*, to make us side with him, and take up arms against our friend and confederate *Cesar*, are very great, and truly he ought to mention great things, to make us by a new and detestable example, break our publick faith, without any just occasion, and undertake a no lesse unjust, then weighty and dangerous war. Two things are at once propounded unto us, to make war with the Emperour, and the keeping peace with *Soliman*; and this very cunningly, to work upon us by these incentives, to the end, that some of us moved thereunto by our own strength, and by his assistance, and out of hopes of great acquisitions, being allured by what is very usefull and desirable, may forget what is honest and feasible, and may easily enter into troubles, which we shall not so easily get out of. And others, blinded by the desire of preservation from present dangers, and of freeing themselves from the fear of war with the Turks, without finding any better security for our present affairs. We must look upon these things with eyes, uncontaminated by these affections, with the pure and sincere eyes of our soules, and consider, with what intention they are proposed; for by so doing, it will easily appear what we ought to do therein, and by what answer we may free our selves from those snares, which are covered over with an appearance of liberty; and from that infamy, which goes concealed under the cloak of glory. It was the generosity of our fore-fathers, readily to embrace any occasion of enlarging our confines, whilst the condition of times advised thereunto. It was the constancy of our fathers, and hath been ours, to seek to preserve things, which were got by the worth of others, not being overcome by the tedious troubles of war. But certainly, it was no lesse wisdom, nor lesse praise-worthy, to accommodate our selves to the present fortune of the Common-wealth, to lay down Arms, and to wait for better times, when we had found all experience in vain. We did then

possesse the greatest part of those territories, which now are promised us in reward of new troubles and dangers; and notwithstanding, because we knew, that the keeping of them would nourish perpetuall discords, we, being desirous to purchase peace to the Common-wealth at last, did resolve to quit them. We parted willingly, and by agreement, with Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and with many Towns in Puglia to the Emperour. We should not now think of these things, since it will be harder for us to repossesse our selves of those cities, then it would have been to have kept them; and for that Cesar's power is much encreased, and confirmed in Italy. So as to change the present condition thereof, is a thing rather to be desired than to be expected; and if this be anywaies to be hoped for, past experience, & the same course which we still keep, teacheth us, that it may be had, not by arms, but by negotiation and dexterity; by insinuating our selves into Cesar's favour, and by keeping him in some jealousy of our friendship, which he doth so highly value at this time; by which means, he may be brought as he hath been formerly, and hath now promised to yield, that a particular Duke of Millan be named. But certainly, he who thinks, there is any good grounds, of joyning part of that State to our Dominions, may be said, to take pleasure in willingly deceiving himself. It is too apparent, that the bare news of this confederacy with France, or the discovery of any such thoughts in us, would be sufficient, to make all the Princes of Italy joyn against us; nay, the very King of France, who is now so free of his promises, would be hardlier perswaded to grant these things, then others would be, if there should be any occasion of doing it. Is it possible, that we can so soon forget what is past? or if we remember them, can we with patience give ear to these negotiations? what counsell did ever prove more unfortunate to this Common-wealth, then the thinking of getting of Cremona, and Giaradada? what, but this, was the first and true originall cause, of making all the Princes of Christendom conspire against us, to almost the totall ruine of our affairs? And who was the first author of this conspiracy, and of our so many mischiefs, but that very King of France? who, assisted by our forces, in his getting the Dukedom of Millan, was bound to keep us in the possession of that part thereof, which was given us in reward of our so much expence and labour. And I pray you, what was it that forced us to joyn at first in confederacy with this present Emperour, whose greatness we did so fiercely oppose, taking upon us the defence of the Dukedom of Millan, but the Frenchmens so oft failing in their promises? Did not we keep constant in our friendship to the King of France to the last? but the French have often abandoned us, we never them, unless upon great necessity. Assuredly, though we should listen to these propositions, their actions would not correspond with their promises, which have alwaies been very large. I will not say so much to abuse us, as by the custom of the Nation; but their actions have alwaies come short of their obligations, slow, uncertain, inconsistent. And, not to mention things further off, the King hath used the same importune delay, in furnishing his Captains with men and monies, to maintain the war in Italy, for the advantage of the common good; and soon after, when he discovered his own interest, and the hopes of recovering his sons, and of making peace, how easily did he agree with Cesar, not only without including our Common-wealth, but without making us acquainted with his counsells, leaving us in the perplexities and dangers of war, who did so readily take up arms, first,

for the freeing of his own person, then of his sons, made a potent and victorious King our enemy, and undergone great expence and danger. If the King did so easily forget our interests, when he could finde nothing in us but good turns, favours, and merits; why should we think, he should prove more constant or faithfull in his friendship, now that he may have conceived hardly of us, and may think, we have injured him? for he will alwaies interpret our confederacy with Cesar to be such, though it were done upon urgent necessities. The King would now flatter us, and by so many, and by so large promises, would allure us to assent to his desires, because he knows, he stands in great need of our friendship. He is infinitely desirous to regain the State of Millan; he sees, he hath no leaning stock in Italy; that his Armies are staid in Piedmont; that he must fight for his passage longer then he had thought to have done; and when he shall have overcome this obstacle, not having any one who will receive or assist, so as he is to meet with no lesser difficulties, he would by all means make us forego Cesar, and bring us to make a new confederacy with him. But say, I beseech you, who is it that does believe, or who indeed can with reason believe, by the yet recent example of this very Kings actions, when Cesar, seeing those forces turned against him, by whose assistance he thought, he should have been the better able to defend the State of Millan, when he saw his territories assaulted at one and the same time, by the King of France, and by the Turks; that he should resolve, as it is well known he did, to enter into a treaty of surrendering the Dukedom of Millan, because the Kings third son should not be interested therein. who is it, I say, that can persuade himself, that the King would not presently have laid down Arms, without any thought of our concerns, and have made an agreement, not only without us, but it may be against us, to assist Cesar in repairing himself upon us, and to our prejudice, for what he had granted unto him? But I see it will be answered, These hopes, as being far off, ought not to be much valued. And why ought we not all take in consideration, the securing of our selves, from the so great and eminent dangers of the Turkish forces? This is a thing certainly as much desired by me, as by any others; but yet, though I have the same desire, I cannot be of the same opinion concerning it, for I see no reason, to trust our security upon these promises, may rather on the contrary, me thinks, that the danger remaining still the same, we shall, by waiting upon these negotiations, weaken much our own defence. The Turks by nature, and by their prosperous success, are proud, imperious, as those who despise all others, and put a value only upon themselves, and upon their own accommodations; and shall we believe, that they will govern their thoughts according to the persuasion or desire of the King of France, rather then according to their own particular objects? If the antient friendship and commerce which we have with them, yea, even to their advantage, shall not avail to make them cease, from making war upon us; of what authority, I beseech you, do you think, the King of France his persuasions will be with him? Soliman requires nothing of the French in reward whereof, to grant peace unto us upon their score; the French are they who pray assistance from the Turks. It is more reasonable therefore, that they should accommodate themselves to the Turks will, and not the Turks to theirs. So as the more I know, that we ought to desire the confirmation of peace with the Turks, the lesse hope I, to obtain it by this means. But I am afraid it may so fall out, as being unable of our selves,

selves, long to hold out against the Turks, we shall unseasonably deprive our selves of those aids which are ready, and wherein onely we can promise any good unto our selves; I speak of our Fleets joyning with the Imperialists. And 'tis this, believe me, that both the Turks and French, do look upon; the Turks are jealous of this uniting of our Fleets, they fear nothing but this, as being that alone which can disturb their designs; and perhaps it is to hinder this, that they use this means with the French, who will willingly serve them, as well for their own interests, as to requite them for the good which they receive by their Fleet. This therefore may sufficiently teach us, what we ought to do in this point, and what our answer ought to be, since it is a clear case, that we ought to shun and abhor that which is assured, and endeavoured by our enemies: The more therefore they desire to sever us from Cæsar, the closer ought we to cleave to him, and to avoid all occasions, which may make him suspect we intend otherwise. And certainly, when we shall have duly considered all things, we shall be of this opinion, that we cannot look for greater, nor for more certain helps for these our threatening dangers, from any where else, then from this our joyning with the Imperialists; or at least, from nourishing an opinion in the Turks at the present, that very good intelligence is held between Cæsar and us, and such a union may easily be had, if we have a minde to it. But let us take it for granted, that Soliman does not at all intend to trouble us now, but aims onely upon the Emperours Dominion; is it a good, is it a wise, is it a usefull or Christian-like counsell, to give him occasion of encreasing the good will he hath already, of making enterprises upon Christendom, of getting his foot into Italy, of weakening that Prince his forces, who may counterpoise the Turks power? If Otranto, Brandizzo, or any other such place, should fall into the Turks hands, (which God forbid) what would become of Corsu, and the rest of our territories? To part from the confederacy which we have with Cæsar, what is it, but to draw on those evils, which we ought chiefly to shun? For who knows not, that more forces being to be employed in defence of the State of Millan, our Garrisons will be the weaker, to defend our maritime places from the Turks? Since the condition of our Commonwealth doth not permit, that we declare our selves enemies to the Turks, unless we be enforced so to do, since the disorders and weakness of the Christian Princes necessitates us, to stand idle spectators of the evils of Christendom, let us endeavour at least, to cloak this our resolution as much as we can; if we cannot otherwise assist the common cause, let us not be wanting in the favour it may receive, by the reputation of our forces, by keeping still, as we now are, in Arms, and by keeping the Turks still jealous, that we may, and will assist our friend and Confederate the Emperour. We see, that the course taken by the French is blamed by all men, and shall we be guilty of the same fault? The miserable cries of those unfortunate people, who shall be enslaved by these Barbarians, will call aloud for vengeance from God upon us, if we should be any occasion of their calamity. And this appearing safety which is offered us, will be a means to deprive us both of human and divine help. But as these are powerfull reasons, to keep us from agreeing to these things, which are proposed unto us, so do they persuade us totally to break off this negotiation, not to nourish suspicions in the Imperialists, and hopes in the Turks, that we are to forego Cæsar's friendship, which would at the last incense the King of France more against us, when he should finde himself cheated and deluded by

by vain words and Treaties; and following the counsell proposed unto us by the Colledge of the Savij, we shall, without any advantage to our selves, purchase disgrace, and ill will from all men.

Cornaro was with great attention listened to by all, and his speech commended; after whom Leonardo Emo, a Salvio del Consiglio, a grave man, &c. who had had the management of many weighty affairs both at home and abroad, stood up, and spoke thus.

I have observed in the long and learned Oration, made by Mark Antonio Cornaro, that to finde matter wherewith to opugne that opinion which he understands not; he hath endeavour'd to interpret it, or to make it be understood, if not clean contrary, at least very far from the intention of the propounder. I will not therefore oblige myself to answer particularly to every thing that he hath alleged, because I think it not necessary, and I hope, that by that little which I shall say, it may be clearly enough seen, what might be further said, by one who would discourse more thereupon. But I have ever thought, that to urge more considerations, than the businessse that is treated of requires, is to confound, not to enlighten the judgement in point of resolution. His intention then, who proposes the giving a more modest and reserved answer to so affectionate an offer made in the King of France, is not to give himselfe totally up unto him, nor quite to abandon Cæsar's amity, and to make a new confederacy with the King of France: but not to move him to greater indignation against us, to keep him from precipitating into any pernicious resolution, which may be prejudiciall to our affairs. What greater injury can be done to a mighty Prince, than to seem not to regard him, not to value his friendship, or care for his enmity? if we cannot satisfie this Kings desire, or accept the offers made by him, for some respects of our own, we ought not notwithstanding to proceed so, as he may have reason to believe we have refused his friendship, rather out of being disaffected to him, than out of any obligation we have to Cæsar, or out of other respects concerning our selves. If we will not satisfie his desires in our actions, let us not be so sparing of words, as that the injury of our denyall may be increased without any advantage to us. We may know by a notable and late example, what good is got by this too open and too sincere dealing, if not severe. The Emperour Maximilian being alwaies refused and neglected by us, when he desired friendship and peace with our Commonwealth, upon advantageous terms for us, joyn'd at last with the same King of France against us, in whose behalfe, and that we might not forgo his friendship, we, out of peradventure a generous, but certainly no wayes usefull, resolution for our affairs, would not listen to any thing that Maximilian could offer. I am afraid, Gentlemen, that the same may now befall us; and so much the rather, for that we know there are several indeavours at this time of agreement between these two Princes; which though it be to be desired for the good of Christendom, yet we must be carefull and wary, that it be not done to our disadvantage; and that it be not only done without our knowledge, but against us. The way to secure us from this, is that which is now offered us; to wit, by nourishing the King of France, in some hopes of our friendship and assistance, who will never condescend to any agreement with Cæsar, whom he hates to death, unless out of high necessity, when he sees no hopes of purchasing his desires by force. And as the benefit is great, which we may reap by this way of proceeding, so many other effects may follow,

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which will be very usefull for the present condition of times and affairs. we shall retard the coming of the King into Italy: for putting an high esteem, as it seems he doth, upon the advantage he may receive by our friendship and assistance; it is very likely, that he will defer the enterprise of Milan, when he may hope to attempt it with greater likelihood of prosperous success, being therein assisted by us: and who knows not, how many conveniences we may receive by this delay? we shall free our selves from the expense, which will be at this time very troublesome and unseasonable, of sending our men to defend the State of Milan, as we are tied to do by our confederacy with Cesar; and we shall procure better security against the Turkish Forces, and the present danger thereof, whilst the Imperiall forces being free from the fear of the French, will grow greater, be better united, and more able to defend their Dominions, and ours also, if there be occasion of joining our Fleet with theirs. But say all these particular considerations were laid aside; tell me, I beseech you, is it not certain, and a thing confirm'd both by reason, and by experience in us all, that the keeping of these two Princes powers, as equally ballanced as may be, doth much concern the safety and liberty of all Italy, and particularly the reputation and grandure of this Common-wealth? not to secure the one altogether, nor to make the other totally dispair of our friendship, which is the onely means of keeping the one from over-much exceeding the other, and from securing their affairs in Italy: which most weighty consideration, hath made us not stick to side sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, as hath stood most with the times, and with our interests. It is now 13 years since, that being then in League with the King of France, and seeing the Emperours forces increase so fast in Italy, and the French succours come on so slowly, as it was thought impossible to uphold them any longer, we followed Cesar's fortune, did what our own safety and service advised us to do, and adhering unto Cesar, did help him to drive the residue of the French Army out of Italy: but soon after, the French faction growing powerfull, by King Francis, passing over the mountains with a strong Army, we forewent our new confederacy made with the Emperour, and did re-establish our ancient League with the King of France; whose affairs proving afterwards unfortunate, and contrary to the first hopes, his Army being routed, and himselfe taken prisoner; we, to preserve our selves early from being injured by the Conqueror did side again with Cesar; whose greatnesse growing suspicious, and seeing our selves then free from the former danger of his forces, as soon as we found the King of France, who was now set at liberty, minded to make war with Cesar; we took up Arms with him, to drive the Imperialists out of the Dukedom of Milan. All these things hapned within less than two years space; and I my selfe was present in many of them, as Commissary of your Armies; and certainly it was wisely done to suite our selves to the various conditions of times; by doing which, we have preserved the Common-wealth, and reduced her at last to peace. Then, since the same respects continue, shall we proceed otherwise? why shall we, by seeming inseparably united to Cesar, force the King of France to give over his thoughts of Italy, and leave the Emperour sole Arbitrator thereof? by doing thus, we shall at one and the same time purchase hatred from the French, neglect from the Imperialists, lessen the reputation of our Common-wealth, and make the way easie for Cesar to invade whole Italy. To what purpose is the uncer-

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flancy, and uncertainty of the King of France urged, if we do not at all now treat of relying upon his word? And say we should treat thereof such a confederacy could not occasion us so much trouble or danger, but that our appearing to continue so constant to Cesar, might be cause of more. Nor do I say, that we ought to treat with some reservation with the King of France, for any respect of the King himselfe; for any service that we have received by him, or out of hope of what we may receive; though if I should say so, it is not so long since we recovered Verona, by the assistance of his forces, but that it might procure me some belief. It is our own service and good which makes me advise thus, which should persuade us to take this course. Therefore as I shall not easily advise (since the present times do not permit it) that we should enter into assured and present troubles of a new war; so shall I not counsel quiet to forgoe the thought of the Emperours too immoderate greatnesse, which hath cost us so much labour in the hardest times, preferring the security of our Common-wealth, and our posterity (for which the Senate is much to be praised) before any accommodation we could receive by peace. We may by this time know what Cesar's intentions are, and that it is now more to be feared than ever, that he will subjugate all Italy: He hath drawn us into confederacy with him, by giving us good words, and by promising to put a Duke into the State of Milan: But do not his actions shew how careful he is to make good this his promise? If then we do desire to bring him to this, since we cannot now use open violence, let us at least make him somewhat jealous of our friendship and assistance; for it may very well fall out, that fearing lest by our alienation, he may shamefully lose that State, he may resolve to leave it with honour and praise, by some fair way of accommodation, as he lately did, when he was contented that Francisco Sforza should be repossessed thereof. The respect of our present troubles and dangers of the Turkish Forces, being added to these considerations, I think we ought not to forgoe the gravity and maturity, with which the Senate is wont to proceed in matters of much lesse moment: for it is evident, that the too much hastning of this our resolution, and the too soon declaring of our selves, will increase the Turks jealousies, that we are joyn'd with Cesar to their prejudice, and cannot but much injure our affairs, and bring us upon some precipice: Moreover, I know not why we ought to value the intercession of a puissant Prince, and one so highly esteem'd by the Turks, as is the King of France, so little. I am not persuaded, that a treaty of Peace and Agreement, propounded by a personage of great power, would be displeasing to us, if we were in open war with Soliman. And now that our business is deepning, in my opinion more inclinable to peace than war; shall we not believe, that the French may by their indeavour the more easily divert it, be it but by acquainting them with the easinesse of the enterprise, wherein their intentions and designs against the Imperialists, and us, will be assisted? Much more may be said upon this occasion, so as my discourse thereupon must be long, though contrary to my custome; but I forbeare to say many things, purposely that I may not seem to distrust the wonted wisdom of this Senate, to which it may seem very conformable to keep the more certain determination of our will therein undetermined; as also the opinion that the King of France, or any others may have thereof, who may Comment upon this our answer, we shall have time for a better grounded, and more mature resolution; the waiting for which in difficulties, hath alwaies been thought to be-

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come a wife and prudent Prince. According to this mans opinion, the Senate took time to deliberate upon an answer, and upon dismissing Count Rangone.

This mean while, certain news came to Venice, that Soliman was come with his Army to Vallona, and that his Fleet passing by Corfu, had saluted the Fort by shooting off their Guns, according to the military fashion, in token of friendship, and were with like shot, amicably answered by our men; and that they had committed no hostile act, neither in that Island, nor elsewhere; but that some of his men having taken away certain goods from some of our men by violence, the Captain, to terrifie others, had made them be hanged at the main mast of his gallie. Wherefore to correspond with some sign of friendship, and peace, and to discover somewhat of his intentions; some of the Senators were of opinion, that Generall Pesaro should be ordered to send some Governour of his gallies to this end, to Soliman. But this resolution was suspended, lest the Turks might interpret this, as a sign of fear, and might consequently lessen the opinion of our forces in them, or peradventure afford matter of new dislikes amongst them, and of making some men by violence or insolent demand. But this thought was totally laid aside afterwards, by reason of news that Jacopo Canale, who going to be resident at Constantinople, in the place of Nicolo Juslinienaro, as Minister of the Common-wealth for the publick affairs, and for our Countries occasions, (which employment is commonly called Bailo) when he came to Nicosia, was ordered by the grand Signor to turn back, and come to him to the Camp, so as he might do there whatsoever was to be done.

Thus stood the affairs of the Venetians at this time, having neither open War, nor secure peace; all things full of jealousy, great preparation of Fleets and Souldiers, but no open injury yet done, nor occasion given of making use of those forces: but loc some suddain and unexpected accidents afforded matter to the Barbarians, of venting that fury against the Venetians, which they intended against others; the constant and resolute will of the Senators, to keep peace with the Turks, not being able to avoid this misfortune of war, nor yet the diligence which they had at first used, in charging their Sea-Captains, and which orders they had often reiterated, to shun all occasions whereby they might come to open war with the Turks, but to behave themselves so, as that they might give them no occasion of jealousy. Simone Nassi Laratino, commanded one of the gallies of Dalmatia, who unfortunately meeting with a small Turkish Vessel loaded with Victuals, bent for Vallona, which not striking sayl unto him, according to the maritime custome, Nassi shot at the Vessel, and sunk it. Though Soliman and his Bashaws were much troubled at this, yet bearing with it, that it might not impede their other designs, they resolved to send Janasli Dragomano to Corfu; the same man who had been the year before at Venice, with order to acquaint Generall Pesaro, how that the peace between them and the Common-wealth, was violated by the insolence of one of his Captains, and to crave that the delinquent might be

be punished and reparation made for the damage done, which he said came to 30000 Duckets. Four gallies of the Fleet lay in the Channel of Corfu, to guard the same, commanded by Giusto Gradenico, Michiele Grimani, Giacomo di Mezzo, and Jerolomo Michiele: These men when they saw armed ships draw near them (which were two gallies, and one fly-boat, which conducted the Embassadour) not taking any notice who they were, they fell so furiously upon them, as the Turks fled, and not thinking themselves thereby safe, they put to land at Citera, where they were ill dealt with by those fierce people, who were naturally Enemies to the Turks; many of them taken Prisoners, amongst which, Janusby's selfe. Generall Pesaro was exceedingly displeased hereat, so as to make satisfaction in part, and to mitigate the anger which this might beget amongst the Turks, he presently sent Captain Francisco Zenc to Citera, to ransom Janusby, which he obtain'd gratis immediately from those people, who though they be otherwise rude and savage, bear a particular affection to the Venetians.

When Soliman heard this news, he was adviſed by some of his men to take suddain revenge; but he not being willing for the present to make any other resentment, sent for the Bailo Canale, and complained bitterly of what the Common-wealth's Ministers had done, contrary to that so great desire of peace which the said Bailo had affirm'd the Commonwealth studied to have, and keep with him; and at last he was content, that the Bailo should send one of purpose to Corfu, to be truly and particularly inform'd of the fact, to which purpose the Bailo did immediately dispatch away Alessandro Orsino to Corfu. But Soliman continuing his intention of assaulting the Rivers of Puglia, had landed good store of Horse in flat-bottom'd boats about Otranto, which over-running the whole Country, and ceasing on both men and beasts, and all things else, infused terrour into all; and at the same time Lusitebeio, and Barbarossa, past by with 80 gallies, who being informed that the chiefe Cities in Otranto and Brandizzo, were well furnish'd with Souldiers, and with all things else, bending his course from the head of Otranto, to the gulph of Taranto, had unexpectedly assaulted the Town of Castro, in the possessions of Mercurio Gattinara, a petty Lord, and took it upon Articles; which were but ill kept; for the souldiers, desirous of prey, not obeying their Captains commands, did miserably plunder it. Barbarossa thought it good, to flesh his souldiers at first, and to win them reputation with slight enterprises, and to affront the Enemy, but hastned notwithstanding to greater things.

Doria having in this interim reforc'd 28 gallies, as well as he could with souldiers and mariners, whereby his gallies were very fleet, and fit for action, went with them towards the Islands of Zante, and Saffalonis, took divers Turkish ships, which being loaded with Victuals, went for Vallona, whereby he much incommodiated the Army; and then steering his course towards the gulph, came into the waters of Corfu, almost at the same time, that Janusby be-

ing chased by the Venetians, (as hath been said) went on land upon the shore of *Cimera*, where he took, and brought away the Turkish Vessels empty of men, which did much increase the Turks hatred against the Venetians, and the suspicion that they held intelligence with the Imperialists: and certainly it so fell out, as those things through misfortune hapned at that time, which were desired to be shun'd; so as occasion of injuries being given, open war was to ensue thereupon. Generall *Pesaro*, hearing that *Barbarossa* was gone from the waters of *Zante*, to secure the Victuals which were sent from *Constantinople* to the Camp, and that he came toward *Corfu*, thought it fit to make use of the liberty the Senate had given him, of uniting the gallies all together: wherefore he resolved to enter the gulph, and to joyn with Generall *Vesturi*, intending, above all things, to shun meeting with the Turkish gallies. But whilst he was upon his way, he was carried by a cross winde Lee-ward, where he met with those dangers which he had strove to avoid. For the whole Fleet being now so near land, and part of the night past, the Marriners advised to cast anchor, to the end that the Rowers might have some rest; and not being able by reason of a suddain storm, and of the darkness of the night, to discover as far off, from the top-Mast, for the securing of their voyage; it hapned that the *Van*, which consisted of 15 gallies, and was commanded by Commissary *Alexander Contarini*, fell at unawares upon a Turkish gallie, (which was the Imperiall gallie, prepared for the grand Signor, if he himselfe should come to Sea, and which was then commanded by *Buffan Rais*) and those of that gallie asking our men what ship theirs was, answer was made, it belonged to the Venetians; and they being asked by those of *Contarini's* gallie, who they were, they made no answer, but seeking to fall Room-ward, did presently let fly their greatest Guns at her. Then *Contarini*, moved either by anger, or by the zeal he bore to the honour of that Fleet, set upon the Turkish gallie, which had declared her selfe to be an Enemy; and after a long dispute, having received some harm, for there were above 300 souldiers in her, he took her, and put all the Turks to death, except some few, who being underneath the deck, were not found till the businesse was over. *Contarini* was much blamed for this by some, as if sway'd out of a desire of particular revenge, he had done what he knew was contrary to the publick service, by doing an hostile act upon the Turks, by whom he had been much injur'd, his ship having been before fraudulently detain'd by them. Yet others excusing him, said, That he had fore-seen these disorders more than any other, and had endeavour'd to remove the occasion, by going with the whole Fleet into *Candia*: since the Turks being past as friends through the channell of *Corfu*, there was no necessity of staying there, which was nothing else but to give occasion of real dangers, so to keep free from vain suspicions. After this, the Generall pursuing his course, and being come very near the coast of *Puglia*, they discovered many fires on land, and hearing many guns go off at the same time, they at first thought it was, that

those

those of the Country spying our Fleet, and not knowing what Vessels they were, had given signs to the Inhabitants, to betake themselves to strong holds; but they knew afterwards, that they were signs given by the Turks, to call those that were Landed back to their gallies, with which putting to Sea, they came to encounter us; for they had been advertised of our coming, by the convoy of the gallie which was taken, who had tarried somewhat behinde. Our men were greatly confused by the unexpected coming of the Turkish gallies. On one side the danger was very nigh at hand, and the doubt very great, whether they should seek to secure themselves from it, by flight, or by preparing for combat: to fly away, seemed dishonourable, and not very safe. The Senates expresse orders forbade them fighting, and reason ought to keep them from it, lest they upon disadvantageous terms might hazard those gallies upon the uncertain event of battel, on which the defence and safety of their Estate by Sea, did in a great part depend. No good order being taken, by reason of these uncertain Counsels, neither for staying nor for retyring: it hapned, that when the Generall gave order to the other Sea-Captains to turn back to *Corfu*, it was done disorderly; so as all of them hastning as fast as they could, to free themselves from danger, five of our gallies, either being too late in tacking about, or else not so swift of layl as the rest, tarried far behind; four of which fell into the Turks hands, whose Captains hands were afterwards barbarously stricken off, and open war declared. But the fifth, which was commanded by *Jovan Baptista Mirchovich*, *de Pago*, though it were behinde the rest, had the good fortune to escape. For bearing the halfe Moon for its flagge, it was taken to be a Turkish gallie, and was not molested by the enemy, but past safely on to *Otranto*, and went from thence to joyn with Generall *Vesturi*. This last businesse, though it was we that was injured, was notwithstanding a great occasion of the Turks breaking into war with the Venetians; for *Soliman* having conceived an ill opinion of the Common-wealth, by reason of the other accidents which you have heard of, was the easilier persuaded by others, that our Gallies lay there, to hinder the designe of his Fleet, by falling at unawares upon them, or to set his Fleet on fire. This suspicion was much increased by a Letter of *Doria's*, (as was afterwards known by certain slaves) which came to *Soliman's* hands, wherein he advertised Generall *Pesaro*, of the Turks voyage, putting him in minde, that this was an opportune time, to suppress the Turkish Fleet, which was divided, and feared no such thing. This Letter was thought to be artificially written by *Doria*, and that it was sent in a little Frigate, such a way, as it might fall into the jaws of the enemy, as it did, to the end it might nourish jealousy in them, that he held some secret intelligence with the Venetians, and so necessitate them to joyn their Fleet with his, for the common safety. To which purpose it was likewise believed, that passing much about that time neer *Corfu*, he met with Generall *Pesaro* and had often long discourse with him.

The Venetians were generally very much displeased at these pro-

proceedings, thinking it a hard and grievous thing, that the imprudency and rashness of a few, should trouble the tranquillity of all, by giving occasion of a dangerous war, contrary to the intention and resolution of the Senate; which troubled them the more, and made them be the more blamed by others, because they might be said, to have been themselves the cause of their own mischief. Yet there wanted not some, who both abroad, and in the Senate, approved what was done, and defended the authors of it; they said, *It was fit to have respect to their honour, to maritime discipline, and to the reputation of the Fleet. To what purpose was it to be at such expence, in setting forth so many armed vessels, if everyone might be permitted to do what they pleased? If all injuries, all insultings were to be suffered, what credit, what obedience would be given to the sea-Captains? What hopes would the subjects have, of being protected and defended by those forces, which would prove nothing but a vain appearance, if they should suffer, that unarmed vessels, should not give obedience to such as were armed; and that our Gallies should be shot at, and suffer other such like indignities, without any resentment? Would not the Turks consider this done, not out of friendship, but out of fear? which at last would be no better, than instead of appeasing them, to make them more bold and insolent. What would it be to punish these men for what they had done, but to confesse, it was done unjustly, and against the Articles of peace, and consequently to oblige our selves to make reparation, and to pay the Turks 30000 Duckets, that they might employ it against us? But, which is worse, if we shall grant, that the peace is broken by our Ministers, how shall we ever hope to do any thing, which may satisfy the haughty Turks, but by doing something of great shame and indignity? That it was usual for Princes, to lay their own faults upon their Officers. And that if Soliman should not be herewith satisfied, but should continue to make war, how would the depriving our selves of the service of these valiant men redound to the disservice of the publick? and, which is worse, would it not make all others be poorly spirited and cowards? so as when they should have occasion to confront the enemy, they should be more troubled, in thinking, how to defend their honours at home before our Magistrates, then their own and the common safety, against the eminent danger of war made by the enemy. And that if these were to be proceeded against by the way of justice, they must have more certain and particular information of the fact, by way of processe. That they were likewise to tarry for advertisement from the Bailo, to know how these things were understood by the Turks, in what condition our affairs were, either for war or peace; without which considerations, all resolutions that could be taken hereupon, would be unreasonable, unjust, and injurious, both to the private and to the publick. The earnest disputing of these things, was the occasion, why the business oft-times proposed to the Senate, of committing the Commissary, and Masters of the ships, to the office of the *Avogaria*, to give an account of the actions whereof they stood accused, was for many daies deferred. But the newes of the Turks complaints encreased still, and how they prepared to revenge themselves; which was more clearly known by the coming of *Alessandro Orsino*, who was sent by the Bailo to Venice, he being commanded so to do by *Soliman*, that he might let the Senate know, that these men were*

to

to be severely punished, who had violated the peace; and that they were to acknowledge, that what had been done, was done without their consent or good-will. This being done by *Atace*, the first *Bashaw*, made the Senate hope well in the continuance of peace; wherefore they resolved at last to send orders to the Generall, that he should send *Giulio Gradenico*, who was chief of those Gallies that chased *Janasbi*, and such others as he should find guilty of the same fact, in Irons to Venice; but Commissary *Contarini* was ordered, to go with his Gally to *Lara*, and that leaving it at the disposal of Generall *Vesuri*, he himself should come to Venice, and present himself before the Magistracy of the *Avogaria*. There were some likewise that were of opinion, that Generall *Tesaro* should give up his Commission, alledging, that all other things would be but in vain, and give no satisfaction to the Turks; it being to be supposed, that all the disorders of the Militia must arise from him, who had the supreme authority; and that the Generall, by leaving *Gradenico* unpunished, had been the occasion of the other inconveniences which ensued, and consequently, that he partook of the same fault. That peace with the Turks was of such concernment to the Common-wealth, as nothing was to be considered in comparison thereof. Moreover, that the Fleet being to keep united, there was no need of so many Generalls, which in important affairs, and chiefly in the Militia, do rather breed disorder, then do any good. But notwithstanding, the Senate, having an eye to the preservation of the publick dignity, did not onely not consent to the recalling of the General, but sending *Orsino* back to the Bailo, would not that any account should as then be given to *Soliman*, by any publick order, of their resolution taken concerning the Commissary, and the others, that they might not seem to have done it, rather to please the Turks, than to do justice. The Bailo was therefore ordered, that he should assure *Soliman* of the Senates good-will in generall, and of their desire of preserving friendship and peace; for the better assurance whereof, they would speedily send an expresse messenger, with particular instructions of all that had been done, and to assure him of the Senate's good-will; to which effect, Commissary *Vicenzo Grimani* was afterwards chosen.

But before *Orsino* could come to *Vallona* with these orders, *Soliman* being highly incensed, and being chiefly provoked thereunto by *Barbarossa*, though he had promised the Bailo not to attempt any novelty, till *Orsino* should be returned, gave command, that his Fleet, which lay then in the waters of *Puglia*, and which, after the sacking of *Castro*, was gone to besiege *Otranto*, should return to *Vallona*, with stedfast resolution, to bend all his forces both by sea and land, against the Venerian territories, and particularly to assault the Island and the Fort of *Corfu*, which at this time made most for his purpose. It is said, that *Atace* used many reasons, to dissuade *Soliman* from declaring enmity against the Venetians, saying, *That it was nothing else, but unseasonably to encrease the Imperialists forces, who were perpetuall enemies to the Ottoman family, by necessitating the Venetians to joyn with them, for their own defence. Besides, that the year was already*

so

so far spent, August being now almost over, as it would not permit any long and difficult enterprises, wherein the Fleet was to be made use of; and that there began to be some want of victuals in the Camp, by reason of the many ships which Doria had taken. But Barbarossa being much enraged, because twelve of his Gallies falling at this time upon Doria's Fleet at the *Merlere*, had been but hardly dealt with by him, part of them being taken, part sunk; that he might work some revenge, and much more to save himself, went about to lay the fault upon the Venetians, laying, That by their assistance and advertisement, the Imperialists had found the opportunity, to fall upon his Gallies at unawares, almost in the Channel of Corfu, and in the face of the Venetian Fleet; who, if they had been true friends, ought not to have suffered so great an outrage to be done, to a Prince in amity with them, almost at their own homes, they having forces sufficient to have hindered it. That the dignity of that Empire, ought not to be so injur'd and scorn'd; nor that the Venetians, holding close intelligence with their enemies the Imperialists, receiving them into their havens, giving them advertisement, and all other accommodations, should be tolerated to make war by this means underhand with the Musselmans, without being injured. Thus the resolution was taken, of making war with the Commonwealth, and orders were forthwith sent to all parts of the Ottoman Empire, where great store of Venetian Merchants were wont to frequent for traffick, that they should be detained, together with their goods; and particularly, three great Gallies were arrested in Alexandria, who had the publick faith for their surety in those Havens. Soliman marched with his Army to Buirintro, just over against Corfu, that he might the more commodiously convey his men over into the Island, whither Barbarossa was gone on the 28th of August, with his Fleet, and with certain Shallops, wherein were about a thousand Horse, to over-run and pillage the country at unawares, as he did. When the newes hereof came first to Venice, all mens minds were very much molested, especially theirs who sat at the helm of government, though they did very much suspect it before: For though it was thought, the Fort of Corfu was able to withstand the Turks assault, without any danger, they judged, it would be very hard for them long to withstand the forces of so potent enemies, and to defend their Dominions, exposed in so many severall parts to their injuries. That therefore this was likely to be the beginning of great troubles to the Commonwealth, which began but then to repair her self, from the so many evils she had suffered in the late wars in Terra ferma.

The Island of Corfu is seated on the utmost part of the Venetian Gulph, between the Ionick and the Adriatick sea: It hath on the north side the Rivers of Albania, from whence it is not above two miles divided; but it is distant by land from the head of Otranto sixty miles on the East. The Island extends it self from the East to the West, in almost a Lunary form; except that the Rock whereon the Fort is placed, makes as it were two semi-circles on the inside. The waters between the Island, and the Terra ferma, are commonly called the Channell of Corfu, which though it be not above two miles over on the East end of the Island, where the Port Casopo is, yet the Island

Island enlarging it self more from landward on the other side, called Levidimo, it is above ten miles over. The Island is of an excellent aire, as is witnessed by the Orange Trees and Cedars, which grow there in great quantity, and very beautifull, which peradventure afforded the Poets occasion, of so highly celebrating the Gardens of King Adonis: who kept his Court there. The ground is fruitfull, very fit for corn, having on the North side many pleasant plains. The city is placed almost in the midst of the Island, upon the root of a mountain, which is almost surrounded by it. The suburbs are sufficiently great and capacious, and were at this time inhabited by above 8000 persons. The Fort was but of a very small circuit, and capable of not many men; but so seated, as it was secure from being injured by any enemy, having two Castles situated very high, upon steep Rocks, which are not only a defence to the walls of the Fort on all sides, but discovering the sea, valleys, and neighbouring mountains, afford means of keeping the enemies Fleets and Armies as far off, which cannot approach near it without much damage. One, and the antientest of these Castles, is wholly environed by the Fort's the other of later structure, stands part within the Fort, the greater part serving for a wall or rampire thereunto. There are no other cities nor forts in the Island, but only many stragling villages; and on the South side stands the castle of St. Angelo, stronger by situation, then by art. The whole Island is about 120 miles in compasse, and it was antiently much more inhabited, and the inhabitants esteemed for sea-affairs, which they did so industriously study, as it may be gathered from what Thucydides relates, in the war of Morea. They had many maritime forces; and were well esteemed by the other Grecians. This Island had been under the Venetians dominion for 150 years last past, and was kept by them with great expence and care, being thought to be very fitly situated, to preserve the Empire of the Sea; for there being in it good and capacious havens, their Fleets may with great safety keep about it, and be ready to defend other eastern Islands and Dominions, and also keep in any enemies, from entering with their Fleets into the Gulph, which could not safely advance, leaving an enemies Fleet behind them, in a strong situation. This Island is therefore with reason held to be the bulwark of Italy, against the Barbarians forces. So as the danger being increased of later years, by reason of the Turks power, the Venetian Senate taking into consideration, together with their own safety, the common service of Christendom, have by stupendous art, and much cost, brought this Fort into such a condition, as it may truly be thought impregnable. It was at this time governed by severall Magistrates, sent thither by the Commonwealth, Simone Leone was Consul, Luigi da Riva Commissary, &c. Andrea Falliero Commander of the old Castle; but Jacopo di Novello was chief Governour of the Militia, a man well experienced in matters of war, who falling sick just at this time, dyed, and Babone di Naldo was chosen to succeed him, who had purchased the repute of great valour and fidelity, in the last wars on Terra ferma, and who at this time was a Collonell. The Senate being willing to gratifie him, for his ready acceptance of this employment, allowed twenty Duckets a month in his life-time to his son Paule. Naldo carried with him Letters from the Senate, to the Governours of the Island, wherein they were ordered to exhort the Commanders and Citizens, in the name of the Commonwealth

wealth, to behave themselves valiantly and faithfully, promising them rewards, and speedy succours; to which purpose, they were preparing great store of Gallies and Souldiers, and that the Senate had a great care of their safeties, and of preserving the Island. In the Fort there was a Garrison of about 2000 Italians, and as many Islanders, many whereof being trained up to be Cannoniers, did excellent service. There was great store of Artillery, and sufficient Ammunition for them. The charge of the Militia was particularly given to divers, according as need should require; the keeping of the Haven was committed to the care of *Nicolo Semitecolo*, *Zascheria Barbo* had the charge of the Victualls, and *Luigi Sanuto* of the Artillery; all these three being Governours of the Gallies of that Guard: So as the Governours and Captains did undauntedly expect the enemy. Yet the Venetians being jealous, by reason of the importance of the place, that some evil accident might befall it, or at least, that the enemy, if they were not disturbed, might lay a long siege to it, set all their thoughts upon freeing *Corfu* from danger, by fighting the Turkish Fleet: There were many things which advised thereunto; the knowledge, that as long as the Turkish Fleet remained entire, whereby the Camp might easily be furnished with men, which they abounded in, the Island of *Corfu*, and the other Islands also, must be exposed to many dangers; and that the Common-wealths forces being wasted, though with nothing else, by the length of war, some of her Dominions must at last fall into the Turks hands. Moreover, that the Common-wealth had then a great and strong Fleet ready, consisting of 100 Gallies, and conveniency to encrease it, and make it greater, by arming good store of great Vessels. That they had a fit occasion to try the fortune of a Battle, not suffering the expence of so great a preparation for war, to be consumed with certain losse. But they were hereunto chiefly incited, by their hopes of being assisted by the forces of other Christian Princes, in whatsoever enterprise they should undertake against the Turks, according to the so many offers made by the Pope and Emperour; which if they should not accept of, they might seem, not without some infamy, and apparent prejudice to the Common-wealth, to have abandoned both themselves, and the cause of Christendom. There were then about 50 nimble Gallies, and as many great Vessels of the Emperours upon the sea; the Pope had armed four, and the Knights of *Jerusalem* some which forces being all united, they hoped to be not onely able to beat the Turkish Fleet, and to free *Corfu* from siege; but to do some egregious act, by way of noble conquest. Newes being therefore brought, of the Armies being gone to the Island of *Corfu*, and war being openly made, *Mark Antonio Contarini*, Embassadour at *Rome*, was ordered to acquaint the Pope therewith, and with the Senates resolution; to let him see, in how great danger the common cause of Christendom was, and how ready they were to employ all their forces, to defend it and themselves, against the potent common enemy. They thought it fittest to do this first with the Pope, not onely because this care did chiefly belong unto him, as to the head of Christianity, but for that

that he having been very desirous, that the Christian Princes should joyne against the Infidells, had often offered the Churches Treasury, and all his forces, and authority, towards so pious and necessary a work. It was also very fit, in respect of the present business, to treat thereof at *Rome* rather then in *Spain*; it being then thought, by what themselves had given out, that the Emperour's Ministers in *Italy* had commission given them, to joyne his Fleet with the Venetians, if occasion should so require. As soon as the Pope heard this the Senates resolution, he seemed to be very much joyed thereat, saying, That he had never desired any thing more fervently since he was Pope, then this; that God could not be more graciously unto him, then to suffer him to see the mindes and forces of Christian Princes, joyned together against those enemies, who, through the so much encreased discords of Christendom, did now threaten them ruine. He did not therefore onely confirm, but encrease his promises made to the Venetians, when he perswaded them to make this union. And truly the Pope's exhortations were of no small moment, to excite in them these thoughts, and hopes of a League, he being esteemed a wise man, very zealous of the common good, and very well affected towards the Common-wealth. A beginning being thus given to a treaty of League, it was concluded by all, that mighty forces at sea were to be put together, since they had to do with an enemy, whose power, nay, whose very name, was become so formidable to all men. They discoursed therefore of arming 200 Gallies, and as many Ships, and other great Vessels, as they could, wherein 50000 Foot were to be embarked, and 4000 Horse. But because there arose some difficulty about the distribution of this expence, and the time and necessity pressing very much, to go with that Fleet which was already ready, to the reliefe of *Corfu*. The Pope confirming the preparation and union of these forces, as a thing already certainly agreed upon, would have the League to be presently published, for the greater reputation thereof, and to invite the Christian Princes to embrace it, reserving the conclusion of the particular Articles to a better conveniency, and till some orders were come from *Spain*. This publication was made with great solemnity in *St. Peter's Church*, *Gispero Contarini*, a Venetian Cardinall, singing the Masse, wherein he was assisted by the Pope, and by the whole Colledge of Cardinalls; which being done, the Pope entertained the Emperour's Embassadour, the Embassadour of *Venice*, and the Venetian Cardinalls, and Cardinall *Santa Croce*, a Spaniard, at dinner with him in his Palace. The like publication was also solemnly made in *Venice*, thanks being given to God by Orisons, and Processions in all the Churches, for this union of the Christian Princes against the Infidells.

To do somewhat in relation to this, the Senate writ to their Generalls, that they should leave the Captain of the Gulph to guard the places of *Dalmatia* with four Gallies, and that they should go with the whole Fleet to *Brandizzi*. They afterwards took many souldiers into pay, to make good the promised number; they created the Governours of the greater, and of the bastard Gallies,

which were with all diligence put in order; and it was resolved, that when these should be out at sea, they, and all the other armed ships, should be under the command of *Bondumiero*, Captain of the Gallioune. So in a short time, all things were disposed of, on the Venetians side, so as the Fleet might go finde out the enemy. But *Andrea Doria* having received orders, and being desired both from *Rome* and *Venice*, whilst he was yet at *Naples*, to go to *Brandizzo*, and joyne with the Venetian Fleet, finding out many excuses; sometimes, that he must go to *Marcelles*, against the French Fleet; sometimes to *Genoa*, to recruit his Gallies with men, and to provide for many things which he wanted, would not tarry, no nor the least while there, though *Gasparo Basala*, Consul for the Venetians at *Naples*, did all he could to perswade him: He oft-times told *Doria*, of the importance of the Island of *Corfu*, which was now to be freed from danger, and would make for the Emperour's service; how great the glory and reputation was, which he might hereby purchase. He moreover minded him of his own particular obligation, by his word so often given, and promise made so oft to the Venetians, which had made the Senate put such confidence in him, as much to his honour, they had consented, that the Commonwealth's Fleet, which was so potent, and whereon the safety of her Dominions by sea did depend, should be guided and commanded by him as supreme Captain. But *Doria* being nothing at all moved herewith, said, They should have accepted of his offer, whilst there was an opportunity of suppressing *Barbarossa*, when he passed with but part of his Fleet through the Channell of *Corfu*. And presently after, going with all his Gallies from *Naples*, he steered his course towards *Genoa*, where when he should have given an account of all that had past to the Emperour, he said, He would expect new orders from *Spain*. So as neither Letters from the Pope, written by his own hand, wherein he prest the same desires more fervently then before; nor the Emperour's Embassadour, who went in person to this purpose to *Naples* from *Rome*, came time enough to do any good; for he hoisted sail with such speed and resolution, as if it had been to have escaped some great danger. The Venetians were hereat very much troubled, not onely for that they saw, they had lost their hopes of beating the Turkish Fleet, but because they thought themselves deluded by the Imperialists vain promises. Yet, though *Doria's* departure, and the newes, that *Barbarossa* was about to enter the Gulph with 100 Gallies, might have counsell'd them to revoke their order, which they had given their Generalls, of going with their Fleet to *Brandizzo*; the Senate, to shew their constancy in what they had once resolved, and to preserve the reputation of their Fleet, which they thought might be lessened very much, if they should seem to depend so much upon *Doria's* counsell's and actions; after the businesse had been long and diversly discuss'd, they resolved, not to alter any part of their former orders, but renewed their desires to the Pope, to give orders to the Count d' *Anguilara*, of going with his Gallies belonging to the Church, to *Brandizzo*, according to the first deligne.

Whilst

Whilst these things were in treaty amongst the Christian Princes, the Turks having conveyed 25000 men, and 30 pieces of Artillery, over into the Island of *Corfu*, had built four Cavalliers about the Forts, to equall those within, and obviate their defence. And the mean while, they with barbarous cruelty destroyed the country, cut up the Cedar and Olive plants, burnt houses, took cattle away, and carried the men away prisoners. Many of the inhabitants of the subburbs had with-drawn themselves into the *Mandracchio*, to save themselves; but not having wherewithall to be nourished, nor to defend themselves from the rain, which fell in great abundance at that time, the most of them perished most miserably there; Some few of them got into the Fort, being drawn in with ropes. The Castle of *St. Angelo* preserved many of the villages, it being able by the situation thereof, to defend them from the enemy. But the Turks having begun their battery, were aware, that by reason of the great distance of place, wherein they were bound to build their Cavalliers, that they might fit themselves to the situation, and keep themselves safe from the Cannon within, their shot did little hurt, or none; and the Fleet being approached near the south-side of the Fort, where *la Pargorella* wanting, and the walls were lower, so as they hoped they might come nearer, and do most good. *Barbarossa* was with much losse beaten back, and amongst other things, had the Stem and Rudder of his own Gally shot off. The first Bashaw went twice from *Burrinto* to the Island, and coming even to the ditch of the Fort, that he might the better discover the place, at his return, he told *Soliman*, That the Fort was so seated, and so defended, as it would hardly be taken in a long time. Wherefore he counsell'd *Soliman* to raise his Army, and remove his Fleet, wherinto a grievous sickness was got, and great scarcity began to be in the Camp. He told him, how that winter drew on, a very unseasonable time for that enterprise, whereon the longer his men staid, the more reputation would they lose, if they must afterwards rise without effecting their desire. That by reason of this enterprise, and such accidents, his forces and thoughts had been diverted, from more easie undertakings against the Emperour, for which that warlike preparation was intended. That therefore it being a thing inconsiderately undertaken, he met not with that prosperous success therein, as was wont to wait upon the wise and generous counsell's of the Ottoman Lords. That therefore both the Army and the Fleet were best to return to *Constantinople*, to refresh both the one and the other, much weakened by several inconveniences, to the end that they might prepare greater forces, whereby to achieve more certain glory the next year. This was the first Bashaw *Ajace's* counsell; yet to keep up reputation, and feigning to have other ends, and it may be out of envy to *Barbarossa's* glory, desirous to keep him idle, he sent for the Venetian Consul, who was yet in the Camp, and told him, That if his Masters would make reparation for losses and injuries done to *Soliman*, and behave themselves so, as it might be made known, that these things had not been done by any publick order or consent, he would work it so, that the Army and Fleet should rise from before *Corfu*, and return to their former friendship and peace with his Masters. Which words, *Janus* by the

the chief Interpreter, affirmed, to have been spoken by the knowledge and consent of *Soliman*, as was soon seen. The Consul being suffered to send a man of his to this purpose, to *Venice*, who was accompanied by two *Chiausi*, and secured as far as *Castel Nuovo*. And at the same time almost, without expecting an answer, *Soliman* and his Camp removed towards *Constantinople*, and the Artillery & Souldiers being embarked, the whole Fleet removed from *Corfu*, where they had not staid above ten daies. The whole country was destroyed, the villages ruin'd and deserted, the Turks having carried away 15000 men, and made them slaves. *Pasfu*, an Island lying on the East of *Corfu*, and not far distant from thence, to which, as it is said, it was antiently joyned, did undergo the like calamity; as also *Buivinto*, a maritime country of *Albania*, (just over against the Island of *Corfu*) wherein was a Castle, which fell into the Turks hands, at the very first appearance of the Army, *Corfiato*, who was Captain thereof, having carried the keyes to *Soliman's* self, from whom he received a golden garment, and his liberty. *Barbarossa* being gone with all the Fleet from *Corfu*, made towards *la Perceuse*, (not being able to obtain leave of *Soliman*, to tarry in those seas) with 100 Gallies, to commit piracy in the waters of *Puglia*, and *Sicily*, as was earnestly endeavoured by *Brancardo*, Captain of 12 French Gallies, who being just then come to the Turkish Fleet, hoped by the favour of *Barbarossa*, to accompany him, to the prejudice of the Emperour. It was thought, that advertisement, come to *Soliman*, of no slight commotions raised in the confines of *Persia*, was the cause of his so suddain raising his Army; for two daies before, two Olachi came to the Camp, with great diligence from thence; and no occasion of their coming being divulged, it was held for certain, that they brought bad newes; it being the custom of that Nation, to publish and enlarge all things, which may win them reputation, and to conceal such things, as may produce a contrary effect. But really, the great difficulties that were discovered in the enterprise, and the reasons alledged by *Aiace*, was the true cause of this change of resolution. The Venetians were mightily rejoyced at the newes, of *Corfu's* being freed from danger at that time, when being abandoned by *Doria*, and consequently deprived of all means of succouring it by their own Fleet, the hopes of its defence lay only in the strength of the situation, and in the defendants valour: Nay, it appeared, that the Common-wealth, and that Fort in particular, would in the future win no little reputation, by this the Turks so suddain departure, who are not wont to give over any enterprise, without the victory. To so sad an age are we grown, as not to lose by such enemies, is reputed a kind of victory. The Venetians therefore paid their thanks to God, singing Masses and Psalmes throughout all their Churches, making solemn processions, and giving much alms both in publick and in private, to poor Monasteries, and other religious places.

But *Soliman* seeking to molest the Venetians in several places, had commanded *Cassio*, *Sanguiacco* of *Morea*, that assembling the souldiers of the neighbouring parts together, he should besiege *Napoli di Romania*,

mania, and *Malvessa*. The Common-wealth had long had the Government of the chief Towns in *Morea*, a fruitful Country, and more famous than any other part of *Greece*, for the number and worth of her Inhabitants, and which was very convenient for the Venetians, by reason of her many Havens wherein her ships have safe receptacle. But having lost *Modene* and *Corone* in the last Turkish Wars made against *Bajazet Othman*, Grand-father to this *Soliman*, she kept yet those two Towns, strongly feared and inhabited by people who were very affectionate to the Venetians. *Napoli* stands upon the head of a little Promontory, which thrusting it self out from the land, makes a large and safe Haven, and is environ'd on three sides by the Sea, and hath a steep and difficult ascent by the Mountain called *Palmide*, on the side towards the Land, so as there is only a very strait way which leads to the City, lying between the side of the mountain and the Sea; and on the out-side, the banks are so high and steep, as no gallies can come to batter the walls, or land men. The entrance into the Haven, is likewise so strait, as the Gallies cannot enter therein but by one and one, so as they may easily be kept from entering by the Artillery, especially by those of a little Castle, seated upon a Rock, about some 300 paces in the Sea, just over against the mouth of the Haven, so as it may play on all sides upon any Vessel that shall approach. It cannot be assaulted by land-forces, being it lies in midst of the Sea, nor by gallies, as having so many shelves about it, as none but very small Vessels can come unto it.

Malvessa is likewise seated in the same place, nearer *Cape Malio*, upon a mountain or Rock, divided for the space of 80 paces from a point of land, which in a long and very narrow shape, thrusts it self into the Sea: so as this City being seated very high, is wholly environ'd by the Sea, having no passage to land but by a bridge, nor can it be waded to on any part, so deep are the waters round about. And as it is strong and secure by naturall situation, so hath nature furnished it with fountains of spring water, and with good and fruitful land: for there is a fair plain upon the top of the Mountain; bearing Corn sufficient for 50 or 60 men, which are enough to defend this strongly seated City against any whatsoever forces. *Vittore de Garzoni*, had the Government of *Napoli*, with the title of *Bailo*, a man very aged, and well experienced, by reason of his employments both by Sea and Land. This man did not onely defend the Fort free from all danger by his wisdom, valour, and by the fidelity of those men; but making his Cavalry make out many sallies, he secured the Country, and did much indamage the Enemy; therefore *Cassio*, who in obedience to *Soliman*, was come thither with his men, having tri'd the Inhabitants of *Malvessa* both by promises and threats, and finding the difficulty of the enterprise, and nor being sufficiently furnished with any thing to use violence, or to besiege the Town, after having staid some few dayes about *Napoli*, went from thence, disbanding some of his Army, and carried the rest into the neighbouring Country, about six miles from the City.

But *Barbarossa*, *Lussemburgh*, being entred with the rest of the Fleet into the Streit of *Gallipoli* to disarm, staid abroad with 70 Gallies, and 30 Galliotte, and other Fly-boats, ran over the Islands of the *Archipelagus*, which belonged to the Common-wealth: some whereof having no means, neither by situation nor Garrison, to defend themselves; other some through fear, yeelded at the first appearance of the Fleet. As *Sciro*, a great Island, but little inhabited as then, which looks upon the *Pegasean* Gulph. *Pathmos*, a place of no great note in it selfe, but rendred famous by *St. Johns* devotions, one of *Christ's* Disciples, who being confined to that Island, writ the *Apocalyps* there. *Legina*, of small circuit, but so well inhabited, as the Turks were said to have carried above 6000 prisoners from thence: it was likewise of better esteem, by reason of the Haven; wherefore there remained usually a Venetian Magistrate there, who at this time was *Francisco Suriano*. There were also some Islands which belonged to the particular jurisdiction of divers Gentlemen of *Venice*; *Nio*, appertaining to the *Pisan* family, an Island of about 40 miles about, noted for the admirable quality of the soyl thereof, which whithersoever it be carried, it drives away all venomous creatures. *Stampalia*, an Island of greater circuit, & well inhabited, which belonged to the House of *Quirina*. *Paro*, one of the *Cyclades*, much spoken of by Poets, and famous for the excellent Marble which is fetcht from thence; it is about fifty miles about, extending from the West to the East; and the remainders of many noble buildings, shew how much it hath been anciently inhabited; and on the North side, it hath a little Castle, with a Haven and Wharfe; this belonged then to the family of *Venero*, but being by succession come to *Bernardo Segredo*, he was gone thither himself to keep it. Wherefore this alone, of all the rest, made some resistance, and chiefly by his valour; but the defendants wanting powder, they were forced to surrender themselves to the discretion of the Enemy, who gave them all their lives, but made many of them prisoners, amongst whom *Segredo* himselfe, who by great good fortune was afterwards freed by the means of one of *Ragusa*, a Renegado, who had been long in his gallie, and remembering how well he had been used by him, made him this return at his great need; and the Island of *Tino*, although it had a Fort, and was both by natural situation, and art, able enough to have held out, took example of the rest, and followed the Victors fortune: but soon after, the Inhabitants repenting that they had so soon yielded, and desirous to continue under the Government of the Venetians, free from the Turkish Tyranny; they rebelled, and of themselves sent into *Candia*, to desire a Garrison of souldiers, and a Venetian Magistrate; and this Island doth till this day, keep in loyalty and obedience to the Common-wealth, though it lies in the very jaws of so potent Enemies. The Island of *Nisio*, or rather *Nasso*, with some other Neighbouring Islands, whereof *Jovanni Grispo* was Lord, kept still under his Dominion, for he yeelding to the Turks, at the very first appearance of their Fleet, agreed to pay 5000 Duckets yearly, by way of tribute to *Soliman*, which he for the first year sent speedily to *Barbarossa*: but yet

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he could not keep his people from being plundered, wherein the souldiers behaved themselves so insolently, as they carried booty from thence, worth more than 25000 Duckets. This is the chiefe Island of the *Cyclades*, amongst which it is numbered for one; and the ground thereof is so fruitfull, as it was formerly called, *Little Sicily*. Thus did *Barbarossa* strive to win the love of his souldiers, by the ruines of these miserable people, and provided great presents for the chiefe men of the Court, hoping thereby to win their good will, that he might go to Sea the next year with greater forces and authority. Some of our Captains were of opinion, to have followed the Enemy with their whole Fleet, when they went from *Corfu*, to hinder these mischiefs which were foreseen by every one, and to keep possession of those Islands, from whence they reaped great convenience, and especially, great store of men for their Gallies: yet considering the season, and the enemies strength, whence some bad accident might befall them; but chiefly minding the Senates order, and intention of uniting the forces of the Colleagues, which they could not do, and go so far off with their Fleet; they laid aside the thought thereof, and resolved that Generall *Pesaro*, drawing a good many men out of the Garrisons of *Dalmatia*, should go with some gallies to the taking in of *Scardona*; and that *Petturi* should go with some other gallies to *Obravazzo*, but he not being able to go thither himselfe, by reason of his indisposition of health, sent some Governours of the gallies thither, and Colonell *Gabriele della Riva*, who was then in *Zara*; and these were afterwards accompanied by *Nicolo Buonalmiero*, Captain of the gulph, with some other gallies, and fly-boats, to assist the enterprize. The Town of *Scardona* is near *Sebenico*, and therefore of great esteem, for the safety of that Fort, and for the inconveniency which the neighbouring parts may receive from thence, it being in the Enemies hands. The Town was walled round about, but weakly, and had in it two small Castles. As soon as the Venetians drew near it, after some small resistance, the Turks surrendered upon discretion, to General *Pesaro*, who though he had a good will to save the lives and goods of the Inhabitants; yet his commands being neither hard, nor obey'd amidst the fury, the first that entred the Town fell to sack; and the Turks, who retired to within their confines to save themselves, meeting with a number of people in Arms, belonging to the Territory of *Sebenico*, they were all cut in pieces by them. *Francisco Salmones*, was left Governour of the Town by the Generall, who thought then to have secured it by a new Fort; but better considering the difficulty, and the expence of maintaining that place, seated in the midst of the Enemies forces, and the damage which they might receive, if it should fall back again into the Turks hands; it was thought better to slight the Castles, and to content themselves with having deprived the Enemy of such a receptacle. The Turks, who were in *Obravazzo*, though they were but a few, did for a while defend the Town valiantly, but being forced at last to yeeld, they retreated into the Castle, which whilst they were ordering their affairs how to take it, the gallies were sent for back by the Generall, by reason of new orders sent

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from Venice, to go with the Fleet towards *Cesara*. Touching the preservation whereof, the Senate had had very great care, being awakened by the past dangers, and by those eminent ones which were yet threatened. They therefore sent Captains, Ingenieurs, Monies, and Men, to reduce the Fort to greater security. They likewise desired to comfort the people that were there, by the presence of the chief Sea-commanders, and by restoring their losses as much as they could, by furnishing them with wood, and other Materials, to re-build their houses, which were destroyed by the enemy. Thus (the winter comming on) ended the war for this year, the effects whereof were no waies answerable to the so great preparations; and mens minds were quieted, who stood expecting to what side the fortune of War would lean.

The Princes bethought themselves in this interim, what was to be done the next year 1537, wherein their ends were various, & not well known. *Soliman* seemed to desire peace, with the Venetians, whereof the first *Bashaw* had, by *Solimans* consent, some discourse with *Consul Canale*, desiring him, that the Embassador might come to *Constantinople*, who was already chosen to that purpose, promising he should have a safe conduct, and all fair entertainment. But the greater the unacquainted civility of these haughty men was, the more were their proceedings suspected; fearing that they did not intend peace by this Treaty, but to take the Commonwealth from off friendship with *Cesar*, and to break the Treaty of League. *Charles* the Emperour seemed to be wholly bent upon making war with the Turks, saying sometimes, that he had a great desire to go himself in person to that enterprise, and that he very much coveted so great glory, which was all the reward which he desired: and that what Territories soever should be taken from these Enemies, should by his consent be added to the common-wealth of Venice, calling her the true Out-bulwork against the Turks, and that therefore it was a great service to Christendom to increase their power. *Cesar* made these outward appearances, and his Officers in *Italy*, that they might agree with their Princes outwardly appearing sense, and to make it be believed that he did really intend it, seemed to be very solicitous in preparing for War. *Doria* promised to have his gallies ready to put to Sea very early, and that he would joyn with the Venetian Fleet; saying, that he very much desired to do some signall service in this War to Christendom, and particularly to the Common-wealth. And *Marquis Guallo*, Governour of *Millan*, seemed as ready to lend his helping hand to the businesse in all things that were requisite; he fought, upon all occasions of discourse, especially when he met with the Secretary of the Common-wealth, to advance any thing whereby *Cesar* might be believed to be well-minded to the League, and zealous of the good of Christendom; yet there were those that doubted, lest *Cesar* by these outward shews might seek to conceal his other more secret thoughts; and that he either had other ends, or was not well resolved either upon War, or Peace, but would observe what others did, and pitch upon what might be best for himself; but in the interim, by seem-

ing so desirous of War, he made the Venetians listen more eagerly after the League, and repoling their trust therein, to break off the Treaty of Peace which was propounded to them by *Soliman*; so as necessitating them to adhere to him, and to continue War with the Turks, he thought to reap some advantage to himself, by making the Common-wealth his Bulwork, and so with safety to himselfe, prolong time for other resolutions. His chief intentions being to minde his war against the French, and to settle his possession in the State of *Millan*. There were many signs that these were *Cesar's* aim; his delay in giving answer to the Letters written unto him many moneths before from the Senate touching the League; whence it was conceived, that he would neither be bound to any thing, nor yet declare himselfe so fully, as that his own hand-writing might be a witness; likewise his not coming with the King of *France* to a generall Truce; his continuall raising of new difficulties, and impediments in the treaty of Peace, wherein the Pope and Venetians had often interposed themselves, though to little purpose, he still laying the fault upon the French, but not being able to conceal his ill will towards them, and his being ill satisfied with their actions; to which was likewise added a certain common report, that he intended to make *Barbarossa* his friend, by the means of a Spaniard, who was Nephew to the Vice-roy of *Cicily*, then prisoner amongst the Turks: and that he held other intelligences in *Constantinople*, to secure his Dominions from being invaded by the Turks. And it was well known, that *Barbarossa* (passing through the narrow Seas of *Messina*, when there was none to withstand him, if he had had a mind to have attempted any thing) had not done any prejudice to *Cesar's* affairs. The King of *F.* appeared to be really more desirous of Peace, for he might expect more advantage thereby: he desired to see the affairs accommodated between the Turks & the Common-wealth, to free her from being inforced to joyn with *Cesar*, & to fence himself by the common Arms, from the danger of the Turkish war, & because having a share in the business, he hoped, if war were to ensue between him and *Cesar*, he should the more easily draw the Venetians to side with him, when they should be free from other suspitions and impediments, knowing that they were troubled at *Cesar's* too much greatness. He likewise desired peace with the Emperour, hoping by that means to obtain his desire, that the Dukedom of *Millan* might be released by *Cesar*, to his second Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, which he saw he was every day less likely to get by force of Arms. He had always listened therefore to all propoalls of peace; and *Francisco Justiniano*, being sent to that Court by the Senate, not as an Embassador, but as Gentleman of *Venice*, to that purpose; he was very well received by the King, who thanked the Senate, and intreated them to continue their endeavours of mediating an accord with *Cesar*, to whom *Luigi Badoaro* was sent at the same time in name of the publick. Nor did the Pope cease to do the like; who, though he had oft-times interestted himselfe in this businesse, and done no good; had lastly sent the Cardinall *de Carpi*, to the Emperour, and Cardinall *Jacobaccio*, to the King of *France*, to use his Holiness

nesses Authority and intricacies to both of them, in making peace between them, so as they might afterwards unite their Forces against the common Enemy of Christendom. To which the King of *France* answered, that he was very willing to make peace, as he would witness to the world by his actions. Wherefore understanding that the Emperour had propounded a meeting of Commissioners on both sides at *Narbonne*, he forthwith sent the Cardinal of *Lorein* thither, and Monsieur *Legrande Maistre*, with power to conclude the Peace: to assist the which, and for the quicker and more easie resolution of such doubts as might arise; his Brother in law, the King of *Navar*, his wife, the Queen of *France*, and his sister, the Queen of *Navar*; were by his direction come very near *Narbonne*, with larger Commissions, and greater power to confirm the Agreement. But as none doubted, but that the King of *France* was well inclined to peace, so all men believed, that he would govern his actions and counsels onely according to his own ends and particular Interests; so as it was likely he might alter his minde, if he should discover any thing which might make for his advantage, though it were to the prejudice of the rest, as he had lately done; nothing else being able to keep him, from making the Turks make War against *Cesar*, from whence arose another War against the Common-wealth. For these reasons, it was thought that the other Princes could not build any firm foundation upon the resolution of the French, especially not the Venetians, whose actions did admit of no delay, nor irresolution. But the Pope and Venetians proceeded very candidly in this business, having an eye not onely to their own peculiar interest, and present advantage, but to the common service of Christendom, and to the present threatening dangers, which if they were not remedied, would daily grow greater. The first thing that *Paul* the 3d did, after he had assumed the Popedom, was, to endeavour the uniting of the Christian Princes against the Infidels; wherefore appearing alwaies neutral in the discords which hapned between *Charles* the Emperour, and the King of *France*, he had studied very much to make them friends. But being in better hope to effect this his desire, now since the Venetians waged war with the Turks, their forces by Sea being held to be of very great moment in such an enterprise, though they could not be drawn to do so before, for many good respects, nor now, without this urgent necessity, he used his utmost endeavours to unite the Christian Princes in a League against the Turks; and knowing by the late experience of *Doria's* unreasonable departure, that no good could be done without a certain limitation and firm tie; as also hoping, that a firm union being made between these three prime Princes, the rest would be the more easily perswaded to embrace the League: he readily offered all that the Apostolick sea was able to do, remitting himselfe therein, to the Venetian Senate. But the Venetians finding that they were at open war with the Turks, and those respects ceasing which had formerly made them be very cautious, though they had alwaies been very desirous to oppose the *Ottoman* greatness, began now to forego their former fear, and to have better hopes, and were confident

dent not onely to maintain their own Dominions, but to suppress the Turkish forces, if the Christian Princes would joyn with them. There was a certain necessity likewise, which made them think of continuing the war, and of embracing the League, since the danger of so potent Neighbours did increase so fast, as to delay opposing them, was rather a seeming, than a true security to the affairs of the Common-wealth. But they were chiefly perswaded to believe well, out of a firm opinion, that whole *Germany* would move joyntly against the Turks; for being awakened by *Solimans* last attempts, they might know that the danger of the Turkish forces were greater and nearer hand, than they were before held to be by many. So as it was not likely that they would let slip so good an occasion of revenging the injuries which they had received, of recovering the honour of military glory, so much valued by that warlike Nation, and of securing themselves from greater dangers, but that the Princes & Hauns-Towns would readily wage war with the Turks, with powerfull forces, whilst being busied at Sea, they could make but small resistance, on that side: nor would they want a head, who would incite them thereunto, since *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, brother to *Charles* the Emperour, and who was to succeed him in the Empire, having been much molested by *Soliman*, seemed greatly to desire such an occasion, as was now offered, promising to adhere unto the League; and *Cesar* named him, to be one of the chief contractors, whereat the Venetians were very well pleased. They therefore willingly gave way, that it should be referred to the Pope and Emperour, to nominate what share of expence he should be at, with the other Colleagues, and did earnestly endeavour to confirm him in this resolution, by their Embassadour *Marin Justiniano*, who was then resident with him. *Ferdinand* had often had occasion, and much to his prejudice, to sustain the fury of the Turkish forces, who having posselt themselves of that part of *Hungary*, which lies between the Rivers *Sava* and *Drava*, were become his very formidable neighbours, and had thereby free and open ingresse into *Ferdinando's* territories, whose subjects were vext by the continuall inroads and pillagings of the Turkish Garrisons, from those confines, even in time of Truce. Therefore *Ferdinand* and his subjects appeared very desirous and willing, both for their honour and safety, to suppress the Turkish forces, and to drive them out of that Province. Great, and very convenient were the forces of *Germany*, a country abounding in men, horses, monies, and victuals, and in all things belonging to war; but being perpetually troubled with domestick discords, by reason of so many diversities in Religion, and Government, she was but weak, and unfit for great enterprises. Bearing the rather with the injuries of the Turks, and with some dishonour suffering her dangers to encrease, because she hated the too much greatness of the House of *Austria*. It being therefore thought most requisite, for the doing of any thing against the Turks, that *Germany* should joyntly resolve to take up Arms, without which, the Turkish Armies, and those forces, which are the true foundation, of the power and grandure of their Empire, would remain

remain safe and entire, or but little prejudiced. The Venetian Senate, that they might leave nothing unattempted, resolved to send expresse Embassadors to the Electors of the Empire, and to other Princes, and Hauns-towns in *Germany*, to persuade them to make war, holding out unto them the opportunity which was then offered, of regaining the ancient honour, and military glory of the German Nation; and promising, that the Common-wealth would and should make use of all her forces, to keep the common enemy busied else-where; so as being assaulted both by sea and land, the way would be made plain for famous victories for Christendom. *Jovan Veniero*, and *Luigi Badoaro*, who being gone (as hath been said) to that Court, upon occasion of the peace of *France*, had received orders to stay there, till he should receive new orders from the Senate; treated often with the Emperour, touching the conclusion of the League, exhorting him to send free and sufficient Commissions, to his Agents at *Rome*, and witnessing the firm and constant resolution of the Senate, to joyne with him, and willingly to undergo the charge and danger of the war. They excited him likewise, to solicit provisions for the Fleet, for the effecting of what was resolved upon, and concluded at *Rome*. *Cesar* listened very well to these things, and seemed very desirous to bend all his forces against the Turks, in the Eastern parts; affirming, as he had often done before, that he would go thither himself in person, and that he should be exceeding glad, that the Common-wealth, which he did much love and esteem, might encrease her greatness and reputation, by the recovery of the Towns, which the Turks had usurped from her. The Senate therefore sent forthwith to their Embassador, *Mark Antonio Costarini*, who was at *Rome*, particular information of their good-will to the League, with orders, to endeavour the speedy conclusion thereof, though he might give way unto some things.

Thus was the time protracted, without making any answer to the Consuls Letters, the Senate not being resolved what to do, touching the propositions of peace made by the Turks, and to the particular dislike, which the Bashaw had had with the Consul; which many of the Senate being displeased at, they oft-times opposed, when any new commissions or orders were spoken of, to be sent to the Embassador at *Rome*, concerning the League. They considered, that it was not expedient, the Common-wealth should bind herself so fast upon this Treaty of the League, as they should debar themselves all negotiations of peace. That they were first to examine well the present state and condition of affairs, and see how they could make war; with what forces, what monies, with what helps it was to be maintained; whether they would be so constant, in persevering in trouble and danger, as they appeared ready to undertake it, whilst yet at ease. That the publick Exchequer was much exhausted, by the so long wars on *Terra ferma*; their subjects weak and poor. That their cities did rather require rest, then to enter into a more dangerous war than the former were. That the former successes might seem, how uncertain and ill-grounded the hopes were, which were reposed in assistance from forraign Princes, since unless the strong situation of *Corfu*,

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and the inconveniencies, or dis-accommodations of the enemy, had not preserved that Fort, and freed the Common-wealth from so great a loss, *Doria* had suffered it to fall into the hands of the enemy, deluding all the Common-wealth's hopes and designs. Nor were the weighty interests of so many citizens to be despised, who being to sustain the heavy burthen of publick taxes, had their estates in the hands of the Turks, which they might hope to recover by treaty. That not to listen to any proposition of peace or concord, was to contend with the Barbarians themselves in Barbarism, to exceed them in those things, whereof they were most to be blamed. That it would be a great disadvantage, if things succeeding unprosperously in the progress of war, we be forced to seek for that peace from the Turks, which is now voluntarily offered by them. That if no other good might be got by such a treaty, it would not be amiss to delay those dangers, which were threatened by such an enemy, that they might prepare the better to defend themselves. That if these things were well weighed, as they ought to be, why should the occasion of any good be let slip? Wherefore should the answer, expected by the Bashaw, so long be deferred? Wherefore should not the Bashaw be made acquainted with the Senate's will? That delay could produce nothing but mischief. That *Soliman's* anger would not be a little encreased, by the refusing his offers, who held himself scandalized by what the Fleet had done, and (as was said by the Grandees of that Court) by the small account that was made of his person, no Embassador being sent to him, when he came so near the States dominions, as was usually done upon like occasions to other Princes. Moreover, this silence would make the Turks more diligent, in making the greater preparation for war, since they must needs find, we had no minde to have peace. In fine, that to advance so far in the treaty of League, without proposing any thing of peace, had no other aspect, but of enforcing the Senate to embrace the resolution, of continuing in war; which, if well weighed, was of all things most to be abhorred. But these things were thus answered by those, who thought it the safer safer way to treat of League, then of Peace; That they were not alienated from the thought of peace, but did endeavour to provide so for the emergencies of the present times, as they might be able to sustain war. That therefore they did not without just cause, forbear writing at the present to Constantinople, lest they might make the Christian Princes jealous, whereby they might slacken their providing for war. That there remained many things yet to be considered, before the League could be concluded, wherein time might be protracted; and when things should be drawn nearer to a head, they might have better occasion to know the Turks mindes, and so bear both the League and Peace in hand at once, and pitch upon what might be thought best for the Common-wealth. That too much haste could only discover their weaknesse the more unto the Turks, and make them more insolent in their Articles of Agreement, the which the more they should seem to desire, it would be bad upon the harder terms. That no matter of excuse was to be had in consideration, since howsoever, they were to arm themselves, and to treat of peace with their weapons in their hands; not to prejudice the conditions of peace, and not to commit themselves too rashly to the dissention and faith of their perfidious enemies. These reasons were alledged for the League, and the business at Constantinople was de-

deserv'd. But at last, many being desirous that somewhat should be written, and that the business should not be totally given over, it was propos'd unto the Senate, That the Consul might tell the *Balkan* Aiaze, that the Common-wealth had great reason to complain of Soliman, who, unprovoked by any publick injury, had broke the peace, and sent his men in hostile manner to Corfu, without expecting Orsino's return, sent by his consent, nay, by his order, to Venice; and with promise, not to attempt any novelty, till by his return it might be known, what the truth of those passages was, which the Turks took ill, and who was really in the fault. That it had always been the steadfast intention of the Senate, to preserve peace and amity with that Empire; and that upon occasion of so many wars made by Soliman, they had never disturbed his enterprises, but had always kept their word inviolably, and kept constant to their neutrality. That at this very time, General Persaro dreamt of nothing lesse, then of impeding his Captains designs, nor of giving them any suspicion; but that he was come into the Gulph, to joyn with the other Sea-Captains, and shun such accidents, but that being driven by the winds, he was forc'd to passe into the Rivers of Puglia, where the Turkish Fleet lay. That they did believe, Soliman stood well affected to the Common-wealth, (as he was affirm'd to do) and well inclined to peace, since being a just and a wise Prince, he knew it became him, to preserve friendship with the Venetians, who had given him no occasion to the contrary. Nor was it fitting, that good intelligence between Princes should be broken, by the inconsiderate actions of any particular Officers. That therefore they were confident, he would restore the goods of private Merchants, which were detained; who, upon the faith of so great a Prince, were perswaded to trade in his Dominions. Their intention hereby was, that the Consul seeking by such discourse as this, to lift somewhat more particularly into the Turks thoughts, should begin, if he should find any good hopes, to commence the Treaty of peace. This proposall being made in the Senate, three daies were spent about it, which being over, there wanted two votes to make the business be resolv'd upon; so as there was nothing decided in the point, though it had been long disputed by personages of great dignity and authority. The promises of these Princes had made so great an impression in the minds of all men, as confiding very much therein, and being therefore desirous to shun any the least suspicion, that the League was not really intended by them, they would listen to nothing which might perswade to the contrary.

Don Lopes, the Cesarian Embassadour, hearing of this irresolution, he hoped, that the Common-wealth might be brought to a nearer conjunction with Cesar: He therefore renew'd the motion of uniting the Fleets, which had formerly been made by him and *Doria*. He appeared in the Colledge, and labour'd much to perswade, that for the common service, no longer delay should be made, in giving order to our Generalls, to go to *Missina*, and joyn with *Doria's* Gallies, who, he said, had sufficient commission from the Emperour in that point; and that he should not be wanting in any thing, which concern'd the good and safety of Christendom, and in particular, that of the Common-wealth. He shew'd, That the Em-

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perour stood very well affected to the common good, and that his forces should be answerable to this his affection; for besides the Fleet now in being, other ships of all sorts were arming in the Spanish Havens, and great provisions of men and monies were raising, throughout all his dominions. That the Emperour Charles desired to justify himself alwaies, before both God and man, that he had discharged his part gallantly, not having spared either expence or labour, to quell the pride of the enemies of Christendom. That he had therefore at all times solicited other Princes, whose interest was concern'd in this common cause, to know the dangers which grew daily greater, tending to the ruine of Christianity, which he, by reason of his greatness, might live freer from, then any other; but that he did more value the common good, then his own particular concernment. That there needed no new examples to shew, that the weakness of Christian Princes, and the exaltation of their enemies, proceeded from their own luke warmnesse. That the last unfortunate successe of Rhodes might be considered, which being assaulted by this very Soliman, and not succoured by any Christian Prince, fell miserably into the power of the Turks, to the so much losse, prejudice, and shame of all Christendom. But that there was some excuse for those successe then; since those Princes, from whom they might expect best assistance, were disarmed; which would not prove so now, when the Emperour and Common-wealth had two powerfull Fleets at sea, to fall upon the enemy. What was there more to be expected? That forces were to be made use of whilst they were entire, and losses obviated before they happened, and not to suffer the one and the other Fleet, to run peradventure some hazard, become weaker, (since mens designs do oft-times miscarry, by several unthought-of accidents) or that the Turks should begin to get footing in Italy, and so these mischiefs prove too late to be remedied. By these and the like reasons, the Embassadour strove to make the Senators leave their Neutrality, and declare enmity to the Turks. But they being grave and considerate men, would not be moved by these majesticall words, and ill-grounded promises, continuing their resolution of not taking up arms, unless enforce'd by necessity, against so powerfull an enemy, and who might prejudice the dominions of the Common-wealth in so many severall parts, she not having forces of her self sufficient to defend them, nor having reason to confide much in others. It was therefore resolv'd to answer in generall terms, That they returned thanks to Cesar; but could do no more at this time, out of many weighty and well known respects, especially, since their friendship and never conjunction being desired, by the French, and by the Turks, they had answered them, they could not give them satisfaction; for that it was the steadfast resolution of the Venetian Senate, to keep their plighted faith to all men, as it became all Princes to do. That they would notwithstanding keep in arms, for any chance that might occur, having alwaies, together with their own safety, an eye to the common good of Christendom. The Embassadour seem'd satisfied with this answer, replying nothing as then; but returning some few daies after to the Colledge, he made another demand, which was, That since the French threatned danger to the State of Milan, they would raise 6000 Foot for the defence thereof, and send their *Gens d'Armes* thither, according to the

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Articles of the last Agreement. Wherein shewing themselves to be very ready, necessary orders were forthwith given out for it. But the Commanders being come with their Horse and many Foot, to those Confines, the Duke of *Urbino*, who commanded the Venetian Militia in chief, put them in minde, that they were to passe no farther, they being onely to defend the State of *Millan*, whereof there appeared no need at the present, since the French were held play as yet in *Piemont*. That if they should passe the River *Scia*, and enter the Dukedom of *Millan*, that then their tye of confederacy would take place; and that upon such an occasion, the people of the Commonwealth should be ready.

The end of the Eighth Book.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK IX.

THE CONTENTS.

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ALl treaty of Peace being laid aside, and the hopes of the safety and defence of the States Dominions by Sea resting in Arms, the Venetians are very diligent in providing all things necessary for War. They prepare a great Fleet, Souldiers, Ammunition, and Victuals for the service of the Islands, and other Maritime places. Those of *Napoli* and *Malta*, desired that their Garrisons might be increased; but especially to be furnisht with Victuals, for want whereof *Napoli* had been in danger of falling into the Enemies hands; they promised, (if assisted and succour'd,) to undergo the greatest dangers of War, and to continue constant to the Common-wealth, even to the last extremity. The Island of *Candia* made the same request; wherein there having been some commotions and scandalous speeches given out, that they would surrender unto the Enemy, when their Army should approach, by reason of the terrour which theacking of the Islands in the *Archipelagus*, had infused into the generality of the chiefe cities in the Kingdom, they had sent Embassadors to *Venice* to purge themselves of that fault, which they said was occasioned by the error of some few, of mean condition, rather out of their indiscretion and cowardlinesse, than out of ill will. They therefore offered to serve the Common-wealth with their lives and livelihoods, promising to give good testimony of their Loyalty, and humbly desiring that they might not be abandond; for that they were ready to defend themselves to the last, & would never go lesse in their affection to the Common-wealth, whereof many of them were members by an ancient Colony, and therefore the more interested in this cause. The Senate listned very attentively to these things, and dismiss the Embassadors with gracious words and promises; and ordered the Generall to send forthwith 25 gallies towards *Candia*, under the command of Commissary *Pasqualigo*, who was likewise to send souldiers and victuals to *Napoli*, and to leave four gallies to guard it. The Island and Fort of *Corfu*, were likewise furnisht with necessaries, and had 1000 foot sent from *Venice* to add unto the Garrison, conducted by *Valerio Orsino*, who was to be the chiefe head of that Militia, the Senate not being well satisfied with *Naldo's* actions. *Dalmaia* was furnisht with severall Troops of light Horse, chosen out of stout men of *Greece* and *Croatia*, to defend the Country from the inrodes of the Enemy; but the uncertainty of what the Enemy would undertake, did increase the expence and difficulty, whereof the discourse was very various, so as they were necessitated to secure all their Territories by Sea, which were exposed to the suddain assaults of the Enemy. Nor was the de-

defence of *Friuli* to be neglected; for it being said, that *Soliman* would march with his Army himselfe in person; there was no slight suspicion, that he would approach on that side, and enter on those confines. There were at this time 50 gallies in the Fleet, which was in the East, whereof Generall *Capello* being come to *Corfu*, had tane the Government, and Governours were already chosen to arm two and twenty more, and all other fitting things were taken order for: three bastard gallies were likewise prepared, and six great ones, which were to be commanded by one particular Captain, so as they amounted in all, to the number of 80 gallies. But the Generall finding many of the gallies in ill condition, in point of men, by reason of a great mortality which had hapned in the whole Fleet: he was ordered to go to *Zantes*, and to *Cefalonis*, where he was to use all means possible to reinforce them, that they might be ready and well provided at all points against the time: that it was thought the joyning of the Fleets would be determined by the Articles of the League, wherein the greater diligence was used, that it might be an intligation to the slownesse of the rest. This mean while, the firm and finall conclusion of the League, was solicited of the forces, whereof there was so generally a great opinion conceived, as it hush the Treaty of Peace, though in the progresse of the Treaties, divers difficulties were discovered to be greater then were at first imagined; so as this indeavour was a while laid aside, and undetermined. The Venetians had pleased the Emperour, in the choice of the Captain Generall, giving way that that high dignity should be confer'd upon *Andrea Doria*, and the Pope, to gratifie the Venetians, had chosen *Marco Grimani*, Patriark of *Aqualegia*, for his Commander; a Venetian, of a noble and rich Family, and one in whom the Common-wealth did therefore much confide; but the proportion of expence, which every one of the Colleagues were to be at in the common enterprise, was not yet determined: for it being known, that the third part of the whole, would be an insupportable burthen for the Apostolick Sea, the Venetians were content to bear a part therein, *Cesar* being to supply the rest. But his Agents, though they acknowledged the Pope should be assisted, would not notwithstanding give way that his proportion therein should exceed the Venetians. But at last, *Cesar* doubting lest, that the longer the conclusion of the League should be delay'd, their minds who were set most hotly upon the war, might grow cool, and that thereby the Senate might at last listen to a treaty of Peace, whereby he himself were to sustain the whole force of the Turks: he gave leave to his Ministers in *Rome*, to stipulate all things agreed upon, and particularly to consent, for matter of expence, that the Pope should not be charged with above a sixth part, and that for the remainder of the Popes share, *Cesar* should pay three six parts, and the Venetians two.

Whilst these things were in treaty at *Rome*, *Genesino*, one of *Pera*, who served as interpreter for the Common-wealth at *Constantinople*, came unexpectedly to *Venice*, and brought Letters from the Consul, a message from the first Balthaw, and Captain of the Sea: which pronounced, advised, and invited to a treaty of Peace, and then gave a particular

particular account of the great preparations of the Fleet, and souldiers, which were a making in severall parts of the Turkish Empire: he told them in the name of Aiaçe, the chief Bashaw, that he did much wonder, he had not all this while, receiv'd any answer to his first proposalls: that notwithstanding he did still continue the same good wishes for the Common-wealth, and that the way to peace was not yet altogether shut up, if they would indeavour to pacifie Solimans anger, by sending an Embassadour to that Court, who might justifie their late actions, and make reparation for the losses that had been had, which otherwise was not to be allay'd, but would thunder out to the great prejudice of the Common-wealth.

These Propositions of Peace were the rather believed, by reason of a speech which was given out at Constantinople, and which grew still hotter and hotter, that Soliman would bend his forces either against Persia or Hungary: either of which, proving alwayes sharp to the Ottomans; and that he having thereby greater designs to penetrate into Germany, he must give over all other Enterprises, which was thought to be the reason of Gensino's being treated to civilly, and of his being extraordinarily favour'd by the attendance of two Olacchi, to Castell-Nuovo, and from thence to Cattaro, by the servants of one of those *Sargiaceti*, to the end that his passage might be the more speedy and safe. His coming, and these new offers, wrought much with some of the Senators, who were before hottest for the prosecution of war, and confirm'd others in their opinion, who were first inclined to a treaty of peace. Wherefore the Senate meeting oftentimes, to resolve something hereupon, *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, who had formerly oppos'd this opinion, spoke thus in opposition to the proposall.

I confesse, I know not why we should now be of another opinion, than we have hitherto been, since the state of affairs, or the reasons which prevail'd with us then, are either the same, or if any new accidents ought to be had in consideration, they are such as ought to confirm us more in our former minde. It was not out of free will, nor election, nor out of hopes of enlarging the confines of our Empire, that we took up Arms, or declared war against the Turks: but we were compell'd thereto to defend our state and liberty, when at the raising of the Campe from before Coriu, propositions of peace were offer'd us by Bashaw Aiaçe, we, having reason to suspect this his proposition, and being perswaded that the Authors of the war could not at the same time desire peace, did not value such amintiation, but continu'd in our providing for war, and in a treaty of League. Soon after we receiv'd Letters from our Consull, which told us of a new indeavour of Agreement, which was promis'd him after the coming of the Grand Signeur to Constantinople. The Senate was herewith acquainted again, it was argu'd and discuss'd maturely by the chief Senators; and it was concluded, that we should continue our resolution of not giving ear to any such discourse, fearing that this proposall was nothing else, but to lull us asleep by these vain hopes of peace, and to make us negligent in providing for so weighty and dangerous a war as we are entred into, and must of necessity continue, unlesse we abandon our selves. Wherefore to witness this our constant resolution, of making league with the Christians, and a no peace with the Turks, and to put a necessity upon us of keeping to this resolution, we communicated our

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Consuls advertisements, and the things which were held out unto us therein to the Pope and Emperour, inciting them to our offers, and by our example, to provide for all things necessary, not only to defend themselves, but stoutly to make war upon the Turks. Shall we now, four months after the first proposall, after having permitted our Fleet and souldiers, to assault and take the Turks towns, when we have reason to believe, that Soliman is more incens'd against us, for the scorn which he may think is put upon him, by our so long delay, in returning an answer, after having so constantly affirm'd, that we would secure our dangers onely by war, after having refus'd the Popes and Emperours advice, who were first inclined to peace, and did modestly perswade us to embrace it. After, I say, having thus block'd up all ways, of coming to any agreement: by these our proceedings, and quite cut off the thread of this treaty, shall we re-assume this discourse, as if it lay in us to make peace, and that by altering our opinion, we could easily secure our selves from danger, and return to our former condition of peace and tranquillity? Such thoughts might peradventure prevail, when we might appear driven to make this treaty of Agreement, by the powerfull reasons of Doria's unreasonable departure, by the Pope's hesitation, of assisting us with subsidies from the Clergy, by the heat of the war in Piemont, wherein the forces of the two greatest Princes of Christendom were employ'd 3 and by having many of our Towns unprovided of sufficient Garrisons. Then such an action would have been praised, and justified by all men. But to dream of any such thing now, whereunto all these contrary reasons were not able to persuade us, when the state and condition of affairs is altered, when the Emperour is willing to sustain the war together with us, when the Pope hath descended to all our desires, when the League is brought to so near a conclusion 3 now, when Truce is made between the Emperour and King of France, who hopes that peace may ensue 3 when (God be praised) our sea-Forces are well provided of men and ammunition, would certainly be too unreasonable an advice, too mean, and too mis-becoming the constancy and gravity, wherewith this Senate is wont to proceed. But I beseech you, say there should be no such respects as these, which do notwithstanding really concur in this war resolution, and are very weighty, and of great concernment 3 let us consider what hope there is, of bringing this treaty to a good end; and grant it might be had, what security, what true quiet can such a peace bring with it? On the contrary, what prejudice may our affairs suffer, by this vain undertaking? We see how ill the Turks are minded towards us, they having taken occasion to treat us as by war, of some part of our dominions 3 they have without any occasion detain'd our ships, our Merchants, and contrary to the Law of Nations, usurp'd their goods, violating thereby the publick faith. Are not the immoderate taxes encreas'd upon the Merchandise, which are brought from their countries to this city, their detaining ino of our Consuls, who were secured by the Articles of peace 3 their imprisoning them amongst the meaner sort of men, their having so barbarously cut off the heads of the Masters of our Gallies, taken in the disorder of that night, no open nor publick breach of peace having preceded that act, evident signes, that they despise our Nation, and our Commerce? But why do I instance in these things? did not Soliman promise to expect Orfino's return, who was sent unto us by his consent, nay, by his order, to know, how we could

could justifie our Officers actions, and what the Senate's minde was, concerning war or peace? yet not staying for an answer from us, he sent his Fleet against Corfu, making open war against us, and exercising his arms against our poor subjects, in a scornfull and enraged manner; and shall we now think, that we may trust the security of our affairs, upon the faith of these barbarous Infidells? Shall we believe, that they propound peace unto us, with a desire of being our friends, and with a sincere minde to observe it? Certainly, their designs are otherwise, and much otherwise their thoughts: They have set their minde upon this our State, they would suppress this Common-wealth, which they think doth somewhat counterpoise their forces at sea, and doth not a little hinder their designs, of being Monarchs of the world. But to humble us the more easily, they seek by all means possible to separate us from the friendship of other Christian Princes, that they may afterwards assault us, when we shall be destitute of all help. They therefore leave nothing unattempted, which may cause jealousy and distrust in those Princes, with whom they very well know, we are treating of a confederacy against them, and to hinder those unions, which is the only thing they dread: For there is no Prince in Christendom able of himself to counterpoise their forces. We hear, that great preparations of an Army and Fleet, are making at Constantinople; that Barbarossa is ready to put to sea, as soon as the season will suffer him; that the whole pullick discourse is of nothing but war, of assaulting Candia, and of returning to besiege Corfu; and shall we esteem these to be actions becoming one, who propounds peace in sincerity, and that they are not rather true signes of abuse and ill-will? And if the Turks (as it is clearly seen) do not intend peace, but war, what fruit can we persuade our selves, that this our Treaty can produce? wherein, if what we say shall be believed, our enemies will think we are very weak, which will encourage them the more to oppress us, and if they shall suspect us, they will be the more incensed against us, thinking themselves deluded by a vain Treaty, which intends no conclusion. When Mahomet, when Bajazet, waged war with our Common-wealth, they conceiving some suspicion and fear, that the Christian Princes would joyn, had recourse to this very remedy, to disturb their union; they were the first that professed discourse of agreement, and seemed desirous of friendship and peace; but at last, the cheat was too late discovered, and without having reaped any security to our affairs, by listening to such a treaty, nor yet kept off offences, we were left our selves alone to sustain the violence of the Turkish forces, with alike misfortune, but not with alike forces; in the one war, we lost the Island of Negraponte, and in the other, most of what we possess in Morca. But suppose (which for my part I cannot bring my self to believe) that we might now have peace, what peace, I beseech you, would it prove? what security, what quiet should we get thereby? we must be still at the trouble, and at the expence of war, for fear of the Turkish forces at sea, and for their doubtful fidelity, we must have Fleets every year, Garrisons, Fortifications, be still in jealousies. And say, they should for a while keep their words to us, shall we believe, that these perpetuall enemies to peace will breathe up their swords, and not make use of them else-where, to the prejudice of Christendom? They will keep peace with us, that they may the better make war upon the Empour, whilst he is busied in other wars with the King of France, and shall

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want our assistance, that so they may assault Puglia and meeting with no resistance, possess themselves of some strong hold, and get sure footing in Italy. So as by deferring war for a while, we shall only encrease the Turks power, and draw greater and more certain ruine upon our selves. Since then the League is so far proceeded in, since it is hoped, that there may be a firm and sincere union, of the minds and forces of Christian Princes; since we find such willingness in our own subjects, and in forrainers, to make this war, and that powerfull and warlike Transalpine Nations, the Polacks and Bohemians, (as we are now given to understand) offer to assist us both with men and mony, why are we still doubtfull? why seem we to be afraid of our own shadowes? Shall we not once put the valour and fortune of this Common-wealth to the tryall? we may already know, that our standing idle spectators of other mens dangers, as we have done for these many years, may for a while have prolonged our dangers, but hath after made them greater. And certainly, till this enemy be weakened, and bereft of his maritime forces, we shall never have true peace and safety. The Turkish power, and their victories obtained in Christendom, ought not to affrighten us so much, but that we may rouse up our selves, and hope for good; since we know, it hath not been done by true warlike valour, but by the numbers of their souldiers, wherewith, to their great good fortune, having to do but with one sole Potentate, they have gotten to a great height; and that it is therefore, that this otherwise base and vile people, have proved victorious and formidable. But when they shall be fought withall by equall, nay, I may say, by much greater forces; when they shall be enforced to defend themselves at home in severall places, their weakness and our error will be discovered. And say, these happy successes shall not correspond with our hopes, we may treat of peace at another time, with more advantage and honour, when we shall be armed by our own forces, and by those of others. And if the friendship of other Princes cannot sufficiently avail us to make war; it will give us credit to make peace; and if by misfortune we prove not victorious, we shall at least have shewn our generosity; so as our country and Senate may be wish'd, to have had been more successfull, but not more wise nor valiant; wherein having answered the opinion, which the world hath of our wisdom and generosity, the honour and dignity of the pullick will be sustained, as far as the condition of these times will permit.

This Cornaro's discourse wrought very much upon the mindes of those, that were already that wayes inclined; but when he had done, Marco Foscarini, one of the Savii, who propounded the business, a man of great authority, both for his learning, and for his worthy carriage in many employments, which he had past through, replied thus.

I cannot say, I have altered my opinion, for I was alwaies minded, that the Consuls Letters should be answered, and that the treaty of peace should not be neglected. But I may truly say, that though I had thought otherwise before, I now finde such new accidents, if we shall consider them according to truth, and not according to our own desires; as would make me embrace those offers, which I had formerly refused; but being already seled in my opinion, they do confirm me the more therein. I believe it fares thus with

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the most of this Senate, since the business having been often brought to the question, it hath been carried but by two voices only. Nor can I see, from whence this so great and so extraordinary confidence, in our selves, and in our own forces, can arise; whence this great belief, which is given to the words and promises of Princes, who usually say rather that, the belief wherof makes more for their advantage, then what they do really intend. And yet the business is of so great concernment, as if we commit an error therein, we may repent too late, with losse and shame. I fear, Gentlemen, that we are by a certain evil fate drawn to our ruine. We know, that our Fleet is visited with sore sickness, and brought to a weak condition; that, if we will recruit it, we must draw souldiers out of our Garrisons, and thereby weaken the defence of our chief Forts by sea: And yet they may be all said, to be in danger as once, and that they all stand in need of many men to defend them, since we do not know, to what part the Turkish Fleet will betake it self. We have but too few souldiers to resist the enemy in so many places; and yet we can scarcely give them their pay, which enforce us against our wills, to suffer our Captains to give injurious speeches against the Common-wealth. Do not you remember, what Camillo Orsino writ unto us, too boldly the other day to this purpose, complaining of the delay of pay to his souldiers? That if we cannot maintain war, we may do well to make peace. We must every day lay on more taxes, which we fee will quickly be not to be gotten: let us use what rigour we please. It is too great an entourage to believe, that a war, which cost above 200000 Duckets a month, can be maintained out of the purses of private men. And yet we are pleased so to flatter our selves, as not to appear to want power; we believe we shall do impossibilities. But let us go a little further, how can we ground our selves upon the assistance of other Princes, who are of several opinions, and who govern themselves by reason, contrary to ours? I believe, the Pope means well; yet, be it rather for his great age, or out of any other reason, he is so irresolute in all his proceedings, as we finde no good by his good will. Many months have been spent in desires, that the Common-wealth may make use of (what I may call their own) the Tenth of our Clergy, to employ those monies in so pious an use, and in time of such necessity. Yet, though we have good words given us, we can find no dispatch, nor do I yet know what will become thereof. And if I must confesse the truth, I fear, he appears to be more forward in this business of the League in speech, than he may seem to do what becomes the place he holds, than he really is in his heart. And we ought to call to minde, that it is very usuall of late for Popes, to propound Leagues and Crusades against Infidells, and to seem very desirous thereof; yet how many of them have we seen made, since the Turks power is grown so great? So likewise, I perceive, we measure the Emperours intentions more according to our desires, and to what may make for us, then to what they are. But why should we not also consider many other actions, which do plainly shew, that either his thoughts do differ from ours, and from our interests; or at least, that he hath not so great a desire for the exaltation of our Common-wealth, nor such a zeal, to the good of Christendom, as some believe; trusting too much to the zeal, which some persuade themselves he bears to Christendom, when they would flatter themselves with a confederacy, which turns to his advantage, forgetting such things as may make them believe the contrary.

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For being overcome by the force of truth, he hath oft-times confessed, he can only make a defensive League this year; but that notwithstanding, the Common-wealth shall suffer little prejudice thereby. Hath not he himselfe told our Embassadour, when he heard of Doria's proceedings, and how he parted quickly from Naples, that Doria was no friend to the Common-wealth; yet he proposeth him now to be the head of a League, which he saies he makes chiefly for her sake. I will not now trouble you with mentioning his vast and ambitious thoughts, wherein, as it hath been plainly discovered, he aims at the Empire of whole Italy; since all men know, how much the greatness and prosperity of our Dominions is, contrary to these his machinations; and how many waies he may receive advantage, by keeping us employed in this war, to save his own expence, and that by our weakness he may increase his power, and finally, make himselfe the sole Arbitrator of all the affairs of Italy. And how stands Ferdinando King of the Romans affected now, think we, who seemed so fierce at first in taking up Arms, to revenge the so many injuries he had received from the Turks? What hopes hath he, of making his people fall upon such an enterprise, after having received such a rout in Hungary, wherein he lost the flower of his people, and (which is of no lesse importance) his own reputation, and his souldiers courage? Which may make it easily be believed, that he may rather think it a happiness for him at this time, to repose a while, and to minde the repairing of his losses, whilst his enemies forces shall be employed against us, then to be bound to continue a new war. And, I beseech you, whence is it that we suppose, peace may so easily ensue between the Emperour and the King of France? The meeting was had with great hopes of Agreement; but all endeavours proving vain, we see it now as an end; and the short Truce for the affairs of Piemont, arose rather out of necessity and weariness, then out of a desire of quiet and reconciliation. And certainly, if we will weigh the importance of this business considerably, we must think this the chief ground of that our resolution. For as it hath been alwaies conselt by all men, the greatest, and most assured hopes of any good success of this League, lay in the agreement which was to be amongst Princes; it was this that made us advance so much in the Treaty of the League: So now, the state and condition of affairs being altered, we have just reason to alter our minde, and to keep from concluding the League. Shall we forget what the Pope said upon the like purpose, that the League would be but of a pale complexion, unless peace were made between Cesar and the King of France? And do not Cesar's chief Ministers say the same? Did not Count Agilar at Rome, and Don Lopes here with us, take it for granted, that peace amongst Christian Princes was requisite, to the making of war against the Turkish Navy, Cesar himselfe hath conselt as much, letting us know, that he had not forces sufficient, to contest with the King of France, and with the Turks at the same time; and therefore it was that he propounded, the League might now be only defensive. If then it be lawful for these Princes to nourish discord, for their own ambitious ends, not caring for what we suffer, nor for the ruine of whole Christendom; why should it misbecome us to think, upon preserving our Common-wealth, and how to save off greatest dangers, by such means as we may? But if it be said, It is necessary which makes us have recourse to foreign help, to maintain war, because such a peace

as we're to be mis'd for, is not to be had. I cannot deny, but that on what side soever we turn, we are to meet with many difficulties; but I will boldly affirm, that the having of peace is not so hard, as that it is to be despair'd of, nor that it is likely to bring so small security, but that it may be very well compar'd with our present dangers. We know, that the chief Rasseon, on whose advice the Grand Signior doth much rely, hath been alwaies well affected to this businesse, and we ought to believe very much in what he saies, because of his own interest; peace making for his advantage, who can not by war accumulate more riches nor honours. And we now hear, that Barbarossa, not being in too great favour with Soliman, desires rather to return to Algiers, where he may enjoy his own state, then to be at any further trouble, since he sees the face of fortune alters. I will say further, that I know not how we can so absolutely affirm, that Soliman doth so much despise us and our Common-wealth, since we see how constantly he hath observed the capitulations of peace with us, for these thirty five years; and now also, if we will consider all things aright, we must confesse, that he hath not turned his forces against us, till he was first provoked by us; so as per- adventure we have more reason to complain of our selves, and of our Officers, than of him and his actions. If the Turks (as it hath been said) did aim at our ruine, when could they have had any fitter occasion to have expressed it, then in these late years of our so great calamities, when all the Princes of Christendom had conspired against us, when we wanted bold forces, assistance, and counsell, by reason of so many adverse fortunes? And yet they did not onely not trouble us, but supplied us with victuals and ammunition, in our greatest necessities, suffering us to carry all sorts of grain out of their Countries, and freely sending us whole ships loaded with Salt-peter. whence then do we imagine this so great fear, this so dubious peace, and these supposed suspitions? which say they be true, how can we think it wisely done, how does it agree together, that to shun war, we should make war; that to avoid an uncertain and far-distant danger, we should chuse a danger that is present and certain? who is there amongst us that does not know, the many conveniences we reap by peace, and the as many inconveniences which arise from war? it may suffice to say, that in time of our so long troubles, we were able to maintain war in Terra firma, for the space of almost twenty years, because we had the sea open, which supplied this city both with publick and private wealth; but that being now shut up, our traffick is hindered, our taxes lessened, every one of whatsoever condition suffers, and there is want of all things. And what is there to be said of the Turks power: a great Empire, numerous Armies, store of gold, abundance of all things requisite for war, and that which I am sorry I can so truly say, such obedience and military discipline, as is rather desired, then offered amongst Christians. What have we therefore to do in the condition we are in? but to temporise, and wait for better fortune, against so powerfull an enemy. Great is the vicissitude of human affairs, which hardly keep in the same posture any while at all. And it is the part of a wise man, to know his advantages, and his disadvantages, and to wait the friendship of time. If we call to minde past things, we shall finde, that war with the Turks, hath alwaies been a businesse of too great weight for us to bear. we would not have peace with Mahomet, after the losse of Nigroponte, hoping to

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regain it: yet at last, we were forced to agree with him, upon the yielding up of Scutari and Brazzo di Maina to the Turks. After the Common-wealth was almost wasted by long war with Bajazet, we came at last to peace with him, upon his own conditions, and upon harder terms than those we had refused; by which, to boot with the places which he had taken, we yielded up the Port St. Maura unto him, which we had recovered but a little before. I could produce many more such unfortunate examples, and yet the Turks were not then so strong, specially at sea, as now they are. Let us not then be so far born away by appearances, as to foregoe better counsells. To make war with the Turks, appears to be a pious and generous thing; yet he who shall weigh things aright, will finde, that in the consideration that Christendom is in at the present, it is impious and unwise, the nature thereof being changed by many various accidents. What greater impiety can be used, then by continuing war, to expose the people commended to our care to so many sufferings, and such certain ruine? We have the spectacle of Corfu before our eyes, from whence fifteen thousand persons were carried into bondage by the Turks. To make gallant and generous attempts, becomes a magnanimous and generous Prince, when reason and hope persuade him therunto; but otherwise, it is rashnesse and imprudency. To expose our selves to certain dangers, when they may be avoided, what is it, but to tempt divine Providence? And the Parable which we read in the Gospel, that he who is to go against a potent Enemy, ought first to consider well, whether he can withstand him with ten thousand men, who comes to assault him with twenty thousand. Doth it not teach us to be wary and mature in all our actions, and not to leave any place for repentance to our selves, nor for blame to others?

Foscari's wisdom and eloquence was much commended, yet could it not convince a certain fatall inclination, which was already grounded in the mindes of many, to continue the war. So as the number of votes falling short, to make this proposall passe, the businesse remained undecided as before; and yet the not resolving to write to Constantinople, was in effect to resolve, to prosecute the war, and to be bound to stipulate the League as soon as might be. Soon after therefore, larger Commissions were sent to the Embassadour at Rome, touching the concluding it, wherein they yielded to such Articles, as had suffered a long debate; each of which was first distinctly read, and approved of by the Senate. The Articles were these.

That a League and confederacy, Offensive and Defensive, was made by Pope Paul the 3d. the Emperour Charles the 5th. and the Common-wealth and Senate of Venice, against Soliman, grand Signior of the Turks; whereby the Confederates obliged themselves, to make war against the Turks, with two hundred Gallies, one hundred Frigats, fifty thousand Foot, whereof twenty thousand were to be Italians, ten thousand Spaniards, and twenty thousand Germans, and four thousand five hundred Burgonian Horse: which forces were to be accompanied with a sufficient train of Artillery, Ammunition, and other necessities. And all these forces were every year to be ready by the midst of March. Of these Gallies, the Pope was to

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arm thirty six, the Emperour eighty two, and the State of Venice eighty two, that the Emperour should be particularly obliged to finde all the ships, and the Venetians to give the Gallies to the Pope furnish'd; but upon condition, that every part of the other expences were to be proportionably made good, in what they should exceed the rest; and particularly, that the Venetians should be paid for as many armed gallies, as they should lead above their just proportion of eighty two; that of all the expence which should go to the maintaining of these forces, the Pope should contribute the sixth part, the Emperour three, and the Common-wealth two. Moreover, that the taking of Corn from every place, should be open for the common benefit, which was to be sold to such of the Colleagues as had need thereof, at reasonable rates. That Ferdinand, King of the Romanes, should be understood to be included in this confederacy, for whom Cesar obliged himselfe, that he should raise an Army apart by himselfe, to assault the Turks on the side of Hungaria: and that the King of France should be likewise understood to be therein concluded, when he should declare, that he would accept of that primary, and most honourable place which was reserved for him; which if he should doe, the Pope should determine what forces he should bring to joyn in the common enterprises, which were understood were to be for the increase of those which were already agreed upon, and divided amongst the Colleagues, and if any other Italian Princes should joyn in the League, the expences of the three chief confederates, should be lessened as much as their contribution should come unto. That the Pope should likewise endeavour to draw the King of Poland, and the other Christian Princes into the League: and that if any difference touching the League should arise amongst the Christian confederates, it should be determined by the Pope, that Andrea Doria should be Generall of all the forces at Sea, and the Duke of Urbin of those at Land. Concerning the acquisitions which should be made by the confederates, it was thus ordered by a writing apart: That every one of the confederates should have whatsoever should be recovered, and which had formerly been his own, restored unto him; with a particular declaration, that the Empire of Constantinople should belong unto the Emperour, without prejudice to the Common-wealth, for what belonged to her; to which likewise La Vallone, and Castel-Nuovo, should be reserved as things appertaining to her: and that a fitting proportion of what should be gotten, should be reserved by way of pre-eminency, for the Apostolick Sea. That in other things whereunto none of them pretended, every one of the confederates should partake thereof, according to the proportion of his expence in the war; that if the Island of Rhodes should be recovered, it should be bestowed to the Knights of Jerusalem.

There was no mention made of the King of England in these Capitulations: but the Venetians thinking they might receive no little aid from this King, who was master of many Forces, and of great Authority, fought by their Secretary *Girolimo Zuccato*, then resident with him, to make him favour the League; and desired the Pope to do the like, which he did. But he, thinking himselfe scandalized, for not being particularly named in the Capitulations, would not give ear thereunto, but complained that he and his Kingdom were

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not taken into such consideration, by the Colleagues, as they ought to have been. And for the King of France, there appeared new signs every day, that he had no minde to enter into the League, wherein the increase of his Rival, and perpetuall Enemy's forces, and reputation, the Emperour was treated on.

The League being concluded and established in manner aforesaid, the Venetians ordered their General *Capello*, that if the Turkish Fleet should come into the gulph, he would tarry behinde in the Levant, so as he might the eassier passe into Sicily, or whithersoever he were to joyn with the Confederates Fleets. This course was judged good, to encourage those of the Levant, and to indammage the Enemy, according as occasion should serve: and that they might not lessen the Garrisons, 2000 foot were raised, and forthwith sent to re-inforce the Fleet. Some were of opinion, that the Generall should have free leave given him, to do upon all occasions whatsoever he should think would be best for the Common-wealth. They urged, that since all accidents which might occur could not be fore-seen, and according to which the Generall was to order his designs, and to steer his course: it was a dangerous thing to binde him up by Commissions, and to force him to do what peradventure might be contrary to reason: they instanced in the succesles of the last year, wherein the having given limited orders to Generall *Pesaro*, had been the cause of great disorders, which proved at last the breaking out into war. Yet the consideration of not retarding the joyning of the Fleets, prevail'd; as also a certain indignity, which as it was thought it would prove, if the Generall should think of retreating, as if he shun'd the Enemy, and should therefore withdraw himselfe with his Gallies into the waters about the City, whereby so great a preparation should prove yain: But above all things, they were very solicitous in providing monies whereby to supply their expences. A Bank was therefore erected in the Exchequer, wherein as many as would bring in any Monies into the publick Treasury, were promised to be paid fourteen per cent. during their life: Much severity was used in calling in such Monies as were due to the Common-wealth. Three other Commissaries were chosen, for what should be borrowed, *Girolimo Marcello*, *Bernardo Moro*, and *Giulio Comarini*: but no use could as yet be made of the Clergies goods; for though the Pope had transmuted the favour, whereof he had before given so favourable an intention to the Senate; to wit, That he would permit them to alienate ten per cent. of the Clergies Revenue, till it should amount to a million of Gold, or that they should raise it in five years space, by so many Tenths of the same goods; yet he had never given out his Briefs for either of these; finding out severall excuses and delays at such a pinch. Many propositions were made for the raising of monies; but the Senate proceeded with great respect and caution, not to do any thing at this time, which might peradventure lessen the peoples affection to the Common-wealth: they would not therefore accept

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of the proposall of selling the Commons, though much money might have been made thereby, there being great store of them throughout the whole *Terra ferma*. But for all this scarcity of money, they spared not for any thing that was necessary for War; victualls were provided from all parts, and ammunition, Ordnance were cast, such Ladders, Pick-axes, Spades, and other tools, as the Duke of *Urbine* gave order for, for Land-service, were made in great abundance. The Duke seemed very desirous to do great things in service to the Common-wealth, and aspired to the obtaining immortall glory by war; and truly, the Senate confided very much in his worth and Loyalty: in so much as the Pope threatening to make war upon his State, by reason of his pretence to the Dukedom of *Camerino*, as being held in fee-farm of the Church, and which was then fallen to the Duke by the right of his wife: the Senate dispatcht away one of their Secretaries speedily to *Rome*, and obtain'd that the Duke should not be molested therein as long as he was employ'd in the common service of the League, or particularly by the Common-wealth. He therefore caus'd two galleys to be prepared, the one for himselfe to go in person, to the Fleet; the other for his Son to go in; and chose his very good friend, *Barnard Sagredo*, one much esteem'd of him, by reason of his great experience at Sea, to govern them; the Senate being desirous to shew how acceptable this the Dukes good will was to them, who had said, he would bring his wife and family to live in *Venice*, freely gave him one of the noblest Pallaces of the City; but whilst he was carefully ordering all these affairs, going to *Pesaro*, to take order for his own particular businesse, he fell into a great sicknesse, which kept him from going to the Fleet.

At the same time, severall Negotiations were had of Peace, between *Cesar* and the King of *France*, both of them seeming to be desirous thereof, to which purpose their Agents were forthwith sent to *Cinus*, a place between *Parpignon* and *Narbonne*; but the whole time being spent in contentions, no good came thereof: For both these Princes Commissions were bounded and limited in that very thing, whereon all other resolutions did depend: *Cesar* not giving way by any means, to the restoring of the Dukedom of *Millan*; nor the King of *France*, that any thing should be treated of, the prime Article whereof should not be the restitution of that State.

Many things were propounded, to bring these Princes to an Agreement; chiefly the marriage between *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *Portugal*, lately dead, and to the Queen, then wife to *Francis* King of *France*, and *Niece* to *Cesar*; and the Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings Son, with a Million of Gold for her portion, which was to be given to the Emperour, in recompence for the State of *Millan*, wherinto the Duke of *Orleans* was to be invested; but many difficulties being found herein, the one not being willing to trust the other; and the Bride not being of fitting years for marriage, the businesse was broken off, the convention dissolved, to the great dis-

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pleasure of the Venetians in particular, who by reason of this disagreement, were likely to bear a greater burthen in this war with the Turks, as by many signs did already appear. For the Marquis of *Gualsto*, who had formerly been sent for to the Court by the Emperour, to make use of his advice and actions, touching the enterprise in the *Levant*, was by new orders appointed to stay in *Italy*, and to be diligent in increasing the Garrisons in the State of *Millan*. And *Cesar*, when the hopes of this Agreement failed, had oft-times said, that his forces being elsewhere diverted by the King of *France*, he could not for the present do any thing for the service of Christendom, but stand upon his defence, and keep his Dominions from being prejudiced by the Turkish Fleets; these respects had made the Venetians more diligent in endeavouring the conclusion of the League; believing that the King of *France*, whilst he should see this union suspended, whereby the heavier weight would lie upon *Cesar*, being onely of himselfe to resist the Turkish forces, would be the hardlier brought to a reconciliation with *Cesar*, building his hope of the recovery of the State of *Millan*, upon the weakness of the Emperours forces: the Pope was likewise much troubled hereat; to whom, as being the chief head of Christendom, the care of making peace between Christian Princes, and of opposing the eminent danger of the Turks, did principally belong. Therefore seeing all his indeavours, by Letters and Embassies, proved vain, he bethought himselfe of bringing these two Princes to speak together face to face in his presence; hoping that by his authority, inreaties, and reasons, he might bring them to an Agreement. Wherefore, though he was very aged, yet not being willing to spare any painse, after he had thus exhorted and invited these two Princes, he offered to give them a meeting himselfe in person, at *Nieze*, as an opportune place where they might all meet together. This meeting proved in one respect pleasing to the Venetians; for if the peace should be effected, the hopes and forces of the League would be greatly increased, which would be but weak and lame without it: but in another respect, they were troubled at it, by reason of the losse of time which it would occasion, in making provision for the War; and in the uniting of the Fleets. For the Emperour being to come by Gallies from *Barcellona* to *Nieze*, *Doria* must be unreasonably employ'd in this voyage, when he should have put his Fleet in order, and have advanced against the Enemy, who were already put forth very strong to Sea. This their fear was the greater, because it was not counterpoysed by equall hopes of advantage; since it appeared almost impossible, that these two Princes should be reconciled, as it was thought by those who were best vers'd in such affaires, and who could penetrate the furthest into the secret designs of Princes. For what hopes were there of making true friendship between *Cesar* and the King of *France*? their natures were beyond measure contrary; they differ'd in fashions, ends, and thoughts; grievous injuries had past between them on both sides;

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which they kept in memory with desire of revenge. On the Kings behalfs his Imprisonment, and his severe usage therein, his being inforc'd to purchase his liberty, by assenting to unjust conditions, and by giving his Sons in hostage for the performance of his word, and the War lately made by the Emperour, in the bowels of his own Country. The Emperour held himselfe as much offended by the King, not onely for the falsifying of his word, and breach of the Articles at *Madrid*; but for his having made the Turks make war against him, whereby to keep him and his Dominions perpetually molested. What reason was there then to believe, that those who bore such bitter hatred to each other, were to yeeld to an Agreement, whereby the ones power would be greatly augmented to the as great inconveniency of the other? to yeeld up the State of *Millan*, to the King of *France*, to boot with the opening the way thereby unto him, how to molest the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of disrupting *Cesars* power in *Italy*, bore with it greater consequences. For by giving the State of *Millan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, *France*, would become the more formidable, since all the States would be united in the Crown, whereinto not onely Britany would fall, which belonged to the Kings second Son, as in right of his Mothers Dowry, but the Dukedom of *Orleans*, and of *Angouleme*. On the other side, the King knew, that the releasing of the Cities, and Forts which he had taken in *Savoy*, would secure *Cesars* affairs in *Italy*, and confirm him in the possession of the State of *Millan*; it was therefore thought, that nothing had made *Cesar*, and the King of *France*, yeeld to the Pope's proposall, but a desire of justifying themselves to the World, and to shew that they would not be backwards in making peace, knowing that the maintaining so long and bitter discord at this time, would denote their immoderate Ambition. Moreover, they were thereunto invited by a certain jealousy; they had of the Popes favour, which made them endeavour to perswade him, that they valued all his advices: for the one fearing to be exceeded by the other, they would not suffer that either of them should become greater by the forces and authority of Apostolick Sea, especially in *Italy*. Some did also add, that the Pope himselfe did not aim so much at the generall good by this meeting, as at his particular conveniency; hoping that by his presence, and by the concurrence of these Princes, he might get far into favour with them, and obtain something of much moment from them, which might establish the greatness of his House, which was now discovered to be his chiefest aim, as was afterwards more clearly seen at this meeting, wherein the marriage between the Lady *Margaret*, *Cesars* naturall Daughter, who had been wife to *Alexander*, Duke of *Medici*, with *Ottavio Farnese*, the Popes Nephew, was concluded; who was likewise invested in the State of *Naples*. Though the Venetians began quickly to suspect these things, yet did not the Senate forbear to do what occasion required, but to shew all due respect to these Princes, and chiefly to the Pope, and not to leave any thing

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undone, whereby they might be ayding and forward to the making of peace, as they had alwaies been; they chose two Embassadours, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, and *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, to assist at that meeting, and to declare the Senates desire of friendship between Christian Princes, and their readinesse to make War upon the Turks.

The Pope being gone from *Rome* in *May*, went to *Parma*, where he gave the solemn Benediction *della Palma*, in the Cathedrall Church, to which he gave *La Rosa*, worth 500 Crowns, and staid there, and in *Piacenza* some time; expecting more certain information from the Duke of *Savoy*, of the Convention at *Nice*, wherein there were some difficulties interposed, not without suspicion, that the Emperour had a hand therein, who was desirous to spin out the time, that he might see what the Turks did, and advance the greater charge that year, to which he was obliged by the League. But at last the Pope, not being desirous to prolong his journey any longer, came to *Nice*, where he was not suffer'd to enter the City, by the Garrison; who said, they held that Fort in the name of the Prince, which the Duke his Father could not dispose of; so as he was forc'd to stay a while in a neighbouring Monastery, till not long after, the Keys of the City were sent him. But the Emperour, and the King of *France*, came speedily to him, to the same place, who were first come to that shore; the first tarrying at *Villa Franca*, formerly called *Monaco*, the other at *villa Nova*, on the other side of the River *Varro*. But the Pope could not possibly prevail with them, to meet both together in his presence; they not being willing to comply with the Pope, in what was to be treated on at this interview, which was Peace and Agreement. Yet the Truce which was between them, was prolonged by the Popes means, but both of them continuing to use simulation, cheating both themselves and others; by an outward appearance; they met together at *Aqua Morta*, in the waters of *Marselles*; whither *Cesar* being come in his Gallies, the King came likewise (as it was ordered) to meet him aboard his Gallies; and then landing, the Emperour tarried two dayes with the King, spending the time in feasting, and jollity, treating together very familiarly, and giving out, that Peace should be suddainly made between them; to which effect, other Agents should be deputed, with plenary power to accommodate all differences between them. Yet this interview produced no better effect, then the former with the Pope; had done; for *Cesar* finding that he was not of himselfe alone, to make head against those powerfull Enemies, now that the Venetians had confirm'd the League against the Turks, and consequently thinking the Kings friendship lesse necessary, began to demand greater things, than he had done at the convention in *Flanders*, to wit, the observance of the Agreement at *Madrid*, wherein the restitution of *Buygony*, superiority in *Artois*, and in his pretences to the State of *Millan*, which was the chief thing now controverted, were contained; and many other things very prejudiciall to the Crown of *France*, and consequently ab-

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hor'd by the King: who on the contrary, finding himselfe very powerfull, by reason of severall States that were fallen to the Crown, for want of Heirs to their particullar Lords; so as at this time, he was Master of whole *France*, from the Ocean towards the North, to low Britany, and from the *Pirenean* Mountains, to the Mediterranean Sea; he hoped he might make War with the Emperour, and recover those States which were posselt by him, so far was he from foregoing any thing that he himselfe had in his hands, or whereunto he made any pretences. He therefore desired peace onely so far, as might consist with his honour and conveniency, and chiefly with the conclusion of his Sons marriage, which had been so often propos'd: wherein the chief difficultie consisting, in whose hands the Forts of the State of *Millan* were to be trusted for the space of three years, which time was necessary to run out before the marriage could be consummated, the King not thinking it either safe or honourable for him, to trust *Cesar*, who would not trust him, propos'd, that the strong holds of that State, should for that time be deposited in the Popes hands, or in the Venetian Senate. But *Cesar*, who was resolv'd not to accept of any motion which did any wayes comprehend the surrender of the Dukedom of *Millan*, refused the proposall, alleading that he could not assent thereunto, by reason of the Popes very great age, and by reason of the Venetians too great power: whence, if he should give way thereunto, both his private, and the common affairs, might through various accidents incur loss and danger. Yet the King held on the Treaty, not so much out of any hopes of Agreement, as for his own justification to the world, and to lay all the fault of their not. According upon *Cesar*'s obdurancy, to which purpose he sent one of his Gentlemen to *Venice*, to give a particular account of these his actions, shewing that the fault lay not in him, if the peace should not insue, which was so much desired by Christendom.

Whilst the Christian Princes proceeded thus slowly, and irresolutely, in preparing to sustain the War, the Turks, every one striving who should best discharge his office, had in the winter prepar'd all things requisite for the summer-War; and not forgetting amidst the fury of War, what appertained to Religion, (so naturally is a certain inclination to divine worship, ingraven in the souls even of Barbarians) did first solemnly celebrate the feast of *Baïram*; which are certain dayes celebrated, and revered by that Nation, as *Easter* is by us Christians; and frequent Orisons were made throughout all their *Mosche*, for the Grand Signors prosperity, and the like of his Army. Afterwards, *March* being already begun, the souldiers and gallies began to part from *Constantinople*, with great preparations both of Land and Sea-forces. *Soliman* went himselfe in person with the Army, and *Barbarossa* with the Fleet, who held the place which was formerly held by *Zufri*, he being deprived of the degree of *Bahaw*, and confin'd to *Macedonia*. The Fleet not being yet wholly in order, *Barbarossa* went with 120 sayl, which

which he had got together into the *Archipelagus*, as to a secure prey, where those Islands which had not been ruin'd the preceding year, but kept still under the Common-wealths Dominion, had not sufficient Garrisons to defend them. Thus *Schiro*, *Schiarak*, *Schiati* and some other lesser places, after being miserably plundred, fell into the power of the Turks. There hapned a memorable accident in the taking of *Schiati*: where the Islanders, and those few Souldiers who were there, having valiantly withstood the Turks first assault, trusting in the strength of the situation, and in a Castle eminently seated upon a Rock; some of the chief men of the Town, either out of fear, or fraud, be-thought themselves of surrendring the Town to the Turks; and fearing they might be punished for their base wickednesse, if the businesse should not succeed; they went to the Palace, where the Governour *Girolimo Ateo* lay wounded, (who by his courage and example, standing with the other souldiers upon the walls, had made good their labours, and hopes of the rest) and cruelly slew him; by whose death all things being in a confusion, they drew in the Turks by Ropes into the Fort. *Barbarossa*'s selfe was so displeased with this barbarous and cruel act, as in lieu of a reward, which these Rascals hoped for, he put them to death. *Barbarossa*, whose number of Vessels was much increased, went afterwards to the Island of *Candia* to get prey, and to attempt those Forts. This was much suspected before, it being generally bruited in *Constantinople*, that they would this year attempt that Island: wherefore the Senate had been very careful in providing it with all things necessary, that it might be able to withstand so powerful an Enemy: They had sent many Souldiers, Ammunition, Victuals, thither; and to boot with the particular Magistrates, had given the Government of all those Forts, and of the Militia to *Johanni Moro*, whose valour and wisdom was highly esteemed. He was made Commissary Generall, and indow'd with extraordinary Authority. The preservation of this Island, was held by all men to be of great importance, by reason of the noblenesse and riches thereof, as having been the ancient seat of Kings, producing plenty of choise Wines, of Oyls, and other things, for the conveniency which it afforded of furnishing many Gallies speedily with men fit for Sea-affairs; for many faire and safe Havens, wherein the ships that traffick in the *Levant* are received, and the Fleets which guard those Seas: and moreover, because there is therein a Colony of many noble Venetian Families, who had habitations, and large possessions given them in that Kingdom 330 years before. Amongst other things, the Commissary Generall was willed to encourage those Gentlemen in the name of the Common-wealth, and the Cavaliers (which are those who hold any thing in fee of the Signory of *Venice*), to defend the Island and themselves, promising them on the faith of the Senate, that they should not want any possible aid: He therefore assembling one day the Councell, in the City of *Candia*

dia, which consists of all the Nobility of the Colony, prepared them by an efficacious exhortation, valiantly to expect the coming of the enemy.

If you (said he) will well consider the peacefulness of your present condition, wherein you with quiet and honour enjoy so wealthy possessions, the gracious aspect of the heavens, which affords you such abundance and convenience of all good things, which grow here, and which are brought hither from adjacent parts, I am assured, the consideration thereof would persuade you more, than I by my words can do, to use your utmost endeavours, and not to spare anything, neither expence, pains, nor, not life itself, to keep your selves and children from changing conditions, from falling from the height of such prosperity, into the depth of misery, as it will happen, if this Island falling into the Turks power, (the very thought or mentioning whereof doth astonish me) you be enforced either to live elsewhere, and be deprived of this your country, wherein you enjoy such wealth, such conveniences, or else tarrying here, to be subject to the tyranny of barbarous Infidels. If you had no other tie to defend this Island, (a noble and prime member of the Common-wealth) then what by these advantages you are obliged unto, you neither could nor would refuse to do what you are bound to, in respect both of your Ancestors and selves, and what the service of our country doth challenge from the love whereof, I do not believe, this distance hath been able to divide you, not being members cut off, but true sharers in her honour, and in all her fortune. But since hereunto, your own particular interest is inseparably joyned, wherein you know the totall of all you have, nay, of your very being is concerned, I shall not need to shew you the importance of the cause in hand, or incite you to make such provisions, and seek for such remedies, as may preserve you from such a danger. I will onely therefore put you in minde, that you suffer not your selves to be removed from that good resolution, which I see is grounded in you, by any fear, which may make you lose your courage, and abandon your selves. I do not deny, but that the enemies power is very great, and so to be esteemed; but I affirm, it is not such as we ought to distrust, being able to resist it, and we may hope, that we may reap praise and honour by their coming. We hear for certain, that though there be many souldiers in the enemies Fleets, yet they want a sufficient train of artillery, and many other things requisite for the taking in of cities; so as we may believe, that if they shall approach this our Island, it is rather with an intention of pillage, if they shall find us so negligent, as to afford them occasion so to do, then of making war; and say, they did intend it, and were provided for it, why should we believe, that they would undertake a business, which will require time, when they shall see such Fleets of Christian confederate Princes upon the seas, by which, either their Fleets, or some of their cities, may be assaulted, and fought with. They have as much reason to think, upon their own defence and preservation, as of offending others. I know, and am commanded by the Senate to assure you, that the preservation of this Kingdom, and your safeties, is had in very great consideration by them, for which they will readily expose their Fleet, and all their forces, whereof the provisions already made for the good of this Island,

Island, may be a sufficient testimony; in the speed and expence whereof, the Common-wealth hath not onely exceeded the opinion of others, but hath gone beyond her self. You then, whose dangers and safeties are most concerned, and whose advantage is immediately treated of, are so much the more bound, not to leave any thing undone, wherein your loyalty, diligence, and charity towards both these your countries may appear. Let every one say who shall help the common cause most with monies, authority, and with their persons, and I assure myself, we shall not onely avoid the greatest calamities, but we shall preserve our country from the inroads and plunder of the enemy, to our immortal glory, and to our merit with the Common-wealth.

The Commissary had not fully ended his discourse, when many of the Gentlemen rising up, attested what he had said, promised loyalty; and some engaged themselves in generalities, some in particular offers, to employ all their power and industry, in defending the Kingdom. The Commissioner said the same things afterwards, to the Cretensian Gentry and Commonalty, encouraging all men to defend themselves. So as with great cheerfulness, and confidence of good success, they fell to make all necessary provisions. Some Gallies were armed at the charge of particular men, many men were sent for from their country-farms, who having arms given them, some of them were brought into the city, to increase the garrison of Italian Foot, some placed in Corps de Guard, upon passes, and places of concernment, to hinder the enemy's advancing, wherein the Nobles and Feudatories, did so industriously and so fervently behave themselves, that the particular family of the *Calergi*, a family of great wealth and authority in this Island, raised and armed above 25000 men.

Barbavissa continuing his course, drew near the Island on the North side, between *Standia* and the city of *Candia*; but, without touching land, sail'd along the coast till he came to *Restimo*, where staying but a while, because he was much damnified by the artillery from the city, he went to *Suda*, where finding better conveniency of aboad, by reason of the Haven, which was very safe, and capacious, the entrance whereunto was then free for any enemies ships, (the Rock which lies in the mouth of the Haven not being reduced then, as it is now, into a safe and impregnable Fort) and by the nearness of the city of *Canea*, which he designed to assault, he landed many men, wherewith he fell to plunder the adjacent country, coming even to underneath the city. This was anciently called *Cidonia*, and was alwaies numbered amongst the chief cities of the Kingdom, for the conveniency and beauty it receives from the Campania, and by reason of the Haven which is very near it, and for the number of inhabitants. But the Fort was not yet fully finished, the two Bulwarks which were a building on the South-side were not perfected, nor was it any waies secured on the West, but by old weak Walls, and the Ditch was hardly dig'd in any place, by reason of the condition

dition of the earth, which was very stiff, and in some parts rocky; but the industry of these times, hath overcome these and all other difficulties. *Andrea Gritti* was Governour of the city, it had about a 1000 Italian Foot for the Guard, and many Grecians of the city and country. Therefore when they saw the Turks approach the Fort, without either trenches or works, and in disorder, they boldly sallied out; and disordering the enemy by shot from the city, they put them to flight, and slew many of them. Nor had those who roved about, pillaging and wasting the country, any better success; for many of the Islanders were assembled together, with severall sorts of weapons, and being encouraged by the Masters of families, whose authority is very great over the inhabitants, and incited by the chief Governours, by hopes of reward, who, for their better enheartning, had promised to take off all taxes, and to release them of many debts, due unto the publick; they behaved themselves so, as the Turks meeting with stout resistance every where, and with greater difficulty then they had at first believed, they were forced soon to give over the enterprise; and having lost many of their souldiers, who were cut in pieces, as they went up and down pillaging the country, they retreated to their Gallies. Yet *Barbaretta*, desirous to try some better fortification in some other part, or at least, repair his losse, leaving some calamitous marks behinde him of his having bin there, sent one hundred Gallies to *Sithia*. This place is seated on the head of the Island, very weak, and but badly guarded, though a particular Venetian Magistrate makes his residence there. The enemies Fleet had conveniency of going to *Scarpanto*, an Island not above forty miles off; and then in the Turks possession; who finding *Sithia* abandoned, took away some pieces of artillery, and a little ammunition, ruining the neighbouring country as much as they could: But being forced to be gone, for fear lest the Venetian Fleet coming to relieve *Candia*, might force them to fight, they embarkt their souldiers, and went with all their forces towards *Negraponte*.

He, at the same time returned to besiege *Napoli* and *Malvasia*, whither the *Sangiaco della Morea* was gone, by order from *Soliman*; who sitting down before both these towns, & besieging them writ Letters to the Governours, and to the people, exhorting them to yield unto him, promising them large rewards; but speedy and severe punishment, if they should obstinately persevere to make resistance. Saying, That he was sent thither by *Soliman*, with direction, not to rise from before them, upon any whatsoever accident, till he had reduced those two Towns under his Empire. That all relief was far off, and that it was vain for them to hope to make long resistance. That therefore they were to make use of that good, nay necessary, advice, of complying with the times, and with the Conquerours fortune. But the Governours and people were resolved to defend themselves, trusting much to the strength of their situation, and that they should speedily receive victuals and ammunition from the Venetian Fleet; sufficient to hold

hold out a long siege. They therefore gave no answer to these Letters, but they betook themselves the more diligently to defend the city; and because there was great want of water in *Napoli*, the *Stradotti*, a bold and warlike people, falling oftentimes forth, accompanied with Italian Harcheburgiers, provided the Town therewith. But of all others, *Agostino Clafone's* diligence and worth, who was head of that Militia, appeared most in all those actions. And Generall *Capello*, not suffering these valiant and faithfull men to want help, seasonably sent them all such things as they needed most, in six Gallies. But the sufferings of those in *Dalmatia* by the Turkish forces, were great; for the enemy landing in great numbers upon those confines, destroyed whole countries, carried away both men and beasts, insulung terror and confusion into all men; insomuch as *Camillo Orsini*, who was chief Governour in that Province, advised, that abandoning all the other towns, all the souldiers should withdraw into the town of *Zara*, to secure that, as being the chief town, and fittest to be maintained; fearing, that to defend them all, against so many forces of the enemy, would be the indangering of them all. But the Senate did not approve of this advice, valuing very much, to boot with the losse of so many towns, the note of infamy, which the Common-wealth might seem to attract, if they should willingly, and all at once, without making any trial of their forces, yield up so great and so gallant a territory, to the insolent enemy. Therefore betaking themselves diligently to make all possible provision, for the defence and maintaining of them, they resolved to raise more Foot and Horse, to the number of 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, whereby they hoped they might be able to secure that Province, and to encrease the peoples affection towards the Venetians, and to encourage them to defend themselves. They chose fifteen Gentlemen, who were to go forthwith to the custody of *Zara*; *Sebenico* and *Cattaro*, with thirty foot with each of them; *Luigi Radoaro* was likewise sent to *Zara*, with title of Commissary Generall of *Dalmatia*, with obligation not to part from that city, without leave from the Senate. All the inhabitants of *Dalmatia* were permitted, to send their wives and children to *Venice*, to be preserved from being injured by the enemy. Upon this occasion, the Doge spoke in the Senate, exhorting them to assist their country at such a time of need: He urged the example of what was done in the late wars by *Terra ferma*, wherein, he said, the citizens charity towards their country, their union and alacrity towards the publick service, was so gallant, and so available, as overcoming the perverseness of fortune, they had at last freed the Common-wealth from calamity, and had returned her to that dignity of Empire, wherein she now was. That the present dangers were not lesse, than the former had been, though all things were as yet safe and entire, being to resist an enemy, who though he were but one alone, had powerfull forces; and the more to be esteemed, for that they were governed by one sole respect, and by one sole and severe command. Which

if they should prosper in this their beginning, they would grow so bold, that not anything would at any time be secure from their injuries. Their hopes of assistance from others grew daily weaker, the Confederates proceeding so slowly, and so uncertainly, as that they might learn thereby, their trust and most assured defence lay in themselves. Wherefore every one ought to out-do himself, to supply the Common-wealth readily with his advice, life, and livelihood. That the publick Exchequer was charged with almost an insufferable burthen, unless it should be assisted by the citizens readiness; for these new provisions for Dalmatia would cost above 25000 Crowns a month. That the peoples minds were low, and full of fears; that they were to be cheered and comforted by their presence, for whom the Empire was to be preserved; to shew, that they would accompany them in their pains and perills; and that they are such, as for their worth and constancy, deserve to be faithfully served, and to have all labour and danger undergone, to be preserved in their dominion. Let them therefore, said he, go speedily, who are chosen, to execute their charges; and let all others, upon whom any publick office shall be imposed, cheerfully accept it; whom duty doth not move, let him value glory; and who shall not esteem that; let obedience prevail with him; but if nothing else, let necessity and the present dangers persuade them, to be diligent and ready in all things. The Prince his authority, and the efficacy of these persuasions, did with a certain noble bashtfulness, settle the mindes and thoughts of some, who at first sought to be excused, for executing those charges which were imposed on them. But the Turks, the greater provision they understood were made to prevent them, the more they did hasten to assault Dalmatia; and to make the defence weaker, they resolved to assault severall chief Towns, at one and the same time, to the end, that one might not relieve the other. Having raised a masse of men at *Cluina*, a place in the Turkish Dominions, and entred with about 4000 Horse, and as many Foot, into the territories of *Zara*, they assaulted *Nadino*, the first Castle which belongs to the Venetians upon those confines, whereof *Sebastiano Sagredo* was Governour. The Castle was guarded by 150 Italian Foot, who being terrified at the very sight of the enemy, they, without making any triall, either of the Castle, or of themselves, surrendered basely, with leave to be gone; so, forsaking the Town, they went to *Zara*, whither they brought more fear then help, magnifying the enemies forces, to excuse in part their own cowardise. The like hapned soon after at the Castel of *Laurana*, wherein was *Vittori Loranzo*, with the like garrison that was at *Nadino*; and after having suffered one daies battery, the Governour fled, and the Castle fell into the enemies hands. But *Zemonico* being abandoned by the Italian Foot, was maintained by certain Slavonians, who were brought thither by some Gentlemen of *Venice*, of the family of *Veniero*, to whom the Castle did particularly belong; and *Nona* being then abandoned by our men, and not valued by the enemy, who not being able to get the Fort so soon, which was posses'd by one of *Zara*; and some

of his companions, they would tarry no longer in the Town, so as it was soon afterwards provided of a new Garrison, and kept under the Venetians Dominions.

The Turks, having placed a good Garrison in *Nadino*, and in *Laurana*, kept with their Army in those confines, making inrodes daily even to the gates of *Zara*, so as our Souldiers were fain to keep within the walls, though the Enemies Camp was not very near. *Antiveri Dolcigno*, and *Sebenico*, were in the like danger. The *Saniacco Discutari*, came himselfe in person to *Antiveri*, with a number of foot and horse, and was already incamped between the shore and the walles; and had sent some of his men to besiege *Dolcigno*. But *Bandelmiro*, who was Captain of the Gulph, hearing thereof, brought reliefe speedily to the *Antiverini*; as also Generall *Capello* did soon after, sending Men and Ammunition thither; so as the Bashaw despairing of any speedy good successe; resolved to rise from before *Antiveri*, and made those that were before *Dolcigno* do the like. But part of those men, who went at first towards *Sebenico*, and who were assembled at *Cluino*; and, after the taking of *Nadino* and *Laurana*, many of the Souldiers who were upon the confines of *Zara*, went thither. Yet not making up a full body of an Army, they came not near the Town, but only pillaged the Confines. The *Sebenicans* hearing of the Enemies approach, resolutely prepared for defence, and the people meeting upon the *Piazza*, took a solemn oath not to yeeld to the Enemy, but to undergo the worst of evils in preserving that City for the Common-wealth. But the attempts upon the other Towns, not going on so fast as it was hoped, the Turks would meddle no more therewith, having their thoughts sets upon *Hungary*. Therefore mustering all their men, and leaving 3000 men to guard the confines, they went towards *Bossina*, to passe into *Hungary*.

The Venetians were much rejoiced at the Turks departure from *Dalmatia*, and those miserable people were freed from many calamities: but mens thoughts easily altering with the change of affairs, the Governours and Commanders of the souldiers in that Province, who had been greatly injured by the Enemies, the rather for that they had received notice of the losse of some Towns, and of the pillaging of the whole Country, they resolved to attempt the recovery of the Towns which the Turks had taken. Wherefore acquainting the *Consiglio di Dieci*, with their intentions they said there were forces in *Dalmatia* sufficient to make some attempt: that it was fit to keep those souldiers in exercise, who through long idleness, not being able to stirre out whilst the Enemy was so near, and powerfull, grew dayly more abject; and having no hopes of booty, their pay comming likewise slowly in, could not be kept in their duties, and in the exercise of the Militia; They considered, that without possession of those neighbouring places, *Zara* must be in continuall danger, having so potent Enemies so near at hand, who keeping at home, might in a manner besiege them. The Senate listned willingly hereunto; being the more

more desirous thereof, that they might make the Enemy feel their forces, which had hitherto been onely cause of great expence to the Common-wealth. They were not a little herein incouraged by the Duke of *Urbino*, who being made acquainted therewith, did not only commend it, but entering into more exalted thoughts, proposed greater matters. He said, that if 5000 Dutch-foot were added to these Italians, who were in Dalmatia, and some Italian Horse to the *Gracians*, and *Stradiotti*, they might with these forces enter *Bossina*, and make themselves Masters of some good Town, which might make way for greater acquisitions: that it was alwaies good counsell, to carry the war home to the Enemies; that there was onely a weak Garrison of 3000 horse in *Bossina*; that if such occasions were let slip, to what end did they continue war, why such expence, why all this ado, if they meant onely to defend themselves; and that, not without difficulty and danger, that the fortune of war was alwaies doubtfull; but he who will not hazard any things, undergoes a certain and voluntary prejudice.

This advice looked handsomely, the wing generosity, and hopes of Victory. It was therefore resolv'd to raise the Dutch foot immediately, to which purpose *Costantino Carazza* was sent into *Bavaria*, who was Secretary to the *Corsiglio di Pregadi*, who by the assistance of Duke *Lodovick*, who was very affectionate to the Common-wealth, quickly effected what he had in charge; so as the souldiers having immediately received one-pay, fell down into *Friuli*; the mean while *Camillo Orsino*, having assembled 4000 foot, and 500 Horse out of the Garrisons of *Dalmatia*, and some peeces of Artillery went into *Obravazzo*; the taking whereof was of great consideration, for thereby they bereaved the Turks of a place where they used to raise numbers of men to assault our Confines; and for the advantage which might be made of many Woods in the neighbouring Country. The Castle was neither very strong, nor very well provided to make defence; wherefore the enterprize was thought as easie as usefull: It being therefore continually play'd upon for two days, the third day the souldiers were led on to the assault, where after some contest they entred; but *Orsino* finding that it could not be fortified, nor kept without much difficulty, gave order for the demolishing thereof: But the Turks being herof advertised, came upon our men so suddenly, before they had quite slighted the Castle, as giving the work over, they left the place in the Enemies hands, who suddenly repairing the ruins, placed therein a strong Garrison. Our men were so surpris'd at the unexpected coming of the Turks, as retreating to the shore to imbarke themselves, they were pursued by the Enemy, and had been totally routed, had not *Camillo da Monte Napulitano*, making head against them, entertained the Enemy, and afforded our men opportunity of imbarking themselves: this succour, as at first it gave great incouragement and hopes; so the conclusion of affairs soon altering, they thought not of prosecuting any other designs upon *Naxos*, *Laurana*, *Cissa*, or *Ostrovizza*, wherein greater difficulties were daily found. Hereby those began

to cool, who had been forwardest in falling upon other enterprises in the Turkish Territories, and the Duke of *Urbino* selfe, made many difficulties; alleadging that those men which he had first demanded, were not enough to take Towns, and to guard the Country from the Enemy: and that a greater number would require so much victuals, as would not easly be come by; they being to be brought by Land, and through an Enemies Country. They were therefore much troubled what to do: the thing of it selfe was very advantageous, and much to be desired, but met every where with many difficulties. The Dutch foot were already come very near; many other things provided, not without expence, whereby the souldiers might be incouraged, the Fleet lay idles if the Enemy were suffered to rest secure every where, to what end should they still waste themselves in War? but they that weighed the business more maturely, alleadged; That these ill grounded hopes, were not answerable to the certain danger of drawing upon them the whole Turkish Armie, and to bring them once more to the ruine of *Dalmatia*, now that, to our good fortune, they were turned selfewhere: That it would be better to employ this time, and these monies, in fortifying the most important Towns, and in securing them from those dangers which they were known to have been in formerly; they not being sure, but that the Enemy, who were not gone far off, might quickly return to assault them. Besides, would they give over thinking of their Fleets? upon which since their greatest concerns did depend, their chiefest care should be thereof, and increasing the forces and reputation thereof as much as possibly they could. And thus since the slow proceedings in uniting the Fleets, shew'd how little they were to trust to the helpe of others, they were to learn that by experience, which reason could not perswade them to: to wit, That not being able solely of themselves to maintain the war, and not being assisted by others as need required, it would become them to treat of Peace; to the procuring whereof, how could the provoking the Turks by new injuries, and the further incensing of *Soliman*, with little or no hope of advantage, conduce very much? That the war proceeded so little prosperously, as it was not to be doubted, but that it was better to think of quenching this fire, than of feeding it with fresh fuel.

These reasons prevailing with all men, made them at last resolve to dismit the Dutch foot, giving them halfe a pay more, and giving the Commanders better presents, as well to keep fair with that Nation, as also to avoid the danger of having the country plundered by military insolence; now that they were within the confines of the Common-wealth. This occasion being removed, the Turks continued their way towards *Hungary*, and those that were in the neighbouring Garrisons were quiet, now that all the Towns were well munited, so as *Dalmatia* might for a while hope for repose.

All mens eyes were now upon the success of the severall Fleets; *Barbarossa* being gone from *Candia*, kept about the Rivers of *Nigra*, and the adjacent parts, not attempting any thing, having some jealousy of the Christian Fleets. But Generall *Capello*, ha-

having assembled a great many Gallies, one Gallion, and several ships, the Patriark *Grimani* being joyn'd with him, with the Popes Gallies; all things being now in readinesse, waited the arrivall of the Spanish Fleet, great hopes being dayly given out of its speedy coming: but no such effect was seen, the best season for action at Sea, to the grief of all men, and blame of many being lost. The Emperour said, he would forthwith send the thirty Neapolitan Gallies to *Corfu*, which were at *Messina*, and fifty ships, with 3000 Spaniards, with *Don Ferrante Gonsaga* aboard them, who was then Vice-roy of *Sicily*, who since the Duke of *Urbino* could not by reason of his indisposition of health, come to the Fleet, was to supply the place, which was before destined to the said Duke. He promised also, that as soon as he should be come to *Barcellona*, he would dispatch *Doria* away, with orders to come and joyn with the other Fleet at *Corfu*, with 32 Gallies more. Yet there were many reasons to doubt what the issue would be: That *Cesar* had often said, before he went to *Nice*, it was impossible for him to make offensive war at one and the same time against the Turks, and French; that there was small hopes of his having peace with *France*, the meeting at *Nice* being now dissolved, and nothing concluded. That his Officers in *Napoli*, had not onely hindered the Captains sent by *Camillo Orsino*, from raising men in that Kingdom, to relieve *Dalmatia* in her greatest necessities; but by severall feigned excuses, and contrary to the Articles of the League, had denied Generall *Capello* the transporting of Corn, for the service of the Fleet. And such were many other both his words and actions, as gave just occasion of believe, that *Cesar* desired to spin out the time, being either not willing, or not able to make war against the Turks; nor to suffer, for as much as in them lay, that the Venetians should make peace, whereby his share of the war should be the heavier. Therefore desiring to secure himselfe as much as he might, by putting a new obligation upon the Venetians, he desired that the Articles of the League might be renewed and established; which though it seemed to be superfluous, the agreement being so lately made, and stipulated in *Rome*, yet they would please him therein, (that they might not leave any thing undone, which might make for the uniting of the Fleets) to shew that they did clearly intend to prosecute the War. The Capitulation being confirm'd, *Cesar* commanded *Gonsaga*, who was not yet gone, to go to *Corfu*, but to carry the Gallies onely along with him, leaving the ships, to the end, as he affirmed, that the foot, which were not yet all come, might be imbarked therein. But his long looked-for arrivall produced no good effect; for the Venetian and Popes Generalls propounding a voyage into the *Levant*, that they might attempt somewhat against the Enemy, *Gonsaga* would not assent thereunto, saying, that it was not safe for the Confederates, and particularly, that it stood not with *Cesar*'s honour, to fall upon any enterprises with so small forces; desiring therefore that they would tarry at least till the ships came, which could

could not be long in arriving. The Fleets lying thus idle at *Corfu*, the Patriark *Grimani*, impatient of so long delay, and desirous at least to exercise his Gally-slaves, he went with thirty six Gallies towards *St. Nicolo di Crissa*, where understanding by those of the country, that the Castle of *Prevesa* was but weakly guarded; he thought it not fit to let slip the occasion, of assaulting it at unawares, it being a very commodious receptacle for the Turks, to disturb the affairs of Christendom. The Castle of *Prevesa* is seated upon the Promontory of *Altium*, a little within the mouth of the Gulph of *Larta*, called of old, the Creek *Ambracco*, which is about sixty miles about; the mouth thereof is very narrow and shallow, being choaked up by many shelves of sand, of the neighbouring River *Larta*; from whence both the City and the Gulph take name: So as those that would assault the Castle, being to passe thereby, it was not meanly safe; for no great ships could enter thereinto, nor no sleight Gallies, but one by one, and not without incurring danger. This Castle was built by *Obasius Augustus*, in memory of the Navall victory, which he got near this place, and was called *Nicopoli*. It is built after the antient form, and is not very strong; but much esteemed for situation, and guarded by an ordinary Garrison of Turks. The Patriark entring by this mouth into the Channel of *Prevesa*, *Paolo Giustiniano*'s Gally, having first made way for the rest, he landed his men and artillery in open Campagna, about a mile from the Castle; and because his greatest hopes of good successe lay, in making haste, not spending time in making Trenches, he began presently to play upon the walls with his Artillery, wherein *Alessandro da Termi*, who had the charge thereof, proceeding somewhat slowly, the Patriark himself would land, the more to hasten the planting of the Artillery, and to fall immediately upon battery: Which was not well begun, when many Turks began to appear from the neighbouring parts, where we were quartered, whose numbers increased so fast, as they grew formidable: And our men, who were not sheltered by any works, remaining exposed to manifest danger by the enemies Horse, it was resolved, to re-embark the soldiers and artillery, and without any further attempt, to return to *Corfu*. *Grimani*'s boldnesse and diligence was praised, and if his purpose had been seconded by good successe, he would have purchased plenary praise. But there were many who with'd, that more maturity had gone to this advice, considering the great danger whereunto he did expose himself, as well of being assaulted by the enemies Horse in open Campagna, having nothing to secure his men, nor his artillery, from suddain assaults; as of having the Gulph's mouth block'd up, and so himself hindered from getting out; he not having possess'd himself, as he ought to have done, of the other side of the mouth, which lay over against the Castle. Some add, that the Patriark meeting with Commissary *Falquelgo* on the way, who was sailing with 25 Gallies towards

Lamies;

Zanetis, to listen after the Turkish Fleet, and who offered to follow him, and to be aiding to him in his designs, he did not discover what his intention was to do, but refused his company. Yet this his journey helped to discover that situation, and whatsoever else was requisite, to the making of that enterprise, and was the cause of our mens meeting with a fair occasion not long after, of getting a notable victory, if they had known how to have used it: For *Barbarossa* hearing, that the Patriarch was entered into the Gulph of *Laria*, made thither immediately with his whole Fleet, hoping to meet with him, and to suppress him; but when news came to *Corsu*, whither *Barbarossa* was gone; and that he tarried at *Prevesa*, the Caprains of the League differed in their opinions, touching what was to be done; some were for going to *Chiosine*, to meet with *Doria*, who being come from *Spain*, kept about those havens, to prepare divers things needful for the Fleet, excusing his delay, and laying the fault upon others. Others were better pleased to tarry at *Corsu*, and wait for *Doria's* coming, who had given notice, that he would be with them ere long; for they thought it neither good nor safe, especially for the Venetians, to abandon *Corsu*, and the guardianship of the whole Gulph. At last, *Doria* came thither on the 7th. of September, but not with all his Gallies, for he had left some in *Spain*, to guard those seas from the incursion of Pirats; and some others were gone into *Africa*, to succour *Tunis* and *Goleta*, from suspicion of new commotions of the Turks and Moors, of those parts. The former consultations were then renew'd, but with greater necessity of coming to a resolution, and of falling upon some enterprise. At last, it was resolved by common consent, to go with the whole Fleet to *Prevesa*, and to fight the enemy. Our Commanders intention was, to land their men, as soon as they should be come to *Prevesa*, and to use all their might to possess themselves of that Castle, and to build a Fort over against it, that so they might master the Gulphs mouth, so as they might afterwards put on what resolution they should like best, either of entering to fight the enemies Fleet, or else of keeping it from coming out, and ruine it by its own sufferings. This advice was listned unto by the great applause of all, accounting the place where they were to have the conflict, as a good Omen, as being favourable to the Western Princes, for the signal victory which *Augustus* got over *Mark Antonio*; and *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, in that sea. The League's Fleet consisted of 136 Gallies, 2 Galloons, and of 30 Frigats: These were divided into five Squadrons, in the first was placed the greater Vessels, governed by *Francesco Doria*; and the lesser was divided into four other Squadrons, *Patriarch Grimani* led the Van with the first Squadron, Generall *Capello* brought up the Keer, *Doria* and *Gonsaga* kept in the two middlemost, *Doria* next the Patriarch, and *Gonsaga* next *Capello*. The Fleet staid a while at the *Gominae*, waiting for the other Imperiall ships; which being long a coming, finding the season

season good, it sailed towards *Santa Maura*. The Turks, when they heard that the Christian Fleet was parted from *Corsu*, and was making towards them, wondered very much; thinking they had been safe in that Haven, and free from suspicion; they could not perswade themselves, that the Fleets could meet together that year, nor, if they should meet, that they would draw so near them, and hazard a Battle: The unexpected case made them differ the more in their opinions, what was to be done; some were of opinion, that they should have done enough, if, after having kept possession of the sea almost all that Summer, and done much prejudice to the Venetian Towns, the Fleet should return safe into the Strait of *Galipoli*, and be able (as they said) to waste the Venetians, by prolonging the war, and separate the Colleagues forces, and intelligence, getting the victory by a more secure way. They therefore told *Barbarossa*, that it would be best for them to keep in that Haven, where, by the means of the Castle of *Prevesa*, and by the straitness of that Channel, they might tarry without danger, and have all conveniences, (the country being their friend, and abounding in all things) till such time as the Christian Fleet quitting those seas, as they would quickly be forced to do, by reason of the season of the year, and of many other incommunities, should leave navigation free and safe for them. Others not being able to suffer, that the Christians, who were wont to retreat, and yield unto their power and forces, should keep them shut up for fear, in that haven, propounded, their suddain pursuing forth to sea with their whole Fleet, to fight; by which generous resolution, all fear would be transported from their souldiers, into those of the enemy, and also all danger. They considered, that to keep there shut up, as it was a badge of infamy, so it did not promise any safety to them, since they might be kept from coming forth, longer then they imagined, and their Fleet incommoded, and peradventure assaulted within the haven, where the hopes of being able to save themselves, by getting soon to land, and the seeing themselves fought withall at their own doors, would discourage their souldiers from fighting; and so it might fall out, that without hazzarding Battle, and without making triall of their military valour and discipline, which had alwaies been dreaded by the Christians, they should by a new and detestable example, reap a certain and ignominious losse. That, come what would come, *Soliman* would assuredly commend such a generous resolution, who having undergone the troubles of so many wars, and exposed his person to many dangers, meely out of a desire of glory, would not endure, that the reputation of his forces should be so much lessened, and his happy fortune, and that of the *Ottoman* Empire, should be distrusted, by refusing to fight with those enemies, who came to defie his Commanders, in his own Havens, and underneath his own Forts. *Barbarossa* was bold, and wonted to hazard himself upon fortune, and to find her

favourable. He knew, that there were many at Court, who envied his glory and greatness; and that his retreat from *Corsu*, and the bad success of that enterprise, whereof he had been the first author, had given them occasion of spreading abroad many rumours, which he thought might detract from his reputation, and from the favour he was in with *Soliman*. Moreover, he had some hopes, that though the Christian Commanders should come very near him with their Fleet, yet they were not absolutely resolved to fight him. He was herein confirmed by the treaties of Agreement, held formerly with him by *Doria*; so as the same resolution, which would purchase him the praise of a noble daring, by coming with his Fleet out of the Gulph, seemed to be accompanied with safety. He had a Fleet of 150 vessels with oars, besides some with sails, wherein, though many Gallies, Fly-boats, and other lesser vessels were comprehended; yet his smaller Bottoms, exceeding those of the Christians in number, he doubted not the victory, if they should fight without their grosse Body, the use whereof depended much upon the uncertainty of fortune, and of the winds. He resolved therefore to carry his Fleet out of the Gulph, and to present himself in sight of the Christian Fleet, neither seeking nor eschewing Battle; but, like a wife Commander, endeavour to learn the enemies intentions and waies, that he might govern himself accordingly. Before he drew forth his whole Fleet, he sent out a Squadron of 50 Gallies to discover the minds of the Christian Commanders, and to discry their goings, whether they did really intend to fight or no, and in what order they guided their Squadrons. The League's Fleet steered its course then towards *St. Mauro*, but being informed by those that stood on the top-mast, that the enemy was come forth, they presently, tack'd about, and made towards them: Their voyage being altered, they altered the ordering of the Fleet; Generall *Capello* led on the Van, who coming within ken of the Turks, made the Gallies of his Squadron give more way, &c. playing upon them with his great Guns, made them retreat to that place from whence they were parted; which they did in such haste, (being come to discover, not to fight) as they were put in some disorder, every Gally striving, which should get first into the Gulph, and escape danger; which notwithstanding became the greater, by their disorderly flight: for their Gallies having their poops turned towards ours, were exposed to the shot which was made against them, not being able either to defend themselves, nor to be assisted by their Gallies which remained in the Gulph, keeping the mouth thereof shut, as they entred in: Which when *Doria* saw, who was in the *Bataglia*, he likewise advanc'd so far on the other side, as it was thought he meant to block up the mouth of the Haven, and to hinder the enemy from entring; so as being assailed both on the Flank, and on the Poop, they must needs be beaten: yet soon after, when he was come nearer up unto them, he,

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by unexpected, and uncommunicated counsell, sent orders to the Fleet, that all the Gallies under pain of severe punishment, should forthwith retreat; and being quickly assembled, he made them go to *Cape Ducato*, in the Island of *Santa Mauro*, to the great wonder and dislike of all, the whole Fleet complaining, and speaking freely against *Doria*, that they had lost a great opportunity of suppressing a good part of the Enemies Fleet, without any losse at all unto themselves. The Generalls fell then to treat again, concerning what was to be done, wherein they were the more doubtful, because they were altogether ignorant of the Enemies intention, who might be said to have shewed both courage and fear at the same time, as desiring, and shunning battle. Some were of opinion, that a Squadron of Gallies should be sent to batter the Castle of *Lepanto*, laying, that *Barbarossa* would not send any of his Gallies out of the Gulph again, without urgent occasion: and that if the Enemy should come forth into open Sea, it would be in their power to fight upon any whatsoever advantage. Others were for returning presently to *Perezas* for if the Turkish Fleet would not stirre from their station, they might attempt the taking of the Castle; and if it should advance, they should give opportunity of being fought with upon disadvantage, for they might be assaulted before they could put themselves in order. This advice was commended, as that which brought with it more reputation to our Fleet, and more certainty of suppressing the enemy. The confederates Fleet went then on the 28 of *Sept.* from the Island of *St. Mauro*, in the same order as formerly, and made towards the Enemy: but the winde which was favourable unto them at their first putting forth, failing them as they sayled, they were forced with great inconvenience and slowness, to make their ships be towed, to keep them from being separated from their Gallies, whereby the Turks had time and opportunity afforded them, not onely of coming out of the Gulph, but of being able, contrary to opinion, to order their squadrons at Sea as they listed. So as before the League's Fleet could come near the gulphs mouth, they discovered, that the Enemies Fleet being come forth in good order, came with a prosperous wind towards them. Then said *Doria*, *We have unkenheld our Enemy, as it was our intention to do; we may now fight if we please, but the business must be well considered: it is of great importance, and repentance will come too late. We must think, that by joyning battle now, we do not onely hazard this Fleet to the fortune of a few hours, but also the reputation of the Confederate Princes; nay, I may say, the welfare of Christendom. For if these forces shall be lost, what means is there to raise another Fleet, to oppose the Enemy, and stop the course of their Victory? What hopes is there, so defend the Maritime parts without forces at Sea, or to keep them from falling irrecoverably into the Turks hands; and then turning to the Venetian Generall, he added, That it was he who was most to weigh these respects, since it was his Common-wealth, which upon any sinister accident,*

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would run most hazard. To which Capello answered; That he had commission from the Senate, to fight the Enemies Fleet, when he should meet with an opportunity: that upon such an occasion, he could not but obey these orders; that he did humbly thank God for it, and that he was very confident, that the goodnesse of their cause, and their generous resolution would be accompanied with happy success, to the great good service of Christendom, and to their own particular praise. He therefore desired that the most dangerous place in the battel might be allotted to him, and he would willingly accept it.

The Patriark Grimani, shew'd the same ready desire, to come presently to the Conflict; and though he had first advised to go to Lepanto, yet seeing the Enemy was come forth, he was as forward for fighting as any of the rest. When Doria saw that all were for fighting, so be it then, said he, and good be our speed. He presently caused the standard to be set up, giving requisite orders for it, and said, he would be the first who should assault the Enemy with his Squadron. All were over-joy'd at this resolution of giving battel, so great hopes had the terrible aspect of the confederates Fleet begot in them, together with the advertisement they had of the Turks weaknesse: which made them believe they would not accept of battel, but that having made this shew for their reputation, they would fall back again into the Gulph. Every one with joyfull countenance made themselves, and their arms ready, and diligently discharged the severall duties which were deputed unto them. The Captains were not wanting in exhorting, and in encouraging the rest to fight manfully. They laid before them the weightinesse, and the easinesse of the Victory, the rich booty which they should have, the military honour, the immortall glory which was prepared for them in all ages: and after these assured present remarks, the hopes of greater things in the future. That the Enemy was sufficiently inferior to them for number of ships, but much more in their goodnesse, Arms, and in their soldiers valour; so as the greatest difficulty of Victory, seemed to lie in beginning the conflict, which the Turks would not be able to resist: but that as their greatest hopes of safety, lay in being able to get safe into their friends country, so would it make them the more remiss in fighting, and would be the cause that their gallies and goods would be the assailants secure prey. They wist them not to fear, no, not though they should have reason to do so, since fear adds not to security; but, weakening mens forces, and bereaving them of counsell, makes their danger the greater. That they needed nothing but courage and speed, so to cut off the way by Sea from the Enemy, as they might not, by flight, bereave them of the almost assured victory.

Doria would lead the way with his Gallies, keeping on the right hand of the Seas; he assigned the Battel to Capello, & appointed Grimani to keep in the reere, to the end that he might be able with his Squadron to relieve those who should be in most need. He ordered Antonio Doria, who commanded the greater Vessels, that going before the smaller gallies, he should endeavour to get the

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winde of the Enemy, to the end that he might fall upon them with a fore-wind, and disordering them by his Artillery, might weaken them, and discourage them before they should come up to fight with our Gallies. But the Turks on the other side, endeavouring the same advantage, laboured by all means possible, to get before the Christian Fleet, and by advantage of the wind, to be the first that should fall on: which Doria being early aware of, made his Fleet bend towards land, endeavouring to keep the enemy from getting that hand; but the wind, which had begun to blow, soon failing, it was very hard to observe these orders. The smaller Gallies were employ'd, and much pester'd in haling the greater Vessels: yet they were all so fervent upon fighting, as over coming all difficulties by their industry and labour, the two greater Venetian Vessels (the Gallion, commanded by Alessandro Bonducmier; and the Barza, commanded by Nicolo Trivisano) were already got to the designed place, which being excellently well provied of Artillery, stood before all the Squadrons, like two strong Towers, to sustain and break the first violence of the Enemy. Barbarossa, when he saw the ships make towards him before the wind, slackned, fearing lest he might be forc'd to fight with the great ships, which was the thing he most desired to shun; (as it is said) to repent his being come out of the Gulph of Trevesai; and there was so great a fear generally throughout the whole Turkish Fleet, as many of the Turks began already to recommend themselves to the Christian slaves who were aboard their gallies: Yet Barbarossa reassuming courage, did whatsoever became a good Commander to do; and thinking of nothing but battel, fought to make what advantage he could both of time and place: he labour'd chiefly to get to the head of the Island Santa Maura, whereby shunning the encounter both of the ships and Gallions, he might wheel about, and assault our Fleet on the back, which being desirous to keep their greater and lesser Vessels joynd together, had much ado to change situation, without disorder: He therefore ceased not to encourage his men, both by persuasions and threats, not to be afraid: he laid before them the reward and punishment of their good and bad behaviours; he told them there was no cause of fear, that they were the same Muselmans, who had ever been victorious in all wars under the happy conduct of Soliman the Great, and fortunate Prince, against the Christians; a people more wonted to wantonnesse than wars, and to save themselves more by flight, than by military valour: that every mans last day of life was prefixt, but the acquitting themselves thereof, either with praise or dispraise, depended upon their own wills: that for his part, he would not be wanting in any thing that belonged to a good Commander, that the battel might be fought upon all advantage. And truly, all men thought that Barbarossa did that day whatsoever could be expected from a wise and valiant Commander, and shewed himselfe greatly experienced in the Militia, and at Sea. For he did so dispose and order his Gallies, as every one of their

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Captains knowing, and observing his place, as though the Fleet did many times wheel about in severall manners; yet was it still well ordered and fitted for battels, and ready to put on any whatsoever resolution. The Turkish Fleet was divided into three parts, *Trabacche* commanded the right wing, and *Selecco* the left, both of them experienced, and well reputed Commanders, and who had carried themselves well in the late Wars: in the middle was *Barbarossa* with the body of the Battle, wherein were the greatest number of Gallies, *Traguit*, a famous Commander of the Pirates, went before all the rest with a Squadron of fly-boats, & some more nimble Gallies, as it were to chalk out the way to the others, and to begin first to molest the Enemy with his fleetest Vessels, and therefore freer from danger. The Turks, were it either by reason of the flow, or irresolute advancing of our men, or by their own diligence and good fortune, the Sea being calm, so as the greater Vessels could not make use of the wind, did first possess the Land-shore, which the Commanders of the League had first designed to do: and being gotten into a very convenient station, a good way off from our ships, they stood a-front the Christian Fleet, to observe her motions, thinking themselves already safe, since they saw the Confederates would not hazard a battle, without the greater Vessels; and to tow them further on, being within sight of the Enemy, was not without danger, and required time and difficulty, so as it seemed to be in their choice whether they would fight or no: But *Doria* wheeling this mean while about the ships, and being followed by all the fleetest Gallies, kept not onely the Enemy, but even his own men long in doubt, what he would do. Every one, with their Provv turn'd upon the Enemy, stood expecting when they should advance and begin the battle: But through their so long delay, and vasting of time, the Turks had leasure to retreat to an advantageous place, and to avoid the battle. *Doria's* design (as he afterwards affirmed) was to deceive the Enemy, who being doubtful what he meant to doe, he thought they would keep fast in that part of the Sea where they were, and close together; so as he having disposed of his Gallies in a long rank, might take a larger bout, and assault the Turkish Fleet on severall parts, at one and the same time. But *Barbarossa*, being aware of his intention, made more haste (as hath been said) to the Land-shore, keeping the Prow, or fore-Castle of his Gallies still turn'd upon our Fleet, and still getting Rome-ward as far as he could from our greater ships. During which time, the Confederates Fleet, to the wonder of all men, standing as it were immovable, idly looking upon the insulting Enemy, and letting the opportunity slip, Generall *Capello*, and *Grimani*, cry'd aloud, Let us lose no more time, let us not lose the hopes of a certain victory. And *Capello* going about in a little Vessel, incouraged to battle, his words and courage were applauded by all: and being come to the gallie where *Doria* was, he said, *Sirs*, Let us charge the flying Enemy; time, occasion, and the souldiers' votes, invite us therunto: the Victory is ours,

I will be the first that will fall on, I expect nothing but command, to begin the conflict.

Capello was an old man 73 years of age, of a good aspect, and comely personage, stout minded, and revered for his age, and held to be very wise, and well experienced in Sea-affairs, which gave the greater authority to his advice and encouragement. And truly, all men were so very desirous to fight, as nothing was heard, but Fall on, fall on, Victory, victory; by which *Doria* being at last wrought upon, and over-come with a certain shame, he commanded the rest to advance, and he himselfe began likewise to move with his Squadron. So as the ships being past on, our Fleet drew somewhat nearer the enemy, who being come to the designed place, stood with their Poops to the land, and their Prows to seaward. Many shot were made, though afar off from both sides, so as the battle seemed to be already begun; yet the gallies advanced no farther on either side. *Doria* hoped, that the Turks being terrified by this encounter, would quit their Gallies without fighting, and seeking to save themselves by land, would leave them the Victory void of danger. *Barbarossa*, seeing the yarer gallies back'd by the Gallion, and by the Venetian *Barza*, durst come no nearer, fearing lest his Squadrons might be disordered, and his Gallies but badly treated by the Artillery of these stronger ships. But, *Doria*, seeing his thoughts proved vain, and being resolved, (as his actions shewed) not to commit himselfe to the hazard of a battle, began plainly to retreat; whereat the Turks being encouraged, advanced so far; as many of their Gallies were come near the *Barza*, and the Gallion; which being before the rest, and by reason of their bulk, could not so soon retreat; and a barrel of powder which was above hatches in the Gallion, being set on fire by a Cannon bullet, the Marriners and Souldiers were terrified and much disordered. But the Captain commanding courageously, and taking order for all things, saved them from that danger, and would not suffer that any more shot should be made as then against the enemy. The like did the Captain of the *Barza*: But when he saw the Turkish Gallies come somewhat nearer, they gave them all their Guns at once, and made them soon retire. But our ships, and some of our gallies remained in the like; nay, in greater danger, not being able so unexpectedly to make away so soon as did the rest. The Turks seeing them separated, fell upon them, as upon certain prey. Two of the Venetians ships falling on fire in the fight, were miserably sunk, with all the men in them; and two Spanish Vessels having made long and valiant resistance, were taken: the rest, by reason of a favourable winde which arose, escaped safe away. Two smaller gallies ran the same misfortune, the one belonging to the Venetians, the other to the Pope; the first being commanded by *Francisco Capello*, the other by *Abbate Bibiena*, which having most of their men slain, fell into the power of the Turks: Others, which were in some danger escaped, by reason of the darknesse of the night; and the whole Fleet of the

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Confederates, save the aforelaid few, got safe to the Island of *Corfu*. *Doria* would be the last that should retreat, thinking to shew either greater bravery thereby, or his greater care of the Fleets safety. But all men knew, that this his confidence proceeded not from any courage, nor from any good will to the service, but for that he knew his Gally to be so yare, as that he might easily escape danger. But General *Capello* being aware thereof, would not move but at the same time together with him. The Turks growing confident upon this retreat of the confederates Fleet, were not content to have escaped shame and danger, but thought to carry it home to others. Wherefore they went with their whole Fleet not long after to the Island of *Parus*, within twelve miles of *Corfu*, where they tarried a good while, as if they did despise the Confederates to come out of the Haven, and fight, and expecting an opportunity to damnify them. But the Confederates Fleet was full of disorder and fear. *Doria's* Stars were thought unfortunate, & his Loyalty was suspected, and all that he advised. There was not any one who durst offer at any generous action: if any business were propounded, it soon begot doubts and difficulties even in the propounders. Thus all the Gallies keeping in the Haven, and no occasion of Action being given, the Turks after having insulted over the Christian Fleet, fearing some stormy tempestuous weather, for now the first week of *October* was over, retired to the gulph of *Larva*.

This was the successe of this present year, this the end of such preparations for war. Great expectation of mighty matters, great movings, hopes, and fears, of notable events; but no effects answerable, either to the mightiness of the Princes, or to the expectation of such forces. Yet this age not being accustomed to see such warlike preparations at sea, this encounter of the Fleets at *Prevesa* was very famous; but certainly, to the little honour, and great grief of Christians, and to the particular blemish of *Andrea Doria's* reputation, who was then, and afterwards, generally ill spoken of every where; some accusing him of perditionousness, others of cowardise, and of bad affection to Christendom, particularly towards the welfare of the Venetians. And certainly, there were many things which might make his loyalty suspected; the friendship which he was known to hold with *Barbarossa*, contracted, whilst the one was in the King of *France* his pay at *Marcelles*, and the other in *Algiers*; the treaties which were known by all men, to have been formerly held between them, and for that two Gallies were seen to come from *Prevesa*, the night before the Turkish Fleet appeared, the one whereof went into *Sicily*, the other, after having accosted *Doria's* Gally, was said to have returned into the Gulph of *Prevesa*. Moreover, it was observed, that *Doria* had caused all the main-sail-yards of his Gallies, to be blackt over, which was suspected might be a signe, whereby they might be known from the rest. But those who spoke more particularly, blamed him, for having many immoderate affecti-

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ons, as, ambition of being great, fear of danger to his own person, and avarice; by which being blinded, and not knowing nor valuing any interests but his own, he would not hazard himself, nor his own particular Gally, to the danger of Battle, upon the preservation whereof, his glory and reputation did depend. In regard of the need the Emperour stood in of his service. Nay, the Spaniards spared not to blame him; the Marquis d'Azulier, Embassadour from the Emperour at *Rome*, did publicly detect *Doria's* actions, shewing peradventure more severity therein, to free the Emperour from suspicion, that this might be done by his order. Yet the Venetian Senate wisely considering, that it made not for them, to alienate this mans minde from them, who had the government of that Fleet, seemed not to be any waies ill satisfied, with him, writ civilly unto him, saying, That they believed, he like a wise Commander, had done what appeared best to him, for the good and safety of Christendom. *Doria* hearing of these complaints, which were generally made against him, was much afflicted, inasmuch as after his return to *Corfu*, he seldom suffered himself to be seen abroad; and when any discourse was had of this business in his presence, he shewed much passion, and was hardly able to forbear tears. After this retreat, the Confederates Fleet lay some daies idle at *Corfu*. But it being thought, to be too bale and ignominious a thing for Christendom, to tarry any longer in that Haven, the season being favourable for action at sea, though it were now *Autumn*, and the enemy being gone far off, divers things were proposed. General *Capello* was for the Fleets going into the Archipelagus, where, he said, it was likely, they might light upon some new occasion of fighting the enemy, but if they should fail thereof, some other certain and notable advantage might be made by this voyage; for many ships which were bound for *Constantinople*, would fall into their hands, and prove secure prey. *Napoli* and *Malvesia* might be succoured and secured, and many Islands in the Archipelagus might as easily be recovered, as they had been lost but a little before; from whence they might receive great advantage, especially by furnishing the Fleet with men for the Oars; and not onely so, but deprive the enemy of them. That in those Islands there were many Havens, wherein the Fleet might keep securely, and that thereby they might insuse such jealousy into *Barbarossa*, as it might be, he would not dare to carry his Fleet back to *Constantinople*, which wanting many things, must tarry in a weak condition in that Gulph, and in a condition, of not putting out at all to sea the next year, or at least very late. That the honour and reputation which they had lost, by what had past at *Prevesa*, could no waies else be redeemed, nor was there any other means, to make their assertion credited; so mit, that it was the winde and fortune, not counsell in the Commanders, nor courage in the souldiers, which kept them from fighting. That whatsoever acquisitions should be made on *Terra sancta*, would be in vain, and to no purpose, by reason of the difficulty and impossibility which would be found, in maintaining what they should get, from the numerous Turkish Armies. Others, and chiefly *Doria*, were rather

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ther, for going to batter *Dorazzo*, thinking it a very dangerous thing to put to sea at that season, in the Archipelagus; and that whatsoever labour they should take in regaining those islands, would be but lost, since there not being any secure Port there, they must again fall into the Turks hands, at the first appearance of any Turkish Fleet. On the contrary, if the enterprise of *Dorazzo* should prove lucky, many advantages might be thereby made, by reason of the condition of the place, which was very convenient and fit to make way for further progress in Albania. That this was held and known to be such a place by the Romans, who were resolved not to pass into Greece, before they had made themselves masters thereof, which when they had gotten, they advanced notably in Albania, and in Macedonia. But this proposition met likewise with many difficulties; it was said, There were no Havens there able to receive the Fleet, especially the great ships, which must lie out at sea, not without great danger. That the neighbouring country was full of Turkish Horse, whereby the enterprise might easily be disturbed: That it might also be disturbed by *Barbarossa*, if he should come to *Vallona*, is not being safe for them to land their men, and to leave the Fleet unfurnished, having so powerful an enemy so near at hand. That they were to keep the war as far off as they could, and molest the enemy there, where he could not make use of his chiefest forces, which consisted in foot soldiers, and in horse, not in their Fleet, which certainly was much inferior to that of the Christians. By reason of these difficulties, which appeared the greater to those, whose minds were daunted, by reason of the late successes, and were not apt to hope well; the thoughts of making any further enterprises were quite laid aside, and they resolved to enter the Gulph, and to attempt somewhat, which might easily and safely be effected. The Fleet went then to the mouth of the Channell of *Cattaro*, to besiege *Castel-Nuovo*, a Town seated on the sea-shore, a little within that Gulph, which some years before was taken from *Cherfego* by *Mahomet*. This was a place sufficiently esteemed, nor for it self, for it was neither very great, nor very strong; but for the situation thereof, which was very commodious in many respects, especially for the Venetians, in respect of the safety of *Cattaro*, situated almost in the uttermost parts of the same Gulph, by which, garrisons and victuals were to pass unto that City. The town and buildings of *Castel-Nuovo* stand upon certain little hills, along the sea-shore; and in the highest part thereof there is a Castle, guarded by a Turkish Garrison; the other inhabitants being for the most part *Dalmatians* and *Slavonians*. The whole Fleet being entered into the gulph, *Doria* caused the foot and the Artillery to be landed a little way from the Castle, to batter it. *Don Ferrante Gonzaga* having the particular charge thereof; but in the interim, whilst the Spanish foot were putting in order, and preparing the Battery, General *Capello* accosting the walls with his Gallies, which by reason of their being so very near, might lie there safe from the shot of the Castle; for being made from a higher place, they were carried further off, began to give the assault, wherein those that rowed the gallies, mounting the walls upon Ladders

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made of their Oars, (for the defendants being assaulted on several parts, could make no resistance) entered the Town, and opened the Gates to the souldiers, so as the Turks soon quitted the Town, and retreated to the Castle; but not long after, not being able to defend it, they yielded upon discretion: The Town was plundered by the Spanish foot, *Don Ferrante's* command to the contrary, not being sufficient to detain them; for he knowing that the booty belonged to the Venetians, had forbid it: nay, they were so insolent, as not content with the booty which they had got in the Town, they took what the Mariners had got of prey from them, as they returned to the Gallies, enjoying the fruit of other mens labours, and dangers. *Barbarossa* hearing that the Christian Fleet was gone to besiege *Castel-Nuovo*, went from *Pevessa* thitherward, intending to relieve it, or hoping at least, that the news of his coming would disturb the enterprise. Wherefore our men being informed that the enemies Fleet was past the channel of *Corfu*, with a prosperous South-east wind, they were not a little troubled; but it lasted but a while: for they soon after heard, that meeting with foul weather at Sea, by reason of a sudden furious South-west wind, the Turks had lost about 30 of their gallies, which were over-born by the waves, and were returned with the rest very much shattered and torn to *Vallona*. This success affording opportunity to fight the enemy, whilst both their minds and forces were dejected, seemed to invite the Commanders of the League to change their resolution, as was heard by general votes throughout the Fleet, where many had reassumed their former vigour: And the Venetian General did very efficaciously exhort *Doria*, not to let slip this occasion also, since there was but a short cut to *Vallona*, where they might assault the Turkish Fleet, which was not in a condition to fight, being much weakened by reason of the fortune which they had run, nor yet in a condition of running away, for want of Oars, the most of which were broken; nor were they in a place of safety, the Castle of *Vallona* being so far from the Haven, as it could well defend it. But *Doria* was resolved to be gone without doing any thing; wherefore pleading sometime the unseasonableness of the time, sometimes other things, he prolonged the time so long, till *Barbarossa* had time to carry his Fleet safe back to *Constantinople*, leaving *Dragute* with 25 Gallies, and with a good Squadron of bigger bottoms, and Pirates Vessels, in the gulph of *Lepanto*, to molest the Christians in their Navigation. Quickly after, *Doria*, alleading other reasons for his departure, and chiefly want of bread, he resolved to be gone, and to go with his Fleet into *Sicily*, though he was intreated and counselled by his own men, and by *Don Ferrante's* self, to keep the Fleets united that winter at *Corfu*, or in some other fitting place, where they might put early to Sea the next spring, and prevent the Enemy. 4000 Spanish foot, commanded by Captain *Jovanni Sermento*, were left to guard *Castel-Nuovo*, though the Venetian General had oft desired, that according to the Articles of the League, the Town might be assigned over to him, to be guarded by his Men. But *Doria*

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ria said, he could not do it of himselfe, without order from the Emperour: and moreover, he placed 6000 other Spanish foot in Garrison, in *Budna*, *Anteviri*, and *Dolcigno*, pretending to do it for the good of the Venetians, that thereby those Towns might be the more secure, and might be as it were a Store-house of souldiers, which might be in readinesse to be made use of the next spring. These things gave occasion of great suspicion, some beginning already to affirm, that the Garrisons of the Common-wealth being to be increased by these foot, it belonged to the Common-wealth to pay them. *Doria* being gone, the Patriark *Grimani* went not long after to *Ancona* whither being come, he disarm'd his gallees, and sent them to *Venice*, going himself to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account of what was past. General *Capello* tarrying in the gulph of *Cattaro*, went to *Risano*, a little Town not far from *Cattaro*, in the Turkish jurisdiction, but weakly guarded, which soon surrendring, he placed a Garrison there, under the command of *Luigi Lane*, a Gentleman of his gally. *Capello* fell here very sick, by reason of the much pains he had taken; but much more out of trouble of mind, seeing things had been carried so contrary to his desire, which forced him to crave leave of the Senate to disarm, that he might return home to be cured. At this time the Duke of *Urbine*, walled with a long and grievous sickness, dyed, not without suspicion of poyson, to the great and universal grief of the Venetians, who confessed all of them, that the Commonwealth had seldom met with a personage so proper for the Government of their Militia, as he was, wherein he had given great satisfaction for the space of 15 years; his obsequies were solemnly made in *S. Pauls Church* in *Venice*, *Lorenzo Contarini*, famous for Eloquence, pronouncing the Funeral Oration. He was much experienced in the Militia, particularly well acquainted with the State, and all things therein: He was very vigilant in weighty affairs, very dexterous in all his actions; his minde was real, sincere, and well affected to the honour of *Italy*, and particularly to the *Grandezza* of *Venice*. Yet many were jealous, that he had not proceeded too sincerely in the succouring of *Rome*, out of his own particular Interests and designs, not being over-well affected to the House of *Medici*, as saies *Guichardine*, a modern Historian.

The end of the Ninth Book.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA:

Book X.

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given by the Venetian Embassador to the King of France. An Oration made by the Generall, to the people of the Archipelagus, incouraging them to bear with the change of Government. How long the Peace with the Turks lasted.



The occasion severall times, truly, the slip of fighting the Turkish Fleet, with hope of Victory, and the putting of a Spanish Garrison into *Casfel Nuovo*, being answerable to the actions of the preceding year; did not onely, upon mature consideration, increase the jealousies which were generally conceived of the unsincere and pusillanimous proceedings of *Doria*, but produced the like of *Cesar*, and his intentions. The Venetian Senate, were hereby exposed to great trouble and danger; they had undertaken a heavy War against a powerfull Enemy. Their having refused many invitations to Peace, would make the future agreement the harder. They had used many endeavours to move *Cesar* to observe the Capitulations of confederacy; that he would grant the things treated of at *Naples*, and *Sicily*; that he would cause *Casfel Nuovo*, to be assigned over into the hands of such as should be thereunto deputed by the Commonwealth; that he should give such orders to his Officers, as that his Gallies might be ready to joyn with the Fleets in *March*: But *Cesar* had given no full satisfaction to any of all these things: finding out many occasions of excuse, and delays touching the thing Treated of, that the Officers to whom the care thereof belonged, would first make their own Declarations, touching the restoring of *Casfel Nuovo*; He alleadged, that the Commonwealth was to disburse the pay which was behind hand to the Spanish Foot, for having guarded the Fort: And touching the speedy dispatch of the Fleet, that he intending to goin it himself in person, there was was need of greater Forces, and preparations, and consequently longer time would be required. But in some of these things, reason; and in other some, both reason and actions, shewed that he aimed not at equity, nor at the common good. His words were very magnificent, and his promises great; but not without great suspicion, that his onely end was to keep the *Venetians* ty'd by the league, to the end that he might make use of their Forces and friendship, as far as might concern his own service, not the common good: for it was understood, that Protestations were made in severall Courts which were held in the Kingdom, wherein he was advysed by the chief men of the Provinces, not to depart the Kingdom. Moreover, he was so bare of money, as, if he had really intended to go himself in person with the Fleet, he would not be able to maintain the expences which his comming would occasion: out of these reasons it was conceived, that the *Venetians* had not onely cause, but were necessitated to think more of Peace then of War, they were the more incouraged to attend this treaty of Peace, out of hopes that they might obtain it of the Turks upon reasonable conditions: For the Turks, proceeding with more respect, had made the *Bailo* be removed from the Tower, del

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mare Maggiore, to *Constantinople*, and likewise gave notice that they would quickly set all the *Venetian* Merchants at liberty, which they accordingly did, giving them time to negotiate their business, being bound one for another not to go themselves in person, nor to send their merchandize out of the confines of the Ottoman Empire: There was likewise one *Antonio da Modone* come to *Venice*, who lived then at *Zante*, and brought Letters with him, written to him upon his own private occasions, by *Gianusbei*, wherein he affirm'd the Grand Seigneur, and the *Bascia*, were well inclin'd to peace, so as if an Embassador should be sent to that purpose to *Constantinople*, some conclusion might soon be had in the point, wherein *Gianusbei* willingly offered his best indeavours; provided he were desired so to doe. Out of these respects, the Councill of ten, thought it fit to begin a Treaty of Peace. But to the end, that the business might be carried with more secrecy and reputation; they would not send at that time any publick person to *Constantinople*, but gave commission to *Lorenza Gritti*, natural Son to the *Doge*, to go to *Constantinople*, under pretence of following his own private affairs, and particularly the recovery of certain merchandize belonging to a Brother of his, lately dead at *Constantinople*. His Commission was, first, to treat of a generall Truce, and to insilt thereupon as much he could, that he might bring it to some conclusion. But if the Turks should not assent thereunto, he was then to advance the treaty of Peace for the Commonwealth, wherein the former Capitulations were to be observed; and all places taken by either party in that War, were to be restored.

The King of France had likewise interposed himselfe in this Treaty of Truce, who to this purpose had sent a servant of his to *Constantinople*; but it was soon seen, there was small hopes of bringing this Treaty to a good end; for the Turks seemed to be very farre from comming to any agreement with *Cesar*, having propounded and procured peace with the *Venetians*, purposely that they might turn their Armies the more commodiously, and with the greater force against him. As soon as *Gritti*'s going to *Constantinople* was divulged, though the true occasion thereof was concealed, it was soon suspected that he went to treat of Peace; wherefore *Don Diego Hurtado di Mendoza*, who was then Embassador from the Emperour at *Venice*, discovered this his suspicion in a private Audience in the Colledge, modestly complaining, that they should think of making an agreement with the common enemy, and not comprehend the Emperour therein, who was a friend and confederate of the Commonwealth; and afterwards he in a long Oration, dissuaded them from treating of peace with the Turks.

What assurance, said he, what security can you have, that these Barbarians will stand to the Agreement, wherunto they shall assent not out of any desire of peace, which they use naturally to abhorre, nor out of any good will to the Commonwealth, since they hate the very name of Christian to death; but onely out of some particular end, or accommodation of their own, that they may dissolve this league, weaken the chiefest Potentates of Christendome, and oppress the rest: If it be the matter of expence which makes you alter

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your mind from continuing War; you ought to consider, that Peace doth not free you from it, but renders it vain and uselesse: for the Emperour will by no means be brought to an agreement with the Turks: and whilst these shall be in Arms, and shall have two great Fleets at Sea; will you, wise Seigneurs, be unarmed? will you trust the safety of your State, to the uncertain faith of others? Surely no body will believe it. It would be a thing certainly to be desired, that your State had not so formidable Neighbours, as are the Turks, and that you might enjoy quiet, and tranquillity, free from so many jealousies, and disaccommodations. But since the present condition of times and affairs, is such, as that expence, danger, and labour must be undergone: it should be thought a great good fortune, that in this age, and upon this occasion, there is so powerfull a Prince in Christendom, as may by his Forces counterpoise the Turkish power; and who out of his desires and well-wishings to the common good, is ready to expose, not only his Forces, but his very Person, to the hazard of Wars, so to abate the pride of these common Enemies. To this, answer was made; That the Commonwealth had been already two years in league; yet she might truly affirm, that it was she alone that had hitherto withstood the brunt of the Turkish Forces; that the reasons were well known, which had hindered the requisite speedy assistance, and did therefore believe they might light upon the like misfortunes again. Yet they had alwaies borne, and still did bear great respect to the Confederates: That the King of France had indeavoured a generall truce at Constantinople; that by accepting and favouring this Treaty, he thought he did what concern'd the common service, and that whereby the Commonwealth might reap many advantages; and if nothing else, the benefit of time, which the Emperour himselfe thought very necessary, for the well ordering of all things touching his voyage to the Eastern parts. The like passages were had at the Court, between Caesar himselfe, and the Venetian Ambassador: But they produced no effects, neither of spurring up Caesar to prepare for War, nor of making the Venetians retard the already resolved Treaty of Peace.

Thus ended the year 1538, in the end whereof, upon the 27 day of December, the Doge Gritti dyed, being 84 years old; a good part whereof he had spent in managing important affairs, and in the Commonwealth's most difficult times, as may be known by what you have heard: He was Prince 15 years and 7 moneths, and his death was bewailed by all men. His Funerall Oration was made by Barnardo Navagiero, a youth who was then of great hopes, and who proved afterwards a Cardinall; he was buried in S. Francis his Church.

The year 1539 insued, wherein there passed no action of Warre on the Commonwealths behalfe, though great preparations were made for it, it being almost wholly spent in the negotiation of peace, in the beginning thereof; the Venetians thinking that they were to trust to none but to themselves, and their own Forces, for the safety of their State; though they had indeavour'd peace with the Turks, and the continuation of the League, to the end that (if need should be) they might be able to maintain the War of themselves, without the help of the Confederates; they did all they could to increase their Garrisons, and to re-inforce their Fleet. They

They took many Souldiers into pay, and armed more slight, and greater Gallies in Venice, and gave commission likewise to Commisary Contarini, who was then in Candia, to indeavour the speedy arming of 25 Gallies in that Kingdom: At this time the Senate made an institution, that out of all the Artificers of the City, 4000 men should be chosen, who were four times a year to go aboard certain Gallies thereunto appointed, to row: This is commonly called Regattare, or vuying for the Mastery; and severall rewards were appointed for the first three that should row best. By this means, there were alwaies men ready and prepared, to arm a certain number of Gallies upon a sudden; and Guido Ubaldo, Duke of Urbino, was taken into pay by the Commonwealth, to be head of the Militia; who in the life-time of his Father, Duke Francisco Maria, had alwaies been in this service: and he had a hundred Curassiers, a hundred light Horse, and ten paid Captains, added to his Conduct, and four thousand Duckats, for his boord-wages.

The Duke was held to be very fit for the service of the Commonwealth, as well in respect of his own condition, being bred up under his Father's excellent discipline, and being attended by the best Souldiers that were then in Italy, who had served under his Father; as also for the condition of his Dukedom, which did abound in good Souldiers, and in places commodiously situated, from whence to be sent to the Garrisons of the Sea-Forts. Wherefore the Senate sent Francisco Samito, Ambassador to him, with great demonstrations of love and honour; to condole his Father's death, and to assure him, that they would not forget the good service he had done the Commonwealth: But some months past before they came to this confirmation, for fear lest the Pope should be offended, if the Duke, who was Feudatory to the Church, should be honour'd and embrac'd by the Commonwealth, whilst he was in contumacy with the Pope. The State of Camerino, had, as you have heard, been the occasion of these dislikes; for Duke Guido being possessor of the Dukedom of Camerino, in the right of his wife Julia, daughter to Giovan Maria Varrano, the last Duke of that Family: The Pope pretended, that that State was illegally possessor, which for want of Heirs-male, should have reverted to the Apostolick Sea, as being held in fee of him. The Senate was very fervent in this businesse, indeavouring to appease the Pope, being thereunto moved by the recent memory of Francisco Maria, who had deserved so well of the Commonwealth; and out of their good affection to the present Duke, who was in much trouble and danger; and they were no lesse excited thereunto, for fear lest thereby some important Warre might be raised in Italy. For the Duke of Mantua, whose sisters Son Duke Guido was, gave out, that he would not onely defend the Duke his Nephew, with his State and Forces, but would call in forrain ayd into Italy. At last, when all proved vain that could be done, to make the Pope alter his mind, the Duke was forced by the interposition of the Senators authority and mediation, to yeild up the Dukedom of Camerino to the Pope, who was resolv'd to recover it by force of arms, if it were not willingly surrendred, receiving in recompence

a good sum of Money, as in dowry with his wife *Julia*. This difference being accommodated, and this respect ceasing, which was the onely thing that stuck with some men, Duke *Guido* was taken into pay by the Common-wealth, as hath been said. And that the Fleet might not likewise be without a Commander in chiefe, since *Capello*, who had permission from the Senate, to leave his Armed Gally at *Chioggia*, and (retaining still the name and degree of General) to return to *Venice* for the recovery of his health, was not in a condition of returning soon to that service; *Jovanni Moro* was chosen to supply his place, who was then Commissary Generall in *Candia*: but news of his death coming not long after, the place was conferr'd on *Tomaso Mocenico*, a man vers'd in many important businesses both at home and abroad. *Moro's* death was thus occasioned: A great dispute fell out between the Grecian and the Italian Foot, and great numbers of men flockt to each side; *Moro* fearing some great disorder, went thither himselfe in person, with his Halbardiers, and other armed men, to appease the tumult, and being wounded in the head with a stone, dyed soon after. But this his action was not able to appease the fury of those people, for many more were slain, and the business grew more dangerous: When Duke *Antonio da Mula*, putting on his Ducall crimlon Robes, and inviron'd by his Courtiers, went to where the uproare was; and such was the respect they bore to his person, by reason of his years, by reason of his degree, and reverend habite, as it appeard their rage and insolencies, which the Commissary with his armed men could not do. *Jovanni Pitturi*, was chosen to succeed *Moro*, who feverely punishing the heads of this uproar, quieted all the rest, so as no tumults nor injuries arose between the Souldiers and Islanders a long time after.

Whilst the *Venicians* proceeded thus, the *Turks* were no lesse diligent in preparing their Fleet and Armie, being the more sensible of their losse of *Casfel Nuovo*, by reason of their being alwaies accustomed to overcome. Therefore being resolved to recover this place, and thereby the reputation which they had lost in losing it; they made preparation both of men, and all things else, sufficient for a far greater enterprize: and in the mean while *Dragute*, who (as it hath been said) tarried in the gulph of *Lepanto*, went from thence with 30 Vessels very well armed; and coming to the Island of *Paxù*, did much infest the Navigation: for keeping secret, and retyr'd in *St. Nicholas* Haven, about some four miles from *Corsù*, and sending some of his yareft Gallies oftentimes from thence, even to the Chanell of *Corsù*, to pillage ships which came to that Island. Commissary *Pasquillio*, was not able longer to indure such indignity: wherefore he resolved to go out with twelve of his best Gallies, and to fall upon some *Turkish* Gallies which lay very near land; but the Enemy notwithstanding the encounter, fled towards the Gulph of *Larta*, to abuse the Commissary, as it appeared afterwards, making him believe that they had no more ships at *Paxù*: but when our Gallies were advanced somewhat further in pursuit of the enemy, they discover'd *Dragute*, who being come from *Paxù* with the

the rest of his Gallies and fly-Boats, was gone roomward, to get the advantage of the wind, and so fall upon our Gallies on the flank. The Commissary, finding his danger, if he should advance any further, hoysted all his sayls forthwith, and made towards *Corsù*, being pursued by the Enemy, who getting ground upon us; three of our Gallies fearing they should not save themselves by flight, gave against Land in the shelles of *Messangi*, twelve miles from the Fort of *Corsù*, where they lost their Gallies, but saved their Men and Goods. But *Antonio Canale's* Galley, having broken her anchor, whereby she could not steer the same course as the rest did, was taken by the Enemy. The *Turks* growing bolder hereupon, they went with the same shipping into the Island of *Candia*, where they landed some of their men in the parts about *Canea*, burning and pillaging the farme-Houses. But a good number of Carabines, and Fewdatories of the Kingdom being got together, they slew many of them, and sent the rest soon back to the Fleet where *Antonio Calbo*, a Councillor, was much commended, it being confest by all men, that the Country was preserved from much prejudice chiefly by his means.

This mean while, *Gritti* return'd from *Constantinople*, the month of *April* not being yet over, for he had made very great haste. He related, how that by *Gianushei's* means, he was brought to the chiefe *Basiba*, who, though he received him very graciously, yet made many grievous complaints of many hostile acts, committed by severall of the Common-wealth's Officers upon the *Mussulmans*, complaining that the Common-wealth had not punisht them; but he seem'd chiefly to resent very much, the disrespect which had been shewn and used to the Grand Seigneur, and that whole Court, in not having given any answer to the so many proposals made by them of peace and agreement. Wherefore *Gritti* not finding the *Turks* so disposed, as that he might take an opportunity to treat then of peace; he procured that Arms should be laid down on all sides for three months space, in which interim the peace might be treated of; which as soon as he had obtained, he caused it to be published upon the confines, as he past by; so as the *Turkish* Forces which were incamp't before *Salona*, with intention, as was given out, of going to besiege *Spalato*, when *Salona* should be taken, hearing this, arose, and went from those confines.

This Truce was not over-welcome to the *Venicians*, many being not a little jealous, that this suspension of Arms, tended more to the putting of diffidence, between the confederate Princes, and to gain time for making greater preparations for War, then to any real desire of Peace. There were therefore severall opinions touching the prosecution of this Agreement, and how it might be handled. The treaty of things in generally, and made by a private person, did not secure from danger, and kept the Common-wealth still with uncertain hopes, in the expence of War. To make any particular application by an Ambassador, shewing a desire and need of Peace, would make the *Turks* more insolent, and the agreement more disadvantageous, or more difficult. But at last, after many

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disputes, the Senate, to whom this business was refer'd, resolv'd (though it was carry'd but by two voyces), to send an Ambassador to *Soliman*, to treat of Peace; and *Pietro Zeno* was chos'n to go the Embassy. But the Ambassadors going, requiring some time, in respect of preparing accustomed presents; and it being also thought requisite, that he should find things on foot, towards some certainty; or better hopes of conclusion; *Grilli* was sent back to *Constantinople*, to the end that carrying news of the Ambassadors coming, he might endeavour the prolongation of the Truce, and might begin, according as he should see occasion, to make way for the Treaty of Peace, wherein he was willed to make use of Monsieur *di Rapone's* assistance, and advice, who was then Ambassador at the Court, from the King of *France*; and who had oftentimes willingly offered to interpose himselfe in that Treaty, but it was after known, that his yeavours tended to the contrary, and that they made the business more difficult, intending, that the business being intricat'd, his King might become Arbitrator of the differences; and by thus obliging the *Venetians*, might totally sever them from *Casars* friendship and confederacy. When *Grilli* came to *Venice*, the new Generall had already tane the standard, to go to his Government; but not being yet parted from the shore, his going was put off, lest it might have begotten jealousies in the Turks, that these indeavours of Peace were but feigned, and that they might return to molest the confines of the Common-wealth, where they began to be in quiet: But this mean while, that the Fleet might not be without a Commander in Generall; the same Authority was given to Commissary *Contarini*, as is usually enjoy'd by the Generalls at Sea. Soon after the Ambassador *Zeno* began his journey with Commission, That upon the conclusion of Peace, all things should return to the same condition as they were before the War; that he should justify all past passages, promise friendship, and peace for the future, and particularly the restitution of *Castel Nuovo*, if the generall Truce should be concluded, and that the Turks should do the like, concerning the places taken by them in *Dalmatia*, and in the *Archipelagus*. But *Zeno* being come to *Bossina*, fell sick and dyed; the Senate was adversed of his death, by Letters from his Secretary *Pietro di Franceschi*; and there-withal, how that a great desire of peace was discovered in all the Turkish Officers, insomuch that they had solicited him to write to *Venice*, that a new Ambassador might be chosen, which *Thomaso Contarini* soon was, an old man of 84 years of Age, but much esteemed for his mature wisdom, and for his particular knowledge in the Turkish affairs, with whom he had had long conversation upon severall occasions. He had but four days allowed him for his departure, and in the interim, speedy news of his election was dispatched away to Secretary *Franceschi*, who kept still at *Bossina*; as also *Grilli*, who returned suddenly to *Constantinople*.

But nothing that *Grilli* could do, could prevail as to the general Truce, the Turks still continuing the preparations for their Fleet, as being desirous to recover *Castel Nuovo* rather by force, then agreement. *Barbarossa*, was already gone forth with 150 sayl of several

several sorts of shipping, and with a great train of Artillery; and *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, at the same time marched with a great many Horse to the taking of *Castel Nuovo*: So the Turks not dissenting from agreement with the *Venetians*, easily consented, that the Truce should be prolonged with them alone, for the month of *September*, and set some of their ships that were deteyn'd, at liberty; and allowed more freedom to their Consuls and Merchants. This Treaty being us'd abroad, it was severally discour'd, every where, according to the diversity of mens judgements, or rather of their affections. Most men commended the *Venetians*, for accommodating themselves to the times, and to necessity, endeavouring the safety of their state and affairs by agreement, since they had try'd the way of Arms two years in vain, with great expence and danger, whereby their sincerity, faith, and reall intentions to the common good, did sufficiently appear; particularly the Pope said, the Senate had done according to their ancient renown and wisdom, proceeding according as the present condition of affairs did dictate, and providing for the preservation of their State, by such means as were permitted them: He therefore would not arm his Gallies, confessing, that the joyning of the Fleets would do more harm then good, disturbing on one side the Treaty of Peace, and then doing no prejudice to the Enemy. But because he intended to keep two Gallies armed for the defence of his maritime Coasts, he desired them of the Senate, who willingly granted them. *Barbarossa* this mean while steering on his course, and being to enter into the *Gulph*, the wonted difficulties arose, Where the Common-wealths Fleet should keep. To retreat, would be dishonourable, would insufe feare into their subjects, and make them despair, would shew their weakness to the Turks, and make them more insolent, &c stand upon harder terms of agreement. On the other side, to keep at *Corfu*, might afford occasion of meeting with the Turkish Fleet, and raise new scandalls; and might also make the Turks jealous, that they would joyn with the Imperialists, a thing which would be very unseasonable at this time, and contrary to the intention of the already begun Treaty of Peace. They had not as then above 65 Gallies in their Fleet, which if they should keep all without the *Gulph*, *Dalmatia*, and the *Gulph* it selfe would be abandoned; and if they should divide them, all parts would be weak and in danger. It was resolv'd notwithstanding, that one of the Commissaries should come with 25 Gallies into the *Gulph*, and that the other should tarry with the rest at *Corfu*, hoping that if *Barbarossa* should advance, the doubt of encountering him would cease, and the Gallies from *Candia* would quickly arrive, which being fifty in number, and already on their way, hoping to finde the Navigation safe, by reason of the news, that the plague was fallen into the Turkish Fleet, so as it could not get from *Nigraponte*, did afterwards return back, hearing that *Barbarossa* was with his whole Fleet in the waters of *Zante*. The Turks did no injurie to the *Venetians* in this their voyage. *Barbarossa* affirming, that he would keep Truce with them, but that the Emperour not being therein comprehended, he was not bound to keep from be-

besieging *Castel Nuovo*, which was possest, and kept by the Imperials: but meeting with an armed Vessel, which brought Souldiers and Victuals to *Napoli di Romagna*, and *Lorenzo Sanudo's* person, who went Consul to *Napoli*; they did not any wayes molest them, yet Commissary *Contarini*, tarrying at *Corfu* with some few Gallies, did for their greater security, cause some Cable Ropes with their Anchors, to be fastned to some Rafter; wherewith securing so much of an Arm of the Sea as might receive his Gallies, he provided against any sudden violence of the Enemy. The Spaniards being affrighted at the coming of the Fleet, and at the Turks great preparations, began to consent to the putting of *Castel Nuovo* into the Venetians hands, which they had formerly upon various pretences denied to do; which Proposition being made to the Senate, they answered, That the offer was now made out of season; that they had oftentimes been earnest with them, to observe their Capitulations, whereby that Town was to have been delivered up to them: that now when they had been inforced by great necessity, and had proceeded so far in the treaty of Peace, it became them not to do any thing that might disturbe it. *Barbarossa* this mean while pursuing his way, came in the beginning of *August*, with 90 Gallies, and 30 fly-Boats, to the Gulph of *Cattaro*, where casting Anchor so far off the Fort of *Castel Nuovo*, as that he might not be offended by the Artillery thereof; he landed his men safely, and 80 pieces of Artillery of several forts; and *Ulmiano*, *Sangiaccio* of that Province, came thither almost at the same time, with great store of Foot and Horse, which incamp't themselves about the Town: the Enemy not being long able to hinder them, though at first they sallied boldly forth to disturbe their Works. The Turks began to play upon the Town on three sides. *Barbarossa* took the care of that battery which was on the North-side; *Ulmiano* ordred an other, and *Salecco* attended on that which was toward the Sea, so as by perpetuall shot, they beat down the walls even to the ground: and the Fort, not being inviron'd with a ditch, and therefore the Town which stands somewhat high, being expos'd to the shot of Cannon, when the walls were beaten down, and wanting earth to make new Trenches; the Houses were batter'd and beaten down, so as no place in the Town being safe, many Souldiers were slain, and the Enemy meeting with but little opposition, drew nearer the wall, and possest themselves of a Bastion, under which the Spaniards despairing of aliother means, had made a mine; but when they set fire unto this their last remedy, it was so late in playing, as the Turks had opportunity of escaping the danger, and the ruins falling inwards, slew many of the defendants. The Spaniards had also made a mine in another part, where they thought the assault would be most dangerous; but the Turks being advertised thereof by a fugitive Souldier, forbore approaching the place of danger: wherefore the Souldiers being discouraged, seeing all their labour and industry prove vain, resolved to give over defending the Town, and to retreat into the Castle: the Captain *Ario Maceno*, entering therein, with some other Captains, and with about 800 Souldiers: But Captain *Sarmiento* pre-

Part I.

Written by Paulo Paruta,

preferring a glorious, though an assured death, before a dishonourable uncertain hope of safety, kept in the Town with some select companies of Souldiers; where having for a while valiantly withstood the Enemy, being at last over-born by their numbers, he and all his souldiers were cut in pieces: and those who were within the Fort, considering they could not make long resistance against so many men, yielded not long after upon discretion. *Barbarossa* having given them his word, that their lives and liberties should be saved: Yet as soon as they surrendered, he made them all be put to the Oare, alleading that their persons belonging as prey to the Janisaries, he could not dispose of them otherwise; so as of the 4000 Spaniards, who had the custody of that place, not one of them escaped away free, some of them being slain, some made slaves, paying finally for the so many wickednesses which they had committed in their many years fighting in Italy, and particularly when *Rome* was sackt, *Castel Nuovo* being regain'd, the Army marched towards *Risano*, which was presently surrendered by the Keeper thereof, *Luigi Lane*, the Fort nor Garrison not being able to defend it. *Barbarossa* had first demanded the restitution of that place from *Jovan Matteo Bembo*, Governour of *Cattaro*, with whom he had sought many occasions to turn his Forces upon *Cattaro*; and after many complaints, as that his fugitive slaves were therein received, and other feigned things, he laid aside all consideration of Truth, and sent shamelessly to the Governour, to deliver up *Cattaro* unto him, or that otherwise he would take it by force, having commission from *Soliman* to take that Fort, and whatsoever else the Seignory possest upon those confines; that therefore to avoid utter ruine, he should by time provide for the safety of himselfe, and of those people; for he would give free leave to all that would, to go from thence, and would deal civilly with them who would continue and live under the Empire of the most happy Grand Seigneur. But *Bembo*, not at all terrified at this unexpected demand, betook himselfe diligently to prepare for defence, and to encourage the Citizens and Souldiers, and return'd answer to *Barbarossa*, that he himselfe did, and all the world would wonder at this his demand, which being contrary to reason, must be believed to be contrary to *Solimans* mind, who was wont to observe his word; that therefore he deserved not to be listned unto, and that therefore he did so much the more confide in the justice of his cause; and that he should be able to defend that City which was committed to his charge by his Common-wealth: To which *Barbarossa* returning no answer, he made a Squadron of his Gallies advance, who rashly accosting the Fort, were by the Artillery beaten off with much prejudice. *Barbarossa* coming on the second day with the rest of his Fleet, was likewise beaten off; and having landed many of his Foot at some distance from the Fort, they who kept on the Mountains side, being got very near the walls, were so dammied, and disordered by some pieces of Artillery from the Castell, as they soon retreated to their Gallies: And some of the Stradiotti and Harchabuffers on horse-back, went out against the rest, who marched towards that

part of the Town where the Church and the Monastery of *S. Francis* stands, and with whom *Barbarossa's* scribe came to discover the scituation, slew many of them, and forc'd the rest to fly, and save themselves in the neighbouring mountains; where the Horse could not pursue them. *Barbarossa* having well view'd and considered the Fort, and the defendants readinesse, and therefore despairing to gain it, after having tarried one day longer there, without attempting any thing, resolv'd to be gone, and to return to the Gulphs mouth: And before his departure, being thereunto desired by *Bembo*, he spoke with *Jerolimo Cocco*, Master of a Ship, sent to him to that purpose, whom he civilly treated, though contrary to the custome of that Nation, he refused the Presents which he brought him. At this meeting, *Barbarossa* appeared to be friendly-minded, saying, that he was satisfied with having recovered the places which had been taken from the Grand Seigneur; and that he intend'd to observe the Truce, unless he should receive some order to the contrary from *Constantinople*, whither he had sent *aa Olaccio*, to give an account of what he had done: things tending to the preservation of the honour of his Fleet, and of the Army, as if he had willingly quitted that enterprise, and not out of despair of success. Thus the Souldiers, and the Artillery being imbarcked, and a good Garrison left in *Castel Nuovo*, the Turkish Fleet departed from the Gulph of *Cattaro* on the 17th of *August*; and it was believed, that they were to go to *Puglia*, to pillage those maritime parts, being solicited so to do by *Cantelmi*; one who was sent from the King of *France* to *Constantinople*, and by the French Ambassador, who was aboard those Gallies: yet *Barbarossa* being come to *Vallona*, went straight from thence to *Corfu*, where passing through the Channel, he was by way of friendship saluted by Cannon-shot from the Fort, and divers were sent to him from the Governours of the Town with refreshments, and some vestures, which he gratefully accepted, and returned thanks for the present. And *Barbarossa* often assured them, that as he for certain accidents which had hapn'd, had advis'd the undertaking of that War; so now he would use his indeavours in procuring peace, to which end he would go to *Constantinople* as soon as he could. The *Venetians* were much troubled to hear of the taking of *Castel Nuovo*, and of *Barbarossa's* attempt upon the Fort of *Cattaro*; their Fleet being divided, and fearing lest the Enemy growing more bold, might make some other attempt upon their State.

When the Turks plaid upon *Castel Nuovo*, *Andrea Doria*, who was parted from *Sicily*, went to *Catopo*; from whence he sent word to Commissary *Contarini*, who was at *Corfu*; that it was now a very fit time to fall upon the Enemy, whilst having abandoned their Gallies, they were busied in besieging *Castel Nuovo*, wherefore he invited him to joyn their Fleets together: To the which the Commissary, that he might lift into his mind, answering, that he would be ready to relieve *Castel Nuovo*, or to do any thing else, if all their Forces might joyn safely, with assured hopes of advantage: *Doria* returned no answer at all, nor did offer to attempt any thing of himselfe,

self, but stood retired in the Haven of *Brandizza*, in which time the Ambassador *Contarino* came to *Constantinople*, where he had Audience given him by the Grand Seigneur; and whilst he was declaring his commission, *Soliman* held still his hand upon his breast, (a sign, as his men said, of his being troubled); but howsoever, having given full hearing, he told him, He was welcome; but as for the businessse, said nothing, but that (according to custome) he referred him to his Basthaws: with whom when he met, and began more particularly to unfold his Commission, as soon as they heard any mention made of restoring the places which had been taken in this War: they presently answered, That not any mention must be made thereof; that *Soliman* was mightily troubled for many accidents which had hapn'd, but especially for the League made by the Commonwealth with the Emperour against him; that therefore it would not onely be impossible to work him to such a restitution, but that there was no hopes of obtaining peace, without the surrender of *Napoli*, and *Malvesia*, together with all that was possess'd by the Commonwealth on the Sea-coast of *Constantinople*, even to *Castel Nuovo*; whereby all occasion of scandall would be taken away for the time to come, and a good and stedfast Peace would be established. That they did also demand satisfaction for the great expences which *Soliman* had been at in that War, since he had been inform'd thereunto by many injuries; wherein his end was not avarice, but his honour, the Commonwealth having done the like in their agreement with the Emperour, a more petty and less powerfull Prince then *Soliman*. The Ambassador being far from complying with them in any of these demands, answered, That then the businessse was at an end; that the Commonwealth would be so farre glad of peace, and no farther then she might have it consistent with her dignity, the which she would alwaies with her Forces maintain and defend: yet that he being but a servant of the State, neither could, nor would say any more, but that he would give an account of all to the Senate; and therefore desired that any further treaty might be suspended, till he might receive further commission from the Senate. The Basthaws wished him to hope well of the businessse, some of them saying, that the Grand Seigneur would be content with lesse then he demanded; and that it was the custome of the Country to make large demands: they therefore advis'd him to return back to Venice himselfe in person, where he might informe his Masters of every particulars, and then return to a new Treaty, the rather, for that his return would be just at the time of solemnity of the Grand Seigneur's Daughters marriage, and of the circumcising of his Sons. *Contarino* hearing this, though to long a voyage, and such delay might seem unreasonable for his so great Age, and for the importancy of the businessse in hand; yet thinking that to tarry longer at the Court, after this dismissal, would be to make the Turks believe, that all their desires should be granted, he resolv'd to be gone, having first been very diligent in giving the Senate an account of every particular that had past. It was observed that at his departure, he had not received the usual banquet, nor had been treated either in words or actions, with any signs of honour and good-will, as was shewn unto him at first.

The Senate was very much troubled at the newes of their Ambassador's

ambassador's departure from Constantinople, and at the discovery of greater difficulties in the Agreement then they expected: it was too fore a thing for them to maintain War of themselves alone, against so powerfull an Enemy: their hopes grounded upon assistance from others, had alwaies proved weak, and to little purpose, and were now by these treaties fallen almost away to nothing, to accept of peace upon such unreasonable termes, would detract too much from the dignity of the Common-wealth, and to part willingly with Towns and Moneys, would be but to invite the Enemy who were naturally insolent, to make yet further demands. Whilst they were yet unresolved what to do, new accidents hapned, which made them still more irresolute: for in this interim, *Cesare Cantelmi* came to Venice, who being formerly sent, as hath been said from the King of France to *Soliman*, to treat of Truce, after having been in France to inform the King, returned by his order to Constantinople, about the same businesse. The French Ambassador being in the Colledge, said, How that this man was sent to Constantinople, chiefly for the Common-wealths service, to interpose himselfe in the Treaty of peace, wherefore he was come to Venice, to see what commission they would give him concerning it, he being commanded by his King to carry himselfe therein, as he would doe in any thing which might particularly concern the Crown of France. *Jovan Francesco Palerio*, a Gentleman of Venice, used afterwards the same indeavours, who having been long in France, held intelligence with many chief men of the Court, who did many times impart many important businesses to him; he witnessed the King's good will, and his readinesse to send other Agents to *Soliman*, if this man should not give satisfaction to the Senate; he exhorted them to confide in the King's word, and in the affection he seemed to bear the Common-wealth in this businesse; that they had no better way then this, to agree with the Turks with more dignity, and lesse danger. It was known also, that at the same time the Emperour, and the King of France, were to have a meeting, which might be the better had by the Emperour's journey, who being to passe into *Flanders*, to suppress the insurrection of those of *Guanis*, and to oppose some commotions in that Province, occasioned by the dayly grievances laid by *Cesar* upon those Inhabitants for maintenance of the War, had sent unto the King, that he would come by France, and speak with him touching some agreement between them, whereby they might afterwards wage War jointly against the Turks. This meeting of these Princes, occasioned variety of discourse, and administered many reasons to maintain severall opinions. Some argued from hence, That the War was to be maintained with better hopes, that all thoughts of peace which was treacherously proposed by the Turks, were to be laid aside, since peace was not to be had but upon hard conditions. That it was peace between these two Princes, which was alwaies thought would give life to the League, and would be the chief ground-work of all good successe: that they were not to abandon themselves and all their hopes, and make themselves a prey to the perfidious Enemies, now that a thing so much desired was comming on. Others were jealous that at this meeting, somewhat prejudiciall to the

the liberty of Italy, and in particular of the Common-wealth, might be treated of: which suspicion having been formerly had, when these Princes parted from Nice, without meeting together in the Popes presence, and afterwards parley together in France, it was, though this jealousy proved vain, only because that *Cesar* would not trust the King of France, and deliver the State of *Millan* first up to him, upon his promise of being assisted by him, in getting the Cities belonging to the Venetians Dominion. That it was now sufficiently known, neither of these Princes would part with anything that was theirs, so as they could not be brought to Agreement by any other means, then by thinking how to make recompences, which should fall unto them by the usurpation of other mens estates. It was therefore judged for these important respects, that the Agreement with the Turks was the more to be hastned, for that the deferring thereof, and the divulging of the consultations of the Christian Princes, whereby they should be the more necessitated to listen to peace, would make the conditions of the Treaty prove the harder after. But herein likewise there was a difference of Opinion: some persuaded to make use of *Cantelmi's* voyage, and of the Kings offer, alledging, that he being full of various thoughts, it was to be hoped that his desire of regaining the ancient friendship of the Common-wealth, so to separate her from *Cesar*, might be predominant with him: And that as on the one side, the interposition and authority of so great a Prince, might advantage them much in their making Agreement with the Turks: so on the other side, they might secure the affairs of the State by Land from other dangers, since by this confidence his desire of convening with *Cesar*, would be cooled. That they ought not totally to alienate the minds of Christian Princes, where not appearing as yet, any certain hopes of renewing capitulation, and commerce with the Turks: That it was certain, the Emperour was much offended for their having negotiated peace apart for the Common-wealth, when they had given out, that they would not treat of any thing but of the generall Truce: and that if they should now refuse the King of France his offer, the King of France would be as much offended, since they should thereby seem to value him but a little, and to be totally alienated from his friendship, which had satisfaction to both, might make them joyn the more easily together against the Common-wealth; that they ought at least to desire the Kings messenger to treat of Truce in generall; which if it should succeed, the conveniency of time, and of some rest, would be of no small consideration: and as touching the particular affairs of the Common-wealth, to authorize him to say unto the Turks, that the Senate would not be backward in making agreement, if it might be had upon faire conditions; by this means the business would be kept on foot, with the service and honour of the publick; and that if any jealousies should arise of the Kings keeping his word, and of these new Agreements with the Emperour, we might then resume the business into our own hands, and that all way of Treaty for us was now shut up, since their sending away of our Ambassador. Others notwithstanding proposed, That a dispatch might be forthwith made to the Ambassador *Contarini*, willing him to tarry wheresoever the messenger should meet him, and expect new orders from the Senate, which should be sent according as affairs went. Others were better pleased, that a new Ambassador should be sent; and some were for reserving the managing of the whole business to Consul *Canale*, since he was now at liberty and might negotiate.

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But all these, joyned in protesting against, making use of Canetimi, or communicating any thing to him in this business, who was a banish'd Neapolitan, and who, to boot with his Kings interests and ends, which peradventure might not stand with the service of the Common-wealth, had his own particular designs, which might rather retard then further the business; that it became neither the publique safety nor honour, to discover the Senate's intension, to one who, as might justly be suspected, would rather hinder, then help the effecting of it: That Cæsar would not leave anything unattempted to break this treaty of Peace, which was so prejudiciall to him, and that the King of France would be glad to please him in all other things, out of hopes of having the State of Millan restored: That it stood not well together, that the King of France (as he affirmed) should make peace with the Emperour, to make war against the Turks, and be a means of making peace between the Venetians, and the same Enemies. What faith could be adibitted to the words or intencions of a King, that was ill satisfied with the Common-wealth, for having secured the state of Millan to Cæsar, by their last confederacy, and binded him from what he so much desired? That they had been in vain brought by the promises of other Princes, to undertake and continue this war, wherein they had to no purpose spent 3 millions of Gold. That they might now be clearly aware of those counsells which sprang from passion, and were bent upon peculiar interests; and not to put themselves into a way which might bring the Common-wealth to ruine, by continuing involved in so great and insupportable expences. An other accident of no less concernment was herunto added, which increased the doubts and difficulties. The Harvest was this year very bad every where, and chiefly in Italy; so as the City of Venice, which wanting sufficient Territories of her own, was to feed a great number of people with Corn fetcht from other Countries, was chiefly incommodiated hereby. The people who were wont to feed deliciously, and to eat no bread but what was made of wheat, were glad of any sort of Corn, and in danger to want that too, if they were not furnisht from forrain parts; a thing which gave the Senators much trouble, so as to supply so great a necessity, some thought it necessary to make friendship with the Turks: Others, to have recourse to the Spaniards, to have Corn transported either from the one or from the other: the same time sustaining contrary opinions. Thus the time ran on without any certain resolution, so as the Embassador Contarini receiving no new instructions, came to Venice, and Canetimi departed without any Commission.

These irresolute Counsells made Cæsar, who watched all occasions, hope he should be able to break this Treaty of Peace, and to draw the Venetians to confirm the League once more: wherefore thinking that nothing could more further his intentions, then to make it be believed that he held good intelligence with the King of France, whereby being free from so many impediments, he might employ all his Forces in the Levant, and make the King of France at last favour the design; he resolved to send a principal personage to Venice, and perswaded the King of France to do the like, who might give an account of the speech which they should have together, and discover somewhat of the Venerians minde: therefore on the 10th of

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Part I. Written by Paulo Paruta.

December the Marquis of Guasto, who was then Governour of Millan, went to Venice, on the Emperours behalf; and Monsieur Anibao, who was Marshall Generall in Piemont, on the behalf of the King of France. These were received with such honour, as became the greatnesse of the Princes that sent them, and their own eminent qualitie. They were met by a great many Senators, in the Buteccianro, and in other 7 Gallies; were lodged in a noble Palace, and defray'd at the publick charge. Their first audience was in the great Hall, whither the great Councill came, and a great concourse of people, wherein nothing past but complements: But afterwards, at a private audience in the Colledge, the Marquis of Guasto told them, That he was come in the name of Charles the Emperour, to acquaint them, as good and well esteemed friends of the meeting which the Emperour was to have in France, with the most Christian King, and in Flaunders, with King Ferdinando his brother, and the Queen his sister, who were the Governours of those States. He told them, that at the meeting of these Princes, businesses were to be treated of, which concerned the joynt service of Christendome, and the particular convenience of that Common-wealth, which he would always value, as that of his own proper Dominions. That Cæsar, being now to go with great Forces against the Turks, did desire to know, what the Senate's pleasure and opinion was therein, what preparations they thought would be necessary, and what they would do on their behalfs, to the end that he might the better know, how to govern his affairs. That though the Peace with France was not yet fully established, it might be accounted as good as done; so well were these Princes inclined therunto, and so good intelligence was there held between them; so as it was firmly to be believed, that being free from all other impediments, they would go with their joynt Forces to ruine the Infidells. But because the weightinesse of the business required length of time, and the season was now far spent, for making so great preparations, Cæsar thought it would for the present be better, to provide for defence, then for offence, wherein he would be as careful of his neighbours Dominions, as of his own. Monsieur d'Anibao spoke afterwards to the same purpose, attesting the King's good-will and desire to the peace and good of Christendome: It was not hard to know, whither these endeavours tended, and what was Cæsar's true designs; to wit, to hold the French in hand with vain hopes, of yielding up the Dukedome of Millan unto them; and the Venetians, by proposing Treaties, and great preparations for War against the Turks, meaning nothing lesse; that so he might spin out the time, secure himself from the French Forces, by deviating the King from the thought of War; and from the Turks, by placing the Commonwealth's Territories, and their Fleets at his out-Bulwarks. This answer was therefore made to the Marquis, and to Anibao, That their coming was very acceptable, in respect of the Princes, in whose names they came, as also in respect of themselves. wherefore they desired, that many thanks might be returned to their Princes, for the honour and esteem they bore to the Common-wealth. That the nexes of good intelligence, and of certain hopes of peace between so great Princes, was the more acceptable to all, for the great benefit that all Christendome was likely to receive thereby. For what concern'd the declaring of their intentions, upon the present

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occasions, it might be sufficiently known by their actions, since they had so readily taken up Arms at first, had often since refused all proposals of Agreement, never spared for any expence, or refused to expose themselves to any dangers, and had already, for their parts, constantly and stoutly sustained the weight of so great a War, these three years last past. That being now invited by these hopes, they would out-do what they had done. That it ought notwithstanding to be consider'd, that they should not be able long of themselves, to withstand so potent an Enemy. Therefore what could they say more? the necessity was sufficiently known. That it was known, Barbarossa was with 80 Sail in the Gulph of Lepanto, intending (as it was said) to Winter there: So as if the Fleets were not in readiness to hinder his designs, by February next, it might easily be seen, in what danger the Dominions of the Common-wealth would be, and consequently, what evils threatened Christendome. To all which things, convenient regard was to be had, and fitting remedies prepared. This no-direct answer was thought to suite best with the quality of the proposal, and the condition of time: So as without tying themselves to any particular Treaty, Caesar's, and the King's Agents, were thus dismissed.

But the jealousy, which the meeting of these two Princes had begot in the Pope, who complained, that it was made without his participation, was much increased, by these mens coming to Venice, not that he did any waies doubt the Common-wealth's loyalty, the being to run the same fortune with the Apostolick Sea: But fearing, lest under these seeming shewes of honour and esteem, some important plot might be hidden (as had been formerly) against the liberty of Italy. He therefore often minded the Venetians, that a good understanding between the Church and the Common-wealth, was now more necessary then ever; and that for his part, he would do what was possible to keep all danger off. Caesar being aware of these the Pope's suspicions, and fearing, lest his being unsatisfied might disturb his designs, sent speedily Luigi Davila to Rome, and got the King of France to send Monsieur du Gue, to acquaint the Pope with the meeting which was to be had in France, and to justify their proceedings: Wherein the Pope being either really satisfied, or thinking it made for him to appear to be so, resolved to send his nephew, Cardinall Farnese into France, that, as his Legate, he might be assistant at this Convention, might further the conclusion of Peace, and might proffer the Pontifical Authority, and all the Treasure of the Church, for any enterprise against the Infidells. The Venetian Senate likewise, to correspond with like love and respect, towards so great Princes, resolved to send Antonio Capello, and Vincenzo Grimani, both of them being Procurators of St. Mark, as their Ambassadors, to where the meeting was to be, whose Commission was, To thank Caesar, and the most Christian King, for their love and esteem shew'd to the Common-wealth, for communicating their intentions by such honourable personages. That they should signify their approbation thereof, and excite them to provide against the dangers of Christendome. And that they should excuse their having sent an Ambassadour to Constantinople, as done out of necessity, since they had not sufficient Forces, to resist so potent Enemies; nor time (as was consi-

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by Caesar's self) to prepare sufficiently for war; and that they had done it, to hold the enemy in hand, and to gain time the better, to effect what they should undertake. There came likewise at this time, an Ambassadour from the King of Hungary to Venice, to propound a straiter intelligence with the Common-wealth, and a particular obligation for the common defence of their State. He exhorted them likewise, to continue their Treaty of Peace with the Turks; for that Caesar would never come to agreement with the King of France, as long as he might have the States of the Common-wealth, and of the King of Hungary, for his out-Bulworks against the Turks. They returned thanks to the King for this advice, without proceeding as then to any Treaty. But the Pope, though he offered his Forces to maintain the War; and exhorted the Senate not to be wanting, in making all possible provision for the preservation of his State, and for the defence of Christendome: Yet did he not totally conceal his jealousy of the Imperialists, and the little hope he had of their assistance. He often affirmed, that, as he was certain, that wise Senate would never make agreement with the Turks, unless enforced by necessity; so if that should happen, he could not but commend them, for complying with time and necessity. This afforded occasion for such as desired peace, to fortifie their reasons, which the transporting of Corn from many of the Turkish Dominions, did much more, whereby the City was supplied in her great need; and this was much amplified by the popularity, comparing it with the actions of their friends, who contrary to the expresse Articles of confederacy, forbade any portage of corn out of Sicily, and did afterwards mightily enhaunce the price, when the Fleets and City was in great want. At the same time, information was given by Letters, from the Consul at Constantinople, that great Festivalls were preparing there, upon occasion of the grand Signieurs daughters marriage, to Rusten, and of the circumcision of two of his sons: Wherefore it was expected by all, and much desired by many of the Bashaes, that according to custome, an Ambassadour might be sent to that Court, whereby the Treaty of Peace might be re-assumed.

Out of all these respects, and for that they, who at first were hottest for War, grew lesse fervent in those desires, their inconveniences encreasing, and their hopes decreasing; the chusing of an Ambassadour to send to Solymán, was again proposed in Senate, and Luigi Badoaro was chosen to that purpose, a Senator of great authority, and one who had still perswaded the Senate thereto, offering to take that employment upon himself. His Commission was, That procuring and assisting the Treaty of Truce in generall, which was at first begun by the Ambassadour Contarini, and continued by the King of France his Agent, he should endeavour for the particular service of the Common-wealth, to procure the restitution of all such places, as had been taken by the Turks in that war; which if he could not obtain, he should notwithstanding proceed on, to conclude the Agreement, upon the renewing of the antient Articles, as Contarini had formerly been ordered to do. And he had leave given him, to charge the Towns of Napoli, and Malvesia, with five or six thousand Duckets, and to promise thirty thousand Duckets,

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to re-imburse the expences, which the Turks had been at in the War. This was the Senate's order. But the Councill of Ten, which at this time had the supreme Authority, in treating of the weightiest, and most important affairs of State, without communicating it to the Senate, to the end that the business might be carried more secretly, and with lesse contention amongst a few, added a larger Commission, to wit, That if he should see the conclusion of Peace grow otherwise desperate, he might totally yield up the Cities of *Napoli* and *Malvesia*. For these, who were the antientest, and most experienced Senators, knew how grievous and insupportable, the expence of the War grew daily. That *Napoli* and *Malvesia* were feared far off, and therefore hard to be reliev'd, and that they lay very fit to be taken by the Turks; that they had severall times already been in much danger, for want of many things, and had already fallen into the enemies hands, had not the Truce preserved them. That the Common-wealth was at this time badly besetted by Fortune; that therefore it would be wisely done, to throw somewhat over-board, though never so dear, to bring the rest safe into the Haven, free from the storms of this most dangerous War. That it was an assured rule, confirmed by long experience, that Treaties had with the Turks, were much prejudiced by length of time, and that the protracting of business, made the conclusion more difficult.

These things were the products of the end of this year. In the beginning of the next, 1546. the Emperour came to *Paris*, on the sixth of *January*, where he was received with all demonstrations of honour and humanity by the Kings, whereunto the Emperour corresponding in all things, laboured to make all men believe, that he had cancell'd the memory of all things past; that he had no thoughts, but of honour and peace; and that he was much joyed, to be with the King. He bestowed the Order of the Golden Fleece upon the Dolphin, & upon the Duke of *Orleanse*, the Kings sons and his nephews. Here *Christophoro Capello*, who was then Ambassadour from the Common-wealth at *Paris*, acquainted both these Princes with the Senate's answer to the Marquis of *Guasto*, and to the Marshall *Anibon*. The Emperour's reply was: *That though he was very well minded, and resolved to make war upon the Turks, yet he was so straitned in time, as he knew not how to do, what the Senate desired, and what he himself knew requisite, to put a Fleet in order so soon, and so numerous, as might confront the enemy. That therefore it would be better as then, to intend the ending of the generall Truce, already begun by the most Christian King. That they might have opportunity to raise Forces, convenient for great enterprises, with better hopes of good effect. But that in the mean while, according to his promise, he would do all he could for the safety of their States by Sea.* The King of *France*, having made new attestation of his good-will, said: *That he would make it be known to all the world, that he never had any intension to disturb the common good of Christendome, but that he was ready to embrace all love and friendship with Caesar, that so a more usefull and necessary war might be undertaken: But that none of these things were now to be treated of, to keep from mixing weightier matters, wherein*

wherein diversitie of opinions, and difficulties might arise, amongst the present solicitations and misch. Therefore all business was put off, till the meeting at *Flanders*. These words of the Emperour, and of the King of *France*, being by Letters from the Ambassadour *Capello*, related to the Senate, were thought to consist much upon generalities, and that no foundation could thereout be made, neither of peace amongst themselves, nor of war against the Turks. Wherefore they all resolved to minde the Treaty of Peace; and the Ambassadour *Badoaro*, whilst he was on his journey, was desired by Letters, to execute what he had in commission, as soon as he should be arrived, and to obtain some firm conclusion, whereby the affairs of the Common-wealth might be secured. It being thought, that when the newes of union between these two Princes, should come to *Constantinople*, as it might facilitate the agreement with the Turks, so when it should soon prove vain, it would detract from the reputation of the affairs of Christendome, and make those Barbarians more haughty and insolent. *Badoaro* having soon dispatched his journey, came about the midst of *April* to *Constantinople*, and began to treat according as he was commanded, with the *Bashaws*, making use of the French Ambassadour's advice. Great difficulties arose at the first beginning of the Treaty; not that the Turks were averse to peace, but for that having notice of *Badoaro*'s more secret Commissions, growing more insolent, by reason of the fear, and the desire of peace which they found to be in the Venetians, and out of the certainty of obtaining whatsoever they should desire, they soon protested, that they would not hear any thing, till such time as the Islands, in the *Archipelagus*, and *Padino*, and *Lawrana*, which were formerly possess'd by them, should be freely restored unto them; as also the Cities of *Napoli* and *Malvesia*, and that they should be re-imburs'd for their expence in the War. At which to sudden and pertinacious demands, the Ambassadour being struck with consternation, and beginning to suspect what he found to be true, he delayed the business a while, not being resolved what to do. On the one side, he was spurred on by his Commissions, and reiterated desires, to conclude the Peace; on the other side, he was withheld, by thinking, that by continuing the Treaty, the Turks might be encouraged with hopes, of obtaining all they desired. Having by reason of these doubts, past over some daies in silence, *Barbassia*, who was desirous that the Peace should be made, and was willing to further it, perswaded him not to give over the Treaty, whereunto though he saw some more hopeful way was opened, yet found he not the *Basha*'s minds any whit mollified: So as he was brought by degrees to assent to all those things, which were relerced for the last and most desperate remedy; to wit, To yield up together, with the Towns already possess'd, the Cities of *Napoli* and *Malvesia*, and to pay 300000 *Duckets* in the space of three years, for the expences of War. For what remained, the former Capitulations were renewed and confirmed, with many particulars, which concerned the good establishment of the Peace, the removing all occasions of injuries on all sides, the maintaining of free and safe commerce between the subjects on all parts, and the securing of

of Navigation in all Seas. When the newes of this Agreement came to Venice, though the thing it selfe was much desired by all, the City being reduced to a very low condition, by reason of the War and dearth, and in a condition of being restored by Peaces yet when the particulars were understood, it was not so very welcome: many blamed the purchasing of peace at so dear a rate, others blamed the Embassador's too great fear, who had suffered himselfe to be brought at the Turks first demands, to the ultimate terms reserved for the last and desperate remedy. But these first commotions ceasing, and the state of affairs being more maturely considered, and the true reasons, which had moved those wise Senators, who do alwaies watch over the welfare of the Common-wealth, to pitch upon this resolution, all were satisfied, and their wisdom praised. And the treachery of some perfidious men coming afterwards to light, Badoaro's reputation was salved. The business went thus.

Amongst others, *Constantino*, and *Nicolo Cavazzi*, the one as Secretary to the *Consiglio di Dieci*; the other, the like to that of the *Pegadi*, were admitted into the secret Councils; as also *Matteo Leone*, as one of the Colledge, being a *Savio di Terraferma*; (he who held this place, was then admitted into both these Councils). These men receiving an annuall stipend from the King of France, communicated all the important affairs of the Common-wealth unto him. *Agostino Abondio*, had likewise a hand in this business, and *Jovan Francisco Valerio*, mentioned before, born of a noble Family, but not in lawfull wedlock, who held somewhat of Church-living in France, both which the King had corrupted with many gifts, that they might serve him upon such an occasion: it so fell out, as *Jerolimo Martelloffo*, who kept *Libidenus* commerce with *Abondio's* unchast wife, found some of *Nicolo Cavazzi's* Notes in his house; and finding that they contained some state-affairs in them, he carried them to the Council of Ten, wherein many things being searched into, the whole treason was at last discovered. Whereupon *Nicolo Cavazzi*, *Abondio*, and *Valerio*, betook themselves for sanctuary to the French Embassador's house, but it being soon known, Officers were sent to apprehend them, and after long resistance made, two pieces of Cannon being brought in a Barke, to beat down the house, the Traytors were delivered up into the hands of Justice, and were hang'd on a Gallows in *St. Marks Piazza*. *Constantino*, *Cavazzi*, and *Matteo Leone*, got away into some place of safety, and a sum of Money was set upon their heads in what Country soever they should be found. No news was ever heard of *Cavazzi*; but *Leone* went to live in France, where meeting with no favour at Court, and failing of all assistance, he taught a Grammer-School; that he might have whereby to live, and his posterity was for ever deprived of Nobility. The King seemed to relent the violence which was used to his Embassador's house, which made him that for some months he would not give audience to the Venetian Embassador: but being one day in the Camp before *Perpignano*, giving place at last to reason, and desirous to know news from *Constantinople*, he sent for him; he complained modestly, and with a seeming minde to be reconciled to the

the violation used to his Embassadors house, saying, What would you think, if I should deal so with you? To which the Embassador *Venerio* readily answered, I wish it were Gods will, that I had any of your Majesties Rebels in my house, or in my power, I would seize on them my selfe, and bring them to your Majesty; which should I not do, I should be severely reprehended by the Signory.

Whilst these Treaties of Peace were in hand, though the Generall *Mocenico* was abroad with a good many Gallies, yet was there nothing done which might unseasonably disturb the hopes of Agreement. But the Generall understanding that *Dragute* was about the Islands of *Zante*, committing Piracy with many sayl, he went thitherward to meet with him, and to fight him; who having a good wind, and kenneing our ships, steered another course to save himselfe, and not daring to return any more into those Seas, went westward, where he and eight of his ships were taken by *Gioanettino Doria*. When the peace was concluded, he went to *Napoli*, and to *Romania*, before he went to *Dalmatia* to disarm, to acquaint those people with what had past at *Constantinople*, and with the States resolution to deliver up those Cities to the Turks. The news was very unwelcome to them; they were equally afflicted with tarrying, and with going away: to tarry and live under the tyranny of the Turks, was the more grievous to them, for their having lived so long under the moderate Jurisdiction of the Common-wealth; and for ever to abandon their Country, their Goods, Houses, and their ancestors Bones, was a sorrow insufferable: wherefore the Generall, when those of *Napoli* were assembled together in the *Piazza*, somewhat to comfort them, spoke thus unto them.

You may clearly enough conceive by that paternall love, with which our Common-wealth did at first receive you into her protection, and hath thus long graciously govern'd you, what I have now by publick order to say unto you, and which hath already come unto your ear; which is, That the assignment of this City, and of the neighbour City *Malvesia*, over to *Soliman*, by the agreement made at *Constantinople*, was a resolution put on by necessity, not by choice. You may have known, upon many occasions, but chiefly in these your last troubles, wherein to assist you, the Common-wealth readily exposed a great part of her Forces to great dangers, what love she hath always born unto you: She hath furnished you with Monies, Souldiers, and Victuals, to keep you from falling into the hands of the Enemy, who threatened to put you all unto the sword, and to lay your City desolate. Nothing hath been left undone to keep you, her dear and well beloved subjects, from falling into the power of others: very great Fleets have been prepared, immeasurable expences: In fine, for this cause, the weight of an insupportable war hath been the longer sustain'd: And what greater sign can the Common-wealth shew of the affection she bears you in the present condition of affairs, and in this your afflicted Fortunes, then that which she now does, by promising to give other convenient habitations, where she might best, to those who shall desire to go from hence, to keep them in her protection, to assist, favour, and nourish them: It hath been said by wise men, that that place ought to be truly thought a mans owns Country, where a man can enjoy any good. And what is better, and more to be desired, than to live under the Govern-

government of a moderate and just Prince; Fortune, though never so adverse, hath not been able to bereave you of this: You shall continue under the Dominion of the Common-wealth; you shall have abodes allotted you in another Country, where you may live, though not so commodiously as here, yet freer from the perpetuall fear and danger of the Turks; to which it may be said, you were continually exposed. Many men being too numerous at home, have of their own choice parted from thence, and committing themselves to fortune, have quitted their native Country, to get new and uncertain habitations by force of Arms: To have a safe and certain place of refuge in times of misery, hath wont to be so great a consolation, as greater prosperity hath often made men forget what was past. 'Tis true; it had been more to be desired, to have still lived in peace, that the Enemy had never besieged this City, that they had not set their minds upon subduing it, or in such a case, to have had Forces sufficient to repulse them, and to revenge injuries: But since neither of these hath been either in our power, or, in yours, in the condition wherein we are; what is there more to be done, than for us to play the part of a good Prince and Pastor by keeping your persons in our protection, since we are not able to carry away the walls and houses of this City; and for you to rejoyce at this your Prince his affection, and to accommodate your selves to Time and Necessity: your persons shall be preserved, your posterity educated, and you valiant Fathers, shall beget generous Children. Who knows but that they may work your revenge? Great is the vicissitude of worldly affairs, and the greatest Empires are as well subject thereunto as other things. Our Common-wealth will assuredly be always ready to take up Arms against these Enemies, when there shall be such an union amongst Christian Princes, as it may be hoped Christendom may reap good thereby. Therefore as it is necessary, so is it wisely and safely donne, to seek to live, and to hope for better things.

Whilst the General spoke, tears fell from all the Auditors eyes, occasioned no lesse through tendernesse of affection, then through griefe. The Generall used afterward the like words, with those of *Malvesia*, whereupon the Inhabitants being a little comforted, after the sorrow they suffered for so sad newes; most of them prepared to be gone, taking what they had of best along with them, and soon after, in November, the Articles of Peace being confirm'd, Commissary *Contarini* went to those shores with 20 Gallies, and many other ships of severall sorts, whereinto having taken all the Artillery, Ammunition, Goods, Souldiers, and persons of those Inhabitants who would depart; He by Orders from *Constantinople*, delivered up the keys of those two Cities to *Cassin Basshaw* of *Morea*, who with some few entred the Towns, and after our men were gone, the Gates were opened, and free entrance was given to the Souldiers who were thereabouts. Things being thus brought to a peacefull condition, the Generall, and the Commissary disarmed, leaving out only the usuall number of Gallies to guard the Gulph, and for the safety of Navigation. But when Commissary *Contarini* came to *Venice*, he was commanded by *Pietro Mocenico*, Advocate for the Commons, to come into the Advocate's Court, and give an account, according to the Senate's Order three years before, of what had hapned at *Puglia*, when he sunk the Turkish Galley; but the

business being argued in the Senate, and *Contarini's* cause defended by many of the Senators; the Advocates command was taken off, and he freed of all fault, the occasions being ceased, which had made his fault appear the greater, his worth remaining in him, which had alwaies been commended by all men, and his defects increased by the service he had done during all this Warre. *Niccolo da Ponte*, pleaded amongst others in his defence, who speaking often in the Senate, began to be highly esteemed for his Eloquence, and growing to greater dignity, after many years employment in the highest concerns of the Common-wealth, is arrived at the Principallitie, which he now worthily possesseth. The year 1540. brought forth no other more noble accidents, being memorable enough for the Peace made with the Turks, wherein the Common-wealth prosperously continued for the space of thirty years; her affair, in *Terra ferma*, being likewise quiet at the same time, by her friendship with the Christian Princes, so as I shall have but little to write of these times; yet because the Senate being made acquainted with the chief businesses which past between the Christian Princes, interposed her Counsel and Authority, either in respect of her selfe or others, I will relate in this my History such passages of these Times as do appear to me most memorable, and for some concernments of the Common-wealth, which I have undertook to write of.

The End of the Tenth Book.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK XI.

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THE Peace being in manner aforesaid established, between Soliman and the Venetians, all men hoped, that Forces were to cease in all parts amongst Princes, and that there should be a happy and peaceable time, after so fore wars. For Soliman seemed very well inclined, to make a long and generall Truce with all Christian Princes, wherein the French Ambassadour having laboured much, he said, it was now as good as concluded; and these his speeches were

were the rather believed, for that though the Fleet was ready to go forth, yet *Barbarossa's* departure was delayed; nor was there any preparation of an Army, which might occasion jealousy of land-enterprises. Truce was already confirmed in *Paris*, between *Cesar* and the King of *France*, upon the same terms, as it had been by the Pope's means, made formerly at *Nice*, and all demonstrations of confidence and reconciliation past between them; whilst *Cesar* taking *France* in his way to *Flanders*, stayed some daies with the King, which made men hope, that these Princes laying aside their antient enmities, were to joyne in a good and secure peace. But new accidents hapned, which (as human affairs are subject to easie alterations) did soon change the face of affairs, and did totally confound these formerly conceived hopes of quiet. For *John* King of *Hungary* dying, and leaving an infant-son of his, newly born, by his wife *Isabella*, daughter to *Sigismund* King of *Polonia*; *Ferdinando* King of the Romans pretended, that according to the last agreement made with that King, which was, That the succession of that Kingdom should appertain to him, and not to the son of King *John*, raised suddenly a great many Souldiers, wherewith he quickly assailed the Kingdom, took *Alba Regale*, *Visgrado*, *Pesto*, and some other Towns of *Hungary*: And at the same time sent *Jerolimo Lasco* to *Constantinople*, to treat with *Soliman*, that he might hold that Kingdom upon the same terms, as it was held by King *John*. The Queen Dowager, widow to King *John*, had likewise recourse to *Constantinople*, endeavouring by a solemn Embassy, of the prime Barons of that Kingdome, that the Turks would aid her, in maintaining her son in the possession of that Kingdom, which was by them preferred unto his father. *Soliman* thought himselfe hereby doubly injured by *Ferdinando*: First, for having assaulted a Kingdome recommended to him, and which he had taken into his protection. And then, that he should demand those things by his Ambassadour, which he howsoever endeavoured to get by force. Whereat being much incensed, he did not onely lay aside his former thoughts, and good inclination, which he seemed to have to peace and quiet, but prepared great forces both by Land and Sea, to assault the Territories of the House of *Austria*, that so he might revenge this injury upon *Ferdinando*, and keep *Charles* so busied, as he might not assist his brother. Wherefore retracting what had been negotiated, with *Antonio Rincone*, the French Ambassadour, touching the Truce, he resolved to send him back to his King, that he might acquaint him, how he had changed his minde, and that his thoughts were now bent upon war.

The Tumults in *Flanders* were already appeased, which was the sooner effected by the severe punishment of the rebellion of *Guant*, to the terror of other Cities, which being infused, sooner then peradventure luted with the occasion of Times, and hopes of greater good, was the cause why *Cesar*, the peace not being yet fully established, between him and the King of *France*, finding himselfe free of that disturbance, began to fall off from the agreement, and to resolve not to forgo the Dukedom of *Millean* upon any terms. And on

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the other side, *Soliman's* being incensed against the House of *Austria*, made the King of *France* the bolder, hoping that by those prevalent means he might the better resent the injury which he thought *Cesar* did him, in disposing to have peace and friendship with him. *Rincone* therefore being returned to *Venice*, gave a particular account of all these things to the Senate, highly exaggerating the Turks preparation for War, hoping thereby to draw them over to side with his King; and affirming moreover, that when these Forces should move, they should be disposed of according to his Kings pleasure: He then desired a Convoy of armed men, that he might return the more safely to *France*, and accordingly *Mercurio Bua*, was ordered to wait upon him with his Troop of light Horfe, to the utmost confines of the Common-wealth: and having onely three moneths allowed him for his return to *Constantinople*, he suddenly dispatched his business with the King, who listened very diligently to the business, and took his journey again to return by *Venice* for *Constantinople*; but being come to *Pavia*, as he passed along the *Poe*, he was slain by some Spanish foot, by order, as it was conceived, from the Marquis of *Guasto*, as was also *Cesare Fregoso*, who was sent by the King to accompany him. The King of *France* was more scandalized hereat then can be imagined, that whilst he was yet in Truce with the Emperour, his servants should be treacherously slain; and that *Cesar* not being contented to have deceived him in his speeches, (for he seemed to be well minded to peace, and to restore the state of *Millean*, which he slew daily further from, when he had appealed the Tumults in *Flanders*) should, contrary to reason, and the Law of Nations, do him so great a scorn, and shew such a desire to offend him. He forbore not to mention this his resentment publicly, but complained grievously thereof by his Ambassadors at all Princes Courts, and in particular sent *Antonio Polino* to *Soliman*, with commission to go first to *Venice*, to make known his intentions towards *Cesar*; and the reasons he had to study a just revenge, making offer of all his indeavours and authority in such things wherein he might be serviceable to the Common-wealth, at *Constantinople*, whither he was sent Ambassador, and demanding a safe Convoy for that Journey, he had a Gallie allotted him, to wait upon him to *Ragusi*. But *Cesar*, when the great preparations of the Turks was given out for certain; nay when their men were already upon their March toward *Hungary*, after he had long entertained himselfe in the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, in treating of divers things about Religion, wherein nothing was concluded, prepared to go himselfe in person into *Italy*: his end therein not being known, and being much wondered at by all men: It not being thought reasonable, (though it were so given out) that he was to fall upon *Algiers*, in the waters of *Africa*; that whilst his brothers danger, the honour of his family, and of the German Nation, ought to have recalled him back unto *Germany*, he should go to attempt an enterprise, which though it might be of some conveniency to his Kingdom of *Spain*, to bereave the Pyrats, who invested those Seas of that recepracle, was not notwithstanding to be compar'd to the purchasing of a noble Kingdom at

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home, and to the safety which his other States and Empire might receive, by keeping the Turkish Forces from off those confines: yet he persisting in his intention, sent a great number of Foot into Italy, and made great preparation of shipping of all sorts, in divers shores of his Dominions.

Thus stood the condition of affairs at this time; these were the designs of Princes concerning Peace and War. Wherefore in these great Commotions, the Venetians thought it became them, to proceed with great vigilancy and circumspection, keeping the Common-wealth in her neutrality, and free from all offence. They knew that the hazards of Hungary, was the more to be thought of by them, for that by the eminent losse of that Kingdom, the Forces of the Turks, who were the common and perpetuall enemy, would be much increased, which were already so potent and so near to the Common-wealths Dominions. And what hopes were there of any good succels? King *Ferdinando* was too weak of himself, to oppose the Turkish Armies; The Emperour was not over-ready to try his fortune against the Turks, in the behalfe of his Brother; *Germany* would be far from favouring any enterprize, whereby the Authority and power of the House of *Austria* might be increased, a thing which the did very much detest, and apprehend. And on the other side, Queen *Isabella* was a woman, a widow, the King her Son an Infant, ill provided to defend that Kingdom, and in necessity not only to make use of the Turks ayd, but of depending totally upon them; and yet though the Venetians knew these things, and thought seriously on them, they were necessitated, much to their griefe and sorrow, by reason of their late triall of the Christian Princes weakness, and discords, not only to stand idly looking upon all, these mischiefs, but to shun giving the Turks any occasion of taking up Arms against the Common-wealth, or of thinking that they stood not well-affected towards them. Wherefore being desired by the Pope, that the Council (as was formerly agreed upon at the Convention at *Luca*, between him and the Emperour, and by the assent of the Venetians) might be held in *Vicenza* the next ensuing year, which was the year 1542. they thought that to give way thereunto, at a time when Leagues and Agreements were in agitation, would not sute well with their conveniency and quiet; and therefore they excused themselves in that point, since the face of affairs was altered by their new Agreement made with the Turks; and their condition become different from what it was when they first promised it, and were at open War with the Turks; for it was clear, that the meeting of the Council, not only in their State, but so near *Venice*, would beget an assured and unexcusable jealousy in *Soliman*, that they had indeavour'd to make the Christian Princes conspire against him, which would be to draw great ruine upon themselves, out of an uncertain hope of good; and that many of the prime Prelates knew, that it was a very unseasonable time to assemble the Councell now, when they should first intend the reconciling of the Princes, and of repairing Christendoms prejudice received by the Turkish Forces. But these respects were added unto,

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by other accidents; for many things had been said at *Constantinople*, to make it be believed that the Venetians would not keep peace long, then some opportunity of breaking it should be offered: And it having hapned, that two Turkish Gallies, as they past from *Barbary* to *Constantinople*, being suspected by their flying away at the sight of our Gallies, to be Pyrates, were taken by the Commissary at Sea, most of the Turks slain, and the Christian slaves that were in them set at liberty, which was taken to be a bad sign of good will to *Soliman's* proceedings; and *Barbarossa*, to whom those Gallies did belong, seemed to be very much offended, and threatned revenge; wherefore the Senate to justifie this action as much as they could, had made the accommodation thereof be taken in hand, whereby time being gotten, and *Barbarossa's* anger mitigated, and the Turks repaired, according to Articles for the losse they had suffered, by the taking of their Gallies, the affairs of the Common-wealth would be preserved from greater dangers. Thus all parties being well minded to keep peace and friendship, *Gianusby* sent to *Venice*, to have those Articles confirmed by the Duke himself, and by the Senators, which were formerly made by Embassadour *Badoaro*; by which means, the French obtained Commission for *Gianusby*, to endeavour the uniting of the Venetians in straiter friendship with their King. The Turkish Embassadour was very honourably received, and his demands listned unto; for what concerned the confirmation of peace, it was according to custome, readily sworn unto by the Duke: but for what concerned the favouring of the French affairs, answer was made, that the Common-wealth was in peace and friendship with the King of *France*, and were resolved to keep so: Many they could not yeeld, to do any thing now, which might put a necessity upon them of taking up Arms against others; and that *Soliman* was so wise, and so just a Prince, as they believed he would easily admit of these their just and well known considerations. This answer being brought back to *Soliman* by *Gianusby*, was commended by him as being wisely done; and the same man making great attestations to him of the Venetians constant resolution in observing what they had promised, and sworn, he appeared to believe it, and to be desirous to correspond with them in like faith and friendship.

Thus affairs passed at this time between *Soliman* and the Venetians; but other no less important passages were treated of between them and Christian Princes, still aiming at the same end of neither ayding, nor offending any one, nor of doing any thing which might draw them from their neutrality. The Venetians were not a little troubled at the new disagreements between *Cesar* and the King of *France*; and that out of many reasons. They were sorry that there was no more place left for treaty, of putting a new Duke into the State of *Millan*, a thing which had often been promised them, and which had been lately treated of more hopefully with the King of *France*, at the meeting at *Paris*; and to leave the Emperour in peacefull possession of the state of *Millan*, was no other, as had been long before fore-seen by the wisest Senators, then to co-

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lerate an immoderate greatness in the Emperour, to the prejudice of the liberty of *Italy*, and the present condition of times, the Common-wealth being much exhaulted and afflicted, by the late Turkish Wars; as also the various and fickle proceedings of the *French*, on whose Counsell, they knew by so many late and former proofs, there was no relying, did dissuade them from foregoing his confederacy, and from engaging themselves in new Wars. They were likewise troubled, that the Turks being solicited by the French to *Cesar's* prejudice, were to send forth their Fleets, to the certain present harm of *Christendom*, and to the greater future danger; for they would be the better informed in our Seas, and Havens, and their designs would be fomented by the discord of Christian Princes. Yet minding onely such things whereby they might be safe, through their own forces and vigilancy, without relying upon the friendship of others, furnishing their Sea-Towns with good Garrisons, Munition, Victuals, and all other necessaries, and re-inforcing their Fleet; the Venetians stood observing other mens actions, not at all intermeddling therein; both these Princes laboured to make the Senate quit their Neutrality, propounding severall Agreements and Leagues by severall waies unto them. *Cesar* was already come into *Italy* with a stedfast resolution of going into *Africa*, not being to be dissuaded neither by the Popes persuasions, who laid before him his Brothers danger, and the occasion offered him of greater and truer glory; nor yet by his Captains counsell, who wished him to weigh well the dubious success of the *Algier* business, the attempt being to be made in Autumn, a season subject to various changes, and in places full of inconveniencies and difficulties: yet considering the power of the Turkish Forces, and how far they might advance, he propounded a new confederacy to the Venetians, to secure *Italy* from the incursion of these miscreants; saying, that his Brother King *Ferdinand*, the Pope, and other Princes would joyn therein: but the Senate, not willing to run into certain danger, for avoiding that which was farther off, excused themselves as not being able to do it by reason of their late misfortunes, & of their present weakness, in which condition they were afterwards the more confirm'd, and did openly refuse to listen to any such propositions, when they understood that the Pope was but meanly inclin'd thereunto: for which though it were at first wondred at, there were afterward many reasons found: it was alledged that *Paule*, being a very wise Prince, would not imbrace the Treaty of so important a business, without rationall hopes of bringing it to a good end; and that he having bereaft *Ascario Colonna* of his state, for his contumacy, and disobedience to the Apostolick See, would shun all occasions of restoring him to his former possessions, as he foresaw he should be enforced to do, if he should make a new confederacy with *Cesar*, who could not in honour abandon one that had deserved so well at his hands, and who had been the head of his faction in *Italy*; But chiefly, that being more intent upon an other business, he might first endeavour whilst he was in his neutrality, that the State of *Milan* might be put into the hands of *Othavio Farnese*, as in custody for

Cesar

Cesar and the King of *France*, and to whom he might pay a certain homage, till a better accommodation might be found out; and herein he assured himself, that the Venetians would interpose their authority. But they perceiving, that this business proceeded but coldly on, and that there was but little hopes of good therein, and being desirous not to give the Turks any vain suspitions, forbore to send their Ambassadors to *Luca*, (though they were often solicited by *Cesar* so to do) where the Pope and *Cesar* were to meet: But they were not wanting in shewing all demonstrations of love and honour to *Cesar's* person, they readily gave way for the Dutch Foot, who were destined to go for *Africa*, to passe through their Country: And hearing of his coming by the way of *Trent* into *Italy*, they quickly sent four Embassadors to him, *Jovan Antonio Veniero*, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, *Mark Antonio Contarini*, and *Vicenno Grimani*; who going to meet him upon the confines of *Verona*, received him with much honour, and waited upon him whilst he passed through the State, which was but onely for two daies; for going to *Peschiera*, he entred into the Mantuan Territories, from whence he went to *Millan*, from thence to *Genoa*, and then to *Luca*, to meet the Pope; with whom having tarried a while, he pursued his journey towards *Algiers*. But his advice proved bad, as was foreseen; for having landed his men on the shore of *Algiers*, and meeting with more resolution and worth in the Inhabitants of that City, then he expected; but chiefly, receiving very great losse by the Arabian Horse, raised by the Turks of the neighbouring Country, who with great speed, and with a new and unknown way of fighting to our Souldiers, disturbed their works. The time was so spun on, as way was made to great ruine; for a horrible tempest arising at Sea, which made the Ships Anchors come home; some were driven upon the shore, others carried into the high and boisterous seas. Inasmuch as having lost many of his ships, and the rest being much torn, the Emperour was forc'd to quit the enterprise, having onely purchased this praise, That he was never in the least dismay'd, amidst so many adversities and dangers. Many chief personages who followed the Court, perished, by the distemper of the aire, and sufferings; amongst the rest, *Marino Justiniano*, Embassador from the Common-wealth, who by orders from the Senate, had alwaies accompanied the Emperour; and *Nicolo da Ponte*, who was then Lieutenant at *Udine*, was chosen in his stead. This so great losse was interpreted by some, to redound much to the advantages of the Italian Princes, since thereby *Cesar's* forces were weakened, and his minde began to droop; who having alwaies promised unto himself prosperous success in all things, was thought, did aspire at the sovereignty of all *Italy*. Notwithstanding others, out of serious considerations, were of another opinion, thinking this to be a common losse, and inconvenience to Christians in generall, and particularly to the Common-wealth of *Venice*: For the Turkish Fleet being counterpoised by his Forces at sea, that ceasing, these more formidable Enemies grew almost insuperable, and all things were exposed to their discretion and fury.

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Whilst

Whilst these things were done by *Cesar*, the King of *France* his thoughts were not quiet, who being highly incens'd against *Cesar*, studd by all means possible, to revenge the injuries he had received; therefore he had by his Embassadors, whom he had sent before to *Luca*, to meet the Pope, press'd hard, that his Holiness would declare, that the Truce made formerly at *Necce*, by his procurement and authority, the more to honest his cause, was broken, by *Fregoso's* and *Rincone's* death. But resolving howsoever to use Force, and hoping to out-do *Cesar*, by the friendship and assistance of the Turks and Venetians, he resolved to send *Paulino* Embassadour to *Constantinople*, to treat of the particulars touching the Fleet's putting forth to prejudice *Cesar*, and tryed again to get the Venetians to joine with him. On which *Paulino* having discoursed much, before he parted from *Constantinople*, he had obtained as hath been said, that *Janusby* should be commissioned, to enterpose *Soliman's* authority with the Venetians, to encline them to listen to his proposalls, touching making War with *Cesar*. *Paulino* being then come to *Venice*, as he returned to *Constantinople*; he, together with the Bishop of *Montpellier*, who was there Embassadour in ordinary for the King, had private audience in the Colledge, before the chief of the Councell of Ten, where he delivered what they were ordered to do by the King.

Paulino in a long Oration, perswaded the Senators to a new confederacy with the King: what the ends were (said he) of the King my Master, and what those of the Emperour, may now be so plainly discerned by their actions, as their ends and designs are no longer concealed. The King of *France*, at the Popes perswasion, laid down his Arms in *Picmont*, and stopp'd the course of his almost assured victories, out of a good inclination which he alwaies had to concord, so far as his honour might not be thereby prejudiced. And the Emperour, who first seemed so desirous of peace, refusing Articles of a fair Agreement, entred himself in person with an Army into *France*. That the King was contented to accept of the Dukedom of *Millan*, not to unite it to the Crown of *France*, that so the Princes of *Italy* might not, by reason of his greatness, grow jealous of him; but to make one of his sons Lord thereof. And the Emperour, being resolved to keep that Dukedom in himself, had often deluded his King, and the Princes of *Italy*, with vain hopes, especially the Venetians, who desired alwaies more then others, to have a new Duke, and particular Lord in that State. That the King had of late nobly refused the offers of those of *Guant*, who rebelling against *Cesar*, had recourse to him for protection. Nay, he had readily given way to *Cesar's* men, and for himself, to passe through *France* for *Flanders*, to appease the tumults of that Province, from whence, if he had been so minded, he might have reaped advantage. That he had, several other waies, witness'd his goodwill to *Cesar*, having received him with incomparable honour throughout his whole Kingdom, in the very City of *Paris*, and in his own Palace, treating with him still with singular civility. That on the other side, as soon as his business was done, the Emperour had not onely, not corresponded any waies with him, openly denying what he had promised; but being full of implacable anger against the King, had treacherously and spitefully caused his servants to be slain, when by the Truce

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renued at *Paris*, all his affairs should have been secure. That these, and many other things, which lay open to the eyes of all men, might witness, what the endeavours, ends, and natures, of these two Princes were, by which might be well considered, whether of these ought to be chosen for a friend, and confederate to the Common-wealth; in whether she might repose more faith, friendship, gratitude, equity, and modesty in all proceedings. That it ought also to be particularly considered, how great *Cesar's* power would be, when he should, together with the Kingdom of *Naples*, securely possesse the State of *Millan*; the French being excluded *Italy*, and all allies ceasing, which might curb his desires, bent undoubtedly to be Lord of all *Italy*. That it was to be had in consideration, what good might be got by keeping friendship with *Cesar*, and what they could promise unto themselves from the King of *France*. That *Cesar* promis'd onely in gratification to the Common-wealth, to put a Duke into the State of *Millan*, not intending, as might be seen by his actions, to do as he said. That what his King's gratitude would be, and the fruits of this new conjunction, might be argued, by what he himself, and his Predecessors, had done for the Common-wealth, the state and dignity whereof he much desired should be increased. That the King did not sue for this friendship when he was in a low condition, but in a time, when his Forces were greater, then they had been for many years before, and when they might be accompanied by those of the Turks; since the things done unto *Soliman* by *Cesar*, had so incens'd him, as that he offered him all assistance to work revenge. That it might be guess'd by *Janusby's* Embassy, how the grand Signieur stood affected towards these two Princes. And that now it belonged to the wisdom of their Lordships, to consider, how much it import'd the Common-wealth to be friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies.

These fair and magnificent words, could not make the grave and experienced Senators, alter their opinion, nor draw them into new obligations and wars. Wherefore the business being reported to the Senate, they did almost unanimously vote, that the same answer should be made to the French Embassadors, as had been given to *Janusby*, by the Collegio de *Savii*: That the Common-wealth put a great value upon the King of *France* his friendship, wherein they would alwaies faithfully and sincerely correspond with him; but that they must likewise keep peace with other Princes, and not do any thing that might tend to the contrary. After this, *Paulino* continued his journey towards *Constantinople*, and was conducted by the Venetian Gallies in *Albania*, hoping assuredly to get, that the Fleet might put to Sea that year. But were it either, that the season was too far spent, to rig out so great a Fleet; or that *Soliman's* minde was wholly set upon the affairs of *Hungary*, whether he said he would return himself in person, with greater Forces, the French could not as then be befriended by the Turks. The King of *France* was not this mean while idle, but having raised a great many Souldiers, and thereout made three Armies, and sent his eldest son the Dolphin in the head of one of them, to the Pirenean Mountains, to recover *Perpignan*, which belonged formerly to the Crown of *France*, and was yielded to *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, when he intended to passe into *Italy*: With an other Army commanded by his second son, the

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Duke

Duke of Orleans, he assaulted Burgony and Luxemburg. The third Army, whereunto was added the Duke of Cleve's forces, and was led on by the Duke of Vandome, a Prince of the blood, entering into Flanders through Artois, assaulted severall Towns of that Province. But the noise of all these Armies proved greater, then any harm they did the Emperour; for the Dolphin finding the Fort of Perpignan well Garrison'd, and soon succour'd, by the Duke of Alva's Forces, was forc'd to retreat, not having done any thing: And the Duke of Orleans did nothing but plunder and pillage the Country; and the Towns taken by the Duke of Cleves, were kept but a very little while. Wherefore the King of France failing in all his designs, and thinking upon the assistance which he had conceived from others, complained of Soliman, and of the Venetians, for not having taken up Arms to assist him in a seasonable time, whilst he had molest'd Cesar in so many severall parts. Wherefore the ill offices done to the Venetians, by his Embassadour Monsieur de Montpelier, made the greater impression in him. And Polino, who was still at Constantinople, openly discovering this dissatisfaction, did oppose himself to the proceedings of the Venetians, both in private meetings, and in the publick Divano, seeking to detract from the person of their Consul, and from the dignity of the Common-wealth; and hoping still to have the Fleet the next year, he said, That he himself would go in it, and would make the Venetians know, how prejudiciall his endeavours, and his King's authority would prove to them. A new accident had given occasion to these things; for their Treason being at this time discovered, who revealed the aforesaid secrets of the Common-wealth to the French; Agostino Abondio, who was the chief delinquent, (for by his means, the things were discovered to Cesare Fregoso, and by him communicated to the Court of France) had for his preservation gotten into the French Ambassadour's house, to the which Bernardo Giorgio, one of the *Aurugadori del Commune*, a Magistrate of great authority, being gone, with Commanders and the chief heads of the Councell of Ten, and other Officers, to have the guilty party delivered into their hands; the *Aurugadori* with great respect desired to speak with the Embassadour. When those of his family, laying violent hands upon those who were at the gate, and upon the stairs, and wounding some of them, would give no answer, nor would suffer any one of them to go any further. Whereupon by order from the Councill of Ten, Guards of armed Boats, and many people, were presently placed about the Embassadour's house, as well to keep the Traitor from escaping, as for preserving the house, and the Embassadour's person from the peoples fury, who being in a tumult by reason of this accident, were very like to grow more insolent, and give occasion of greater scandall. At last, Abondio was by the Embassadour delivered into the hands of Justice, who being found guilty, was condemned and hanged. And the goods of Cesare Fregoso, he being already dead, were confiscated, and his brother Alexander had his Pension taken from him, and his command of *Gers d'Armes*; their offence being thought the greater, by reason of the great obligations

tions which their father Janus, and their whole family had received from the Common-wealth. The King was wrongfully inform'd of these things, as if they had been done onely to despise him, and not out of safety for the Common-wealth, and out of justice. Wherefore he spoke loud, and was grievously offended against the Common-wealth: But afterwards his passion being over, he sent the Pronotory of Monduck to Venice, to plead his excuse, if grounding his judgment upon false information, he had conceived a worler opinion of the Common-wealth, then she had deserved at his hands; saying, that he would blot out the Memory thereof, and would be always a true and constant friend to her: and soon after, he sent the same Monduck back to Venice, to be his Embassadour in ordinary there, in the place of the Bishop of Montpelier, who, to gratifie the Senate, was at their request removed from that charge.

There hapned an other accident at the same time, which did a little trouble the Senate, both in respect of themselves and others, which was the taking of Marano from Ferdinando, King of the Romans, (in whole power it was by vertue of the last Capitulations) by Beltrame Sacchia, a Venetian subject, who did it first of his own head, but afterwards by the intercessing of great Princes; for calling in Pietro Strozzi to his aid, a banisht Florentine, who entred in with a certain number of men, tumultuously raised in the State of Venice; they declared that they held that Town, in the name of the King of France; but they threatned at the same time, that if they should be abandoned by other helps, so as the Town should be in danger of falling back into the power of Ferdinando, they would deliver up that Fort to the Turks. This was hainously resented by the Venetians, as the beginning of greater Commotions, and as the seed of War and Dilcord. They knew that Ferdinando might very well think they had a hand in it, since the first Author was one of their subjects, and the people that he made use of, taken out of their State, and then they knew not what the King of France his intentions might be, since his name, who was desirous of Novelities, was used therein: but they chiefly feared lest the Turks might be hereby incited to prejudice the Common-wealth, Marano not being above 80 miles from Venice, where by reason of the Lake, their ships might safely ride. Therefore being resolved to provide as well as they could against so many inconveniences; the Senate made proclamation, that upon pain of severe punishment, none of their subjects should enter into Marano, nor convey victuals thither, or any other sort of helpe. They also made Sacchia's Father and Wife, who were in *Madone*, be deteyned, that they might have a pledge in their hands, whereby to curb his rash courses: and yet at the same time, they gave fair words both to him, and the rest that were in Marano, and gave them hopes of good accommodation; lest when Ferdinando should come against them, and they not be of themselves able to defend themselves, they should resolve to take a Turkish Garrison. In this variety of affairs, being resolved not to intermeddle more then of necessity they must, they kept as much as they could from giving offence to the interess'd Princes. Thus when Ferdinando

sent the Bishop of Trent to Venice, to desire assistance of Men and Ships from the Senate, for the recovery of Marano; they said nothing of their not being able to satisfy him, without offending the King of France; but answered, That the Senate which alwaies loved what was just and honest, desired that Ferdinando might recover Marano, which was fraudulently taken from him, and by violence; that therefore they were ready to allow passage for his men, and to assist them with Victuals; but that they hoped things might be fairly accorded. And likewise the King of France, his Ambassador affirming to them in his Master's name, that the King would not do any thing concerning Marano, without satisfaction to the Senate, and that he desired their advice therein; the Senate return'd answer, That the King was so wise a Prince, as he needed no advice; and that for as much as concerned their desire, they should wish best to that resolution, by which peace & concord might be preserved. Whilst the time was spent in these affairs, those who remained in Marano, (for Sacchia, who was gone out of the Town to accompany the wife of a German Governour, who went to provide Monies to pay the Tax that was laid upon them, was not permitted to come in again) growing more bold and insolent, began to build a Fort at the Haven of Liguano, five miles distant from Marano; that they might have a safe place of refuge, when they should go forth with their armed Vessels, to pillage such ships as should sail by those shores, which they continually did: This being thought to be a thing of greater consequence, and not to be suffered, the Venetians to destroy this Work, and Bernardo Sagredo being therein employ'd, he soon effected it. For coming thither suddenly with his Gallies, and another belonging to Philippo Bragadino, both of which were ready armed, as being formerly destin'd to an other voyage, and having a good many Souldiers aboard, commanded by Julio da Monte Vecchia; those that built the Work, fled away at the first appearance, and he with his Artillery beat down the Fort, which was already rais'd to a good height, and carried away all the materialls, to take away the means of easily re-making it. This resolution help'd likewise to keep some Imperial Gallies from coming into the Gulph, which were destin'd to assist the recovery of Marano; which the King of France having notice of, he had likewise prepared some other to send to the same place, to assist those of Marano: So as it was foreseen, that both these Fleets were to have entred the Gulph, to the prejudice of the ancient Jurisdiction of the Common-wealth, and that the seat of War would be made so near hand: But both these Princes, at the Senates request, forbore doing this. Thus the affairs of Marano were suspended, the agreement concerning this Town, being before begun to be treated of between the King of France, and the King of the Romanes, wherein there being many difficulties still found, Strozzi and the rest seeming desirous to deliver up that Fort, rather to the Common-wealth than to any other Princes; they protested, that if they did not quickly agree, they would treat with the Turks, and agree with them. But in the mean while, Ferdinando, (were it that he did truly know the Venetians sincerity, or that he would conceal whatsoever jealousie he had thereof, and knowing that their friendship might

might be of great moment) chose two Commissioners to end the differences which had often been treated of, touching the meaning and observation of the Capitulations of Trent. These came to Venice, and Francesco Contarini, and Francesco Sanuto were chiefly employ'd in the business, being formerly chosen Commissioners for this Treaty, wherein Cæsars Ambassador interposed himselfe as a friendly compozer; and the business was drawn to a near conclusion, if there could have been any means found out to accord the differences touching the Town of Belgrado and Castel Nuovo, which were formerly mortgaged, together with some other Castles, by Emperours of the House of Austria, to the Dukes of Saxony. Touching which, and the condition of the Engagement, and the proportion of Monies which belonged to these two places, there arose many difficulties, which kept the business undecided.

But these businesses were diverted by much greater affairs: for at the beginning of the year 1543. such rumours of Wars were heard in all parts, as no Country seemed to be secure, nor any Prince free from the troubles thereof. For in Constantinople, a great Army was prepar'd to assault Hungary and Austria, and a Fleet to passe into the Mediterranean Seas, to the prejudice of the Emperours Dominions. And the King of France, hoping, by the coming out of the Fleet at his desire, and in favour to him, that he should the more easily prevail over Cæsar, being more desirous of war then ever, had rais'd a great many Souldiers, not onely of his own Kingdom, but of the warlike Nation of the Swizzers, inviting them with new rewards and gifts, to follow his ensignes: he endeavour'd very much to maintain the Duke of Cleve's rebellion, troubling the Emperour in severall parts, but especially in Flanders: who being no lesse willing to revenge himselfe for the injuries he had received from the French, and chiefly to chastise the Duke of Cleve's daring, as he termed it, (who was a Feudatary of the Empire) for having taken up Arms with his Enemies against him, assembled the Diet of Princes, and Hans-towns, according to the custome of Germany, and had gotten all the Forces of Germany to joyn with him in making War against the King of France, and the Duke of Cleve; and to the end that his Forces might be the more formidable, laying aside (to the wonder of all men) the memory of the heinous and great injuries received from Henry King of England, for having repudiated his Aunt Queen Katherine, and not regarding that this Prince had declared himselfe a Schismatick, and was become contumacious to the Church of Rome, he resolv'd to joyn in league with him, and to make War upon France. Thus it seems that all other Reasons, both Humane and Divine, give way to the Reason of State; though Princes oftentimes term their meer Appetites, Reason. And Cæsar found Henry the more inclined to this Invitation, by reason of his not being satisfied with the King of France, for having adhered unto his enemy, James King of Scotland, in a difference between them concerning Confinnes. In these great Commotions, the Pope, and the Venetians, continued in their Neutrality, being desirous

firmous to maintain the peace of *Italy*, as much as might be. But the Venetians were herein much more resolute and constant; for the Pope, being troubled with severall jealousies, was sometimes otherwise minded. Many things made him apprehend *Cesar's* greatness; he considered how much more powerfull *Cesar* was likely to prove, being assisted by the forces of *Germany*, and of *England*; and that the power of Emperours had ever been formidable to Popes; and that he was the more particularly concern'd, in that *Cesar* had satisfied the German Protestants in many points, and now of late in procuring the Council to be celebrated within the confines of *Germany*, whither the Embassadors being gone very early, they gave out that matters of Reformation were to be treated on, which is not usually very acceptable to Popes; and chiefly then, by reason of the freedom of their speech, who being alienated from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, sought to cover their own faults by the errors of others. Nor was it of any small moment, to make him think the worse of the Emperour, that he had contracted friendship with a Prince who had thrown off his obedience to the Apostolick Sea, and that he seemed not willing to gratifie Him in the affairs of *Millan*. The Pope being moved out of these respects, proposed a straighter conjunction, and intelligence with the Venetians for the common safety; a thing proposed then onely, as looking at Peace and Quiet, and not of forgoing their Neutrality, unless upon utmost necessity; but with intention, as was discover'd by many signs, to bring the Common-wealth to joyn with the King of *France*. But the Senate continuing their accustom'd answer, shew'd the Pope, that there was no Occasion, much lesse any Necessity, to make any such Innovation, whereby mischiefs afar off might be rather hastned then kept back, by making Princes jealous. Herein the Senators did maturely consider, that the forces of the Emperour, and of the King of *France*, were so equally ballanced, each of them being very strong of himselfe, and assisted by other great Princes, as it was not to be feared that one of them should exceed the other, as that his power might prove prejudiciall to the affairs of *Italy*, and that Time often produceth notable and un-thought of advantages, which they ought most to attend, who propose unto themselves the safety and preservation of what is their own, rather then the getting of what appertains to another. That the Common-wealth could not confederate with any other, without offending *Cesar*, who having so often desired new Leagues, they could never be brought to alter any part of their old Capitulations; that at the present, the King of *France* was excluded all *Italy*, but that it was more to be desired, then likely, that he might at this time have a share therein, the better to counterpoise *Cesar*, now when he must be necessitated to employ his forces in defence of his own Kingdom: it being set upon both by English and Imperialists. The Venetians were much more troubled at the coming forth of the Turkish Fleet, which was now much talked of, and whereof great preparations were seen; though the Turks promised, that all fair respects should be had to what appertained to the Common-wealth, and that *Paulino* affirm'd the

the same constantly, who was to be in it, and had wholly changed his mind, by reason of new instructions which he had received from his King. It was foreseen, that *Italy* would be disurnished of souldiers, since the flowre of her Militia was to go serve *Cesar* and *Ferdinand* in *Hungary* and *Flanders*. That *Doria's* Fleet consisted but of a few Gallies, and those employ'd in bringing *Cesar's* person into *Italy*. That the Common-wealth had not as then above thirty Gallies at Sea, so as all Seas were open and free for the Turks, all Shoars exposed to their assaults. Nor was it to be comprehended, nor much to be credited, what their present intentions were, nor what they would hereafter be; according as occasions should fall out. Therefore the Venetians thought good to increase their Fleet, to the number of 70 Gallies, arming some in *Dalmatia*, some in *Candia*, and in other places; and making *Stephano Tiepolo* Captain Generall at Sea, (a man famous for his own worth, and more famous afterwards, for being father of *Paolo Tiepolo*, Procurator of *St. Mark*; a famous Senator of our times, both for his eloquence, and wisdom in the Senate) who gave an account of this to all the Princes Courts, to the end, that the newes hercof might not make her designs to be thought greater then they were, to tell them, That the Common-wealth had armed some Gallies, for the safety of their Subjects, and for the guard of the Sea, and of her Shoars; and had made a supream Commander over them, to the end, that the publick Officers and Subjects, might be kept within the bounds of obedience, and all occasions removed, whereby the publick quiet might be disturbed. And accordingly, the Generall was enjoyn'd to keep within the Gulph, and visit the Shoars and Islands of their Dominions, ordering and taking course for all things that were necessary; where he was to be met by *Justiniano*, one of the Sea-Commissaries; the other Commissary, which was *Alessandro Bordiniero*, being to tarry in the waters of *Corsica*, with 15 of the best Gallies, wherewith, upon the approach of any Fleet, he might be safe in the *Mandracchio*. And he was also ordered to shun all such things, as might cause suspicions in the Turks, of the insincerity of their intentions towards them, which it was very well known, was often cunningly endeavoured by *Doria*.

This mean while, the Turkish Fleet put to sea, consisting of 120 Gallies, commanded by *Cariadana Barbarossa*, *Polino* being aboard them; and having put himself in very good order, as to souldiers, and all things necessary, those few daies that he tarried at *Negroponte*, he went to *Porto Figaro*, and then steering Westward, he passed *Faro di Messina*, and came to the Rivers of *Calabria*, where landing his men neer *Regio*, he took much booty, and sackt the City of *Regio*, the Castle having much ado to hold out. Then re-imbarking his men, and pursuing his course towards the French shoar, he stayed to take in fresh water, first, at the Island of *Ponzo*, and afterwards at the River of *Terrezzina*, where landing some men neer *Ostia*, at the mouth of the River *Tiber*, all those of *Rome* were struck into such a terrour at the newes thereof, as the people began tumultuously to run out of the City, that they might save themselves

selves in some neighbouring parts. But the fear and danger soon ceased; for *Polino* did by Letters assure the Governour of *Rome*, that those shoars should receive no prejudice; and as soon as they had made provision of water, the whole Fleet went away; not having done any injury: And coasting along the Rivers of *Tesina* and *Genoa*, put into the Haven of *Tolone*, where meeting with two French Gallies, they guided the Fleet towards *Marcelles*, and by the way they were met with twenty four more French Gallies. *Barbarossa* landed, and was received in great pomp into the City, with many Janisaries. But *Polino* went in all haste to finde the King out, to receive particular orders from him, (which *Barbarossa* was by his commission to obey) and returned suddenly to the Fleet, which at his coming back was encreased by sixteen French Gallies, and some few Ships, wherein were 6000 Foot, who were ready to that purpose on those shoars. So he went from *Marcelles*, and pass'd into the Haven of *Villa Franca*, lying in the River of *Genoa*, to fall upon *Nice*, a Town which was then in the Duke of *Savoy's* possession, but which was said to have belonged formerly to the Crown of *France*: He landed his men and Artillery, and for some few daies played furiously upon the Town; so as the defendants despairing of being able to defend themselves, yielded the Town unto the King, and the City was preserved from plunder; but the Castle being relieved by the Marquis of *Gustaf*, and the season being too far spent to tarry any longer there, *Barbarossa* returned with his whole Fleet into the Haven at *Marcelles*, to the end, that wintering in some parts thereabouts, he might be the readier to make some attempts in those seas, and to keep the Imperialists the mean while, much to their inconvenience, from that Navigation; wherefore the French and Turks did very diligently observe, which way the enemies Vessells went, and laid snares for them: And *Janatino Doria* being gone with some Gallies into the *Levant*, to commit piracy in the *Archipelagus*, *Barbarossa* sent forty Gallies towards the Island of *Majorca*, to fight him at his return; and *Doria* cleaped them very narrowly, whose prey he must have been, being far inferiour to them in forces. The Venetian Fleet in this interim, not knowing what way the Turkish Fleet would take, and because *Doria's* Gallies were gone into the *Levant*, kept still in the Gulph, thinking it their safest course to provide for their own affairs, to shun all occasions of meeting the Frigats of any great Princes, or to make them believe, that they would any waies either assist, or hinder them, in any of their enterprises. Yet was not the Venetian Generall idle, but viewing the Forts and the Militia's, and giving many good directions in all places, his service proved very advantageous and honourable to the Common-wealth.

Cesar being at the same time resolved to go in person into *Germany*, that he might make as fierce war as he could upon the King of *France*; he thought he might the safer go from *Spain*, because he had made the States swear, to receive his son Prince *Phillip* for their King. So he, with his whole Court, went to *Barcelona*, leaving *Don Ernando di Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, in charge with the af-

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fairs of the Kingdom, and of his son. And meeting Prince *Doria*, who waited for him there with forty Gallies, he went with them, and with certain ships, which carried the Spanish Foot to *Genoa*. Upon the newes of his arrivall in *Italy*, the Senate chose four Embassadors, *Carlo Morefint*, *Gabriele Veniero*, *Lodovico Faliero*, and *Vettore Gremani*; who as he was to passe through the Dominions of the Common-wealth, were to meet him, to witness their love and friendship to him. But the Pope, betaking himself to new thoughts, since he had no hopes of the confederacy which he had endeavoured with the Venetians, resolved to speak with *Cesar*, intending first to secure his own affairs the better, as well concerning the condition of his Temporall Arms, as Religion, and the Pontifical authority in the Council, which was about to meet in *Trent*, a City in *Germany*, and whereof there wanted not some jealousies; resolving afterwards to try *Cesar* once more, touching the concession of the Dukedom of *Millan*, to *Ottavio Farnese*, with disbursing a sum of mony to him, which he saw *Cesar* stood in need of, in other the like important affairs of war. But cloaking these his more secret designs, with another fair pretence, he expres'd his necessity of speaking with *Cesar*, with whom, since he was to passe by, so neer him, it became him, the Pope, as head of Christendom, and common Father and Pastor, in a time of such great disorders and troubles, amongst Christians, and of such eminent danger of the Turks, to meet him, and to exhort him to peace with Christians, and to wars with the Turks; and to see, whether he could do any more good by his presence, then he had done in his absence by his authority, or by his advice given by *Cardinall Gaspero Contarino*, a learned holy man, whom he had sent as his Legat not long before to *Cesar* in *Germany*; as he had sent at the same time, and to the same end, *Cardinall Jacopo Sadeletto*, to *France*; but all to no purpose. Thus the Pope acquainting the Venetians with his departure from *Rome*, and his going to *Bullognia*, alledged this for his chiefest reason, but did neither totally conceal, nor yet confesse his intention, touching the affairs of *Millan*, to see whether he could discover their intentions therein; for he knew, that this would be very acceptable to them, but that they were to proceed with great caution, for the aforesaid reasons. But the Senate continuing their resolution, of not meddling at all in these negotiations, did only praise the Pope's pious good-will, and the resolution he had taken in so important a business for the common good, not proceeding any further to the consideration of any business. Yet did not the Pope cool, in this his desire of interview, neither for his being sole in this business, nor yet for any lets or difficulties, promoted by *Cesar*, who little to his honour, appeared to be otherwise minded, either, for that he was not well pleased with the Pope, for not having openly declared for him, as the esteem which he and his House had put upon him, seemed to require, (he having preferred him before many honourable Allies, in the marriage of his daughter) as also the actions of his enemy the King of *France*, who had joyned in league and friendship with the Turks, to the

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prejudice of Christendoms or else, for that suspecting that the Pope would renne the Treaty, of yielding up the Dukedom of *Millan* to *Ottavio Fernelse*, he being already resolved not to part with it upon any conditions, he would shun the occasion of encreasing his ill-will to him, by not giving him satisfaction, and thrust him as it were upon the friendship of the King of *France*. But the Pope esteeming his dignity injur'd, if being gone from *Rome* to speak with *Cesar*, he should suffer him to go out of *Italy*, and not see him; for nothing he could do was able to persuade the Emperour, to come to *Bullognia*, though he had sent his son *Pier Luigi* first to him to *Genoa*, with this his desire; and afterwards his nephew *Alexander Fernelse*, who although very young, was already made Cardinall; he was content to go further to meet him, *Cesar* having alledged for his excuse, That he could not retard his journey, by going out of his way. The Town of *Bugetto*, belonging to the jurisdiction of the *Palavinsini*, was then appointed for this convention, an incommodious and ignoble place; but the issue of this interview was such, as it was foreseen it would be; for nothing was therein concluded, neither for the publick service of Christendom, nor for the particular advantage of the House of *Fernelse*; for *Cesar* was still resolute, to pursue the war against the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Cleves*. And as for the business of *Millan*, he would give no absolute negative to the Pope, alledging, that he could not of himself dispose of that State, without the participation and consent of the Princes of the Empire. By which answer, his resolution of not parting with it, was notwithstanding discovered. The convention being dissolved, which lasted but onely three daies, *Cesar* pursuing his journey, entered the State of *Venice*, where he was met upon the confines by the four fore-named Embassadors, and received and accompanied with the usuall demonstrations of honour. As he without any delay went to *Trent*, to go for *Germany*, the State furnished him with all things necessary for his person, and for his attendance, and many offers were made unto him in the name of the publick, but in generall terms, not touching upon any business, save onely, that he would be a means to his brother, for expedition in the affairs, belonging to the resolution of *Trent*, wherein they had already interested themselves as friendly compositors. *Cesar* past from *Trent* to *Ilmes*, and from thence to *Spire*, that he might be neerer the business he went about; being followed wheresoever he went by Secretary *Daniel Buonriccio*, Agent for the Common-wealth; for the Embassador *Ponte* falling desperately sick, was forced to tarry at *Trent*, and to return from thence to *Venice*; and *Bernardo Navagiero*, who was afterwards made Cardinall by Pope *Pius* the fourth, succeeded in his place. *Cesar*'s first attempts against the Duke of *Cleves*, succeeded well; for he took the City of *Dura* from him at the very first; but soon after, by the intercession and entreaties of the Duke of *Brunswick*, and of the Elector of *Collen*, and out of *Cesar*'s own inclination, that he might the more freely, without any hindrance, proceed against the Kingdom of *France*, he was by him received into favour, and suffered to enjoy his whole Dukedom

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of *Cleves*, upon the restitution of the Dukedom of *Guelters*, which he had posselt himselfe of.

At the same time the War was begun again in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, whither *Soliman* being come with a powerfull Army, making all the Country be ransackt and ruin'd by his Cavalry; he lay down before *Szigonia*, and whilst he was busied there, he sent an Embassador to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate with his voyage, and his designs; and also to learn news of his Fleet, which was busied at this time in the Haven of *Villa Franca*, about the enterprize of *Negus*, and he accordingly was advertised, and thanked for his friendship to the common-wealth, and for his acquainting her with his actions and counsells. It behooved them to appear pleased with this demonstration of the Turks, to preserve peace with them, and better reputation with others, by their friendship, which was at this time of better esteem, by reason of the Turks joyning with the French, who were not wanting in making often mention of the terror of the Turk's enmity, that they might make the *Venetians* be govern'd by them. Wherefore *Soliman* having sent an other Embassador to *Venice*, with new advertisements of his proceedings in *Hungary*, the Senate thought they must not be wanting in correspondence, with demonstration of like honour, and love towards so great a Prince; *Stephano Tiepolo*, was therefore chosen for this Embassy, who had already laid down his Commission of Generall at Sea. This man was to go in the spring to *Constantinople*; where *Soliman*, who was already upon his return, was then to be, to congratulate his happy return, and to promise good correspondence, and continuance of friendship with that Court. The business of *Marano* was not as yet quieted, but the French were still more hot in maintaining that Fort, and the Dutch in recovering it; so as besides 400 Foot, who were brought thither first by Monsieur de *Senai*, the King of *France* sent a new recruit thither of a good many foot and horse: And on the other side, the King of the *Romans* sent some Dutch foot companies over the Mountains, under the Conduct of *Giovan Baptista Savello*, and mustred some others of his nearest Territories, to make up a body of an Army, wherewith to besiege *Marano*; and they were all forthwith suffered to passe through the Common-wealth, that they might appear free from siding with any one in this business. The *Venetians* were more troubled at the manning out of a Pinnace, and two *Brigantines* at *Trieste*, wherewith they began to sicizen *Marano* by Sea, entering by the Haven of *Dignano*, because they would of necessity draw other armed Vessels to those parts: and the suffrance of these, seemed to intrench upon the Common-wealths pretences to that Haven, and shew'd some partiality in them, by suffering *Marano*'s out-rages in the same parts, where by formerly destroying the Fort, they would not favour her defence: yet the Common-wealth proceeding calmly on, indeavour'd to free her selfe from these prejudices and jealousies, rather by negotiations, and by a certain cautiousness, than by open force. Therefore they prest *Ferdinando* and the Emperour very much, that those armed Vessels might not tarry in that Haven

Haven, and at the same time caused the Captain of the fly-boats, and one well arm'd Gallie to come to the neighbouring shoress that the *Trieste* Vessels, which were but weakly furnisht, might be resisted, and be made to suspect that force should be used against them. Whilst these things were in Treaty, *Jovan Franciscode Pazzizi*, a *Florentine*, came to *Venice*, to deliver up the Fort of *Marano*, in the name of *Pietro Strozzi*, to the Common-wealth, receiving a reasonable reward, and to tell them, if they should not listen to this offer of his, he should be forc't to treat with some other great Prince, who he knew would willingly accept of it. And it was generally said everywhere, that *Strozzi* being resolved not any ways to deliver up that Fort to *Ferdinando*, and intending to make what advantage he could of it, might easily close with the Turks. The King of *France* had left *Marano* in the free power of *Strozzi*, in reward of the service he had done that Crown; and as others more expressly said, in account for great debts which he pretended unto; and that he therefore assured, *Strozzi* might doe with the Town what he listed: Yet it was thought, that nothing was done without the knowledge and particular consent of the King of *France*, whose Ambassador, then resident at *Venice*, as soon as the Agreement was made, did much commend the Senates resolution, and did thank them for it in his Kings name. The Venetians were much troubled at the business; for the receiving, or refusing of the offer, was a trouble unto them in divers respects. They desired to shun doing of any thing that might displease *Ferdinando*, and much more to occasion any jealousies, that they had had any hand in *Strozzi's* Counsells; but to permit that a place so near the Towns of *Venice*, standing as it were upon her own shore, should fall into the hands of the Turks, was too hard and prejudiciall a business, and which might prove injurious not onely to the Common-wealth, but to all Christendom. Being therefore reduced to this necessity, they resolved to listen to *Pazzizi's* proposall, and two Senators, *Antonio Capello*, and *Francesco Contarini*, were appointed to treat with him upon the particulars. After many meetings, the business was concluded thus; That upon the delivery up of *Marano* to the Common-wealth, *Strozzi* was to receive 35000 *Duckets*. Thus *Alexander Bondeviere*, was chosen Commissary of the Town, who accompanied by *Pazzizi*, and a few foot, was received in, and had the Town delivered into his hands by *Strozzi*, and with the peoples applause. Some of the chief of them, swore allegiance to the Common-wealth: they afterward acquainted the Emperour and *Ferdinando* with all that was done, alledging just reasons for this their necessary resolution. That their actions for two years last past, might sufficiently witness their sincerity; during all which time, they would not onely listen to these practices, which had been proffer'd them severall times before, but had readily given passage, victuals, and all other commodities to *Ferdinando's* men, for the recovery of *Marano*; that they had considered, that Town was of no moment to *Ferdinando's* affairs, neither for State, Confines, nor advantage that he got thereby; but that it would have been very dangerous for his other Territories, if it should

should have fallen into the Turks hands, as it was apparent it would have done, if they had continued to have dispised *Strozzi's* offer: these reasons being handsomely represented to these Princes, by *Bernardo Navagiero*, and *Marino de Cavalli*, the one being sent Embassador to *Cesar*, the other to the King of the *Romanes*, did appease them who were at first much incensed at this accident.

But the condition of the Times, did chiefly make them capable of these reasons; for a Dyet being intimated to be held in *Spire*, in the beginning of the year 1544. wherein the chief Lords of *Germany* were to intervene, to treat of important affairs, of making War with the French, and of withstanding that which the Turks made with them, the Emperour, and the King of the *Romanes*, were wholly bent upon these Negotiations and preparations. And as they did much desire this, so they hoped that the Common-wealth, moved by the Authority of so many German Princes, and Cities, would suffer it selfe to be drawn into some confederacy, when they should see that they had embraced the enterprize against the Turks. But the Emperour in particular, was not free from suspicions, that the Venetians so often attempted by the King of *France*, should, upon the taking of any distaste at his hands, part from his confederacy, and joyn with the King of *France*, which troubled him the more at this time, for that having made peace with the King of *England*, and the *Swissers*, he hoped he might prosper better in his attempts against *France*, then he had done the last year, wherein the good he had got was not answerable to his preparations for War. For the French having lately relieved *Landres*, were returned with all their Forces safe into *France*; and the imperial Army despairing to get the Town, gave over the enterprize. Wherefore *Cesar* intending to fall upon *France* with more forces, at the same time that it should be assaulted by the King of *England*, was very desirous of the peace of *Italy*, that his Forces might not be divided by being employed elsewhere. But on the contrary, the King of *France* knowing all this, placed much of his hopes in being able to defend and secure his own affairs, by troubling the peace of *Italy*, by assaulting *Napolls*, and *Millan*; so as *Cesar* should be necessitated to turn his Forces to defend those States which he so highly valued: therefore considering the advantage he might make thereby, either forgetting other respects, so often considered, by reason of his ardent desire, or for that he hoped to bring him the more easily to some Agreement, or that he believed time and accidents might make the Venetians alter their determinations; he resolved to invite them once more by many offers, to joyn in League with him against *Cesar*; and to the end that the Authority of the person employ'd, might purchase more believe and honour to the business; he sent the Cardinal of *Ferrara* to *Venice*, who was received there very honourably; and publick Complements being past, he was brought, according to his desire, to private Audience in the Colledge, where he spoke thus.

The occasion of this my coming hither, and the proposall that I am to make, as it may peradventure be cause of wonder to others, so ought it to cause content, and no small consolation to you, wise Senators, since that coming from

from a great King, to make new intreaties, and new confederacy with this Common-wealth, after the having so often indeavour'd your friendship, may be a manifest sign of Francis King of France, his good will towards you, and your affairs, and of the great esteem he hath of this Common-wealth, and of her Forces: it will shew with the wisdom which is attributed to you, Gentlemen, and with the praise which is particularly given to your Senate, to know how to make good use of this Prince his well wilbes towards the common good, and particularly towards your prosperity, to know your own greatness and forces, and withall, to know the opportunity, nay the necessity which the condition of the Times, and the designs of other Princes, doe put upon you, to embrace these great offers which are made you; the which I knowing them to be effectually such, hath made me to undertake this employment the more willingly, as thinking I shall not do service onely to the King therein, to whom I stand so much indebted, but that I shall also procure the liberty and greatness of Italy: You not having formerly agreed with our King, and accepted his offers, hath not been esteemed a coolnesse in your affection towards the Crown of France, since there have been sufficient both modern and ancient Testimonies thereof, nor to any little credit you give to the Kings promises, since this Common-wealth, hath to her great advantage joyn'd an league so often with his predecessors, and with himselfe; nor yet to want of Counsell, or care in Government, your Senate having alwaies been a more vigilant Guardian then any other Potentate, not onely of your own Country, but also of the liberty of others, and for a long time a true defender and Arbitrator of the affairs of Italy: but for that in a businesse of so great moment as this, you have been pleas'd to proceed with all maturity, lest you might repent too late the having quitted your Neutrality, and have entr'd into the charge and trouble of War, so as there is none who can as yet blame this your resolution; but all things which might have caus'd any doubt, are now so ripen'd, that there is no time left for longer delay. Cæsar's ends and intentions are now too well known, to be wholly bent upon making himselfe supream Monarch, and in particular, Lord of Italy: Him hath the King oppos'd in these things with all his might; and for this is he the more hated by Cæsar, because he sees he withstands these his machinations; and that he is ready not onely to defend his own affairs, but to become a refuge to others, who have need of assistance against this powerfull Enemy, and hath been able hitherto by the Forces of his own Kingdom, to oppose the violence of the Dutch and Spanish Forces, able to frustrate Cæsar's hopes, to maintain his own Dominions, and to repair the eminent dangers of other men. But now that Cæsar's power is so increased, by having the Forces of Germany, of the Swissers, and of the King of England joyn'd with him, as that every other Prince ought to be jealous of him, and to be awak'd at the aspect of such greatness, which is in an instant both born and sprung up, and to provide against it, before the mischief be grown greater which threatens all men. The King of France his Forces are certainly very great, his mind very ready to employ them all against Cæsar's immoderate greatness, wherein he will value, nor labour, nor expence, nor danger, being resolv'd to run all fortunes, and never to lay down Arms, unlesse overcome by utmost necessity, or that there be no occasion to make use of them: but that he may secure these his intentions the most he may, to shew that he doth not undervalue the forces and assistants of others, when the common cause

cause is in question: it is therefore that he hath made known these his most important respects to you Gentlemen; it is therefore that he hath opened his most inward thoughts unto you, and hath indeavour'd a new conjunction between this Common-wealth and his Kingdom, because when the wills and forces of these two Potentates shall be joyn'd, and that it may in reason be thought, that the safety of their states is in a good part provided for, Cæsar may be made to divide his Armies, and no longer think upon usurping other mens Estates, but upon defending his own. The King doth therefore desire, and this it is that he wills me particularly to propose unto you, that your Fleet may be brought to the Rivers of Puglia, where, the Towns being unprovided of Garrisons, the people well affected towards the Common-wealth, and declared enemies to the Spaniards, there may be hopes of doing much good speedily: And on his part, he offers to maintain alwaies 15000 choice Foot in Piemont, or where else you shall please, whereby the Imperialists being curb'd, your State by Land may be safe from all danger; may the Dukedom of Millan, and the Duke of Savoy's whole State, whose interest is the same with Cæsar's, will be sorely endangered. In this Proposition, all things will be maturely consider'd; it will be sufficiently known, that all things do therein concur, which may make a Prince take up Arms: the necessary defence and safety of his own affairs; hopes ground'd upon good foundations, to increase Dominion; the assured purchasing of a powerfull and faithfull friend in all Fortunes. The very resolutions of your Senate shew, that Cæsar's greatness ought to be esteemed a sufficient cause, to make your Common-wealth take up Arms to keep off further dangers, which much to your praise have constantly for so long a time maintained wars, not being frightned by any danger, nor changed for any expence or trouble, onely to keep the State of Millan from falling into Cæsar's hands. For you know, it was too great a danger, to have so powerfull a Neighbour. But if these things were apprehended when they were farther off, and the suspicions thereof indeavour'd to be secur'd; how ought they to be suffer'd, now that they are at hand, when Cæsar's counsells are sufficiently known, when his cunning is discovered, and when there is no more hope left, that he will quit the State of Millan. Can it be thought a good and wholesome counsell, to neglect the occasion now, which was more desired by you then, than any thing else, to oppose Cæsar's vast designs, and not to suffer the Malady to grow to such a height, as that no remedy will be found for it? Consider, I beseech you, if it should so fall out, (as all human things are subject to various changes) That the Kingdom of France, assaulted by such powerfull forces, I will not say, should be lost; but should be so weakened, as that not any Prince should for many years, be able to counterpoise Cæsar's power. Who sees not, to what condition the liberty of Italy would be reduced? Who can think himself free from his injuries, for not having offended him? Who can hope to work upon his haughtinesse by submission? Who can think, that his insatiable thirst after Government, can ever be satisfied by any acquisition? Cæsar will say, that you have oppos'd his greatness, because you have not favour'd him; that you have not valued his friendship, because you would not make a straiter conjunction with him; though it be known, he sought thereby to put greater ties upon you, for his own advantage. So as it cannot be thought safe for you, to keep at this time in your Neutrality; for it doth neither purchase you true friends, nor doth it secure you from those

that are your reall enemies. And if your aim, by this your neutrality, had alwaies been, to obtain peace and quiet, your Common-wealth would never have arrived at such greatnesse, nor would she have either Dominions or Forces: But depending upon the discretion of others, she would have become a pray to any one, who would have oppressed her. This desire of peace kept Greece awhile from the troubles of war, but was the reason, why she was afterwards the sooner subjugated by Philip, whose greatnesse they had inconsiderately suffered to encrease too much. It becomes then the wisdom of this Senate, to know, to foresee, and to provide against these dangers, since your Common-wealth is more concerned therein, then other Potentates, because the Emperour hath so many pretences to the Towns which she possesseth, and may think, that his designs are chiefly hindered by her; so as he may hope, so to encrease his power by her ruine, as all his other vast designs which he pursues upon, may prove the lesse difficult. But he who shall consider it well, will finde, that the eschewing of these evils, and the true and onely remedy for these threatening ruines, is the King of France his friendship; for he keeps his weapons in his hands, not to possess what belongs to another, but to defend himself, his friends, and confederates. He is a Prince of great Dominions, and mighty in power, but of a benigne and moderate minde; generous, in not suffering injuries and insolencies to be done him by any one; but easie in giving, forgiving, and in conferring grace and favour on all; constant in his friendship, and one who doth carry himself so to his friends and confederates, as his friendship is an advantage and an ornament unto them, no grievance nor prejudice. But, that which ought to be most valued by you, Gentlemen, is, that he is so affectionate to your Common-wealth, and to your affairs, as thinking his Kingdom concerned in all her fortune. He desires and endeavours, that there be not onely a good understanding between you and him, but a strict conjunction; and that the common interests of his Kingdom, and your Common-wealth, may be joyntly treated of, both in war and peace.

These words were spoken by the Cardinall in a very grave and affectionate manner, so as it seemed, they might have made some impression in the Senators; but no resolute answer being as then (according to the custom of the Common-wealth) given to the things proposed; when they came afterwards to take them into mature consideration, thinking upon the same reasons, which had perswaded them to keep Neuters, wherein they had found great good; and not finding any alteration now, in affairs or respects, they resolved to give the same answer, which they had formerly done, which was, That the Common-wealth put a great esteem upon the King of France his friendship, and would be alwaies very faithfull and sincere therein; but that being now in peace with other Princes, and having suffered much by the late wars, they neither could nor would enter into the trouble and expence of a new war. The King was not satisfied with this answer, but being very desirous to have the Venetians joyne with him, in the war which he made against Cesar: The Cardinall going soon after to Rome, and thinking that he had received encouragement from the Pope, whereby to make the Venetians put on new resolves, the King caused Baribolomeo Cavalcanti, a banish'd Florentine, to go from Rome to Venice, to acquaint the Senate, how well

well he found the Pope enclined to the affairs of France, and to renew the Treaty of League; though the King, that he might take the lesse offence, at the so many refusalls given to his offers, cloaking the businesse, affirmed afterwards, that Cavalcanti came onely by the Cardinalls appointment. Cavalcanti had a great wit, and was a great Master of Oratory, as appears by his Writings, which are now printed. He made an eloquent and long speech, which was read in the Senate, containing the same things which were formerly propounded by the Cardinall. But the graver Senators were the more constant to their first proposition, not listning to these discourses, nor suffering themselves to be inflamed by fair appearances and proposalls; for that they understood, a Treaty of peace was begun between the Emperour and the King of France, which did much impede the King of France his hopes, of having the Common-wealth joyne with him, in his continuance of war; and to hinder Christendome from so great a good, as Peace, and so long desired by all good men, seemed not to become a Common-wealth, whose actions had alwaies been upright. Moreover, it appeared not to be a good or usefull resolution, to incense Cesar at a time, when he might be free from all other wars, and resent injuries. And the Pope, though he, not to make the King of France despair, or perhaps for some particular end of his own, seemed not averse to confederate with him; yet employing his whole endeavours upon peace, he had chosen the chief Cardinalls of his Court, to go as his Legats to these Princes Morone to the Emperour, and Grimani to the King of France; and at the same time he exhorted the Venetians, to chuse Embassadours extraordinary, as they had formerly done upon the like occasion, at the meeting at Neeze, to the end, that their joynt endcavours might be of more force, to perswade to so good a thing, and so becomming the pietie of every Christian Prince. But the Senate, though they would very gladly have seen peace and union between these Princes, yet it behoved them for severall respects, to proceed therein with great caution; for they had often had their good intentions ill interpreted, at the Courts of Christian Princes; and the like to be done under false pretences, and to their prejudice, at Constantinople. Therefore content with what might be done by their Embassadors in ordinary, they avoided these vain and prejudicial appearances. The Embassadors, in the relation they made unto the Senate, said, That in the discourses had between these Princes, concerning peace, they discovered a great inclination thereunto, being thereunto induced, as they believed, rather by wearinesse of war, and by necessity, then for that they had laid aside their animosities, or out of any desire of friendship or agreement. For the King of France being at this time in great trouble and danger, by reason that his Kingdom was assaulted by the King of England, who having landed a great many men at Callice, was come himself in person, and had laid siege to Bullen; and for that the Imperiall Army, after a long and strict siege, had taken the Town of St. Desire, a frontier, of great importance, upon the River Matrona; by the getting whereof, way was made for further progresse in-

to France, desired to free himself by agreement, from so many troubles, and to lessen the numbers and forces of so many enemies. And on the other side, the Emperour, being highly exhausted of money by so continuall Wars, and the danger of his affairs in Italy encreasing, by reason of the numbers of men which were raised in the King's name, about *Mirandola*; being also doubtfull of the issue of War, by reason of the many Swissers that were taken into pay by the King, and which were still added unto his Army; but chiefly being desirous to see the Duke of Savoy re-possessed of his State, which he had lost in his service, whereof he had but little hopes, save by way of agreement, by reason of the conveniency the French had to succour, and to put garrisons into the places which they had taken; & for the affection which those people bare unto the French, it became him to think of peace, and to desire it. And both these Princes being thus well disposed, each of them stood expecting, that the motion should be made to him. Wherefore the Queen of France, who was sister to the Emperour, sent her Confessor, Father *Gabriel Gusman*, a Spaniard, to the Imperiall Camp, to the end that he might discourse thereof with the chief Officers, and might introduce the Treaty, knowing that she therein did what was acceptable, both to her husband, and to her brother; and that Princes, in the greatest managements of State, do often lend an ear to people of mean condition, especially to those of the Clergy, to shew, that nothing but Religion induceth them to give ear thereunto. The agreement begun by *Gusman*, who passed often between the two Camps, was quickly brought to a good end, so as the Cardinall Legats came not time enough, to have a hand in it. For the Admirall of France, and Secretary *Baiardo*, meeting with Monsieur *Granville*, and Don *Ferrante Gonzaga*, they, in the behalf of their Princes, agreed upon these conditions: That all Towns which were taken after the Truce at Neece, should be by both restored, and that any differences that might arise therein, should be decided by Commissioners, who were to meet for that purpose at Cambrei. That the King of France should assist Cesar with some Foot and Dragoons, together with Germany, in case of any war made with the Turks. That the Duke of Savoy should be restored to all his State, taken from him by the French in the war, except some Towns, to which the Crown of France laid claim. And that for establishment of this agreement, the marriage should be made between the Duke of Orleans, second son to the King of France, with the Emperours daughter, or with one of his nieces, daughters to Ferdinando, the choice being to depend upon Cesar, who had four months given him to resolve therein, but with different portions; for he was to give Flanders, and all the Low-Countries, with his daughters and with his niece, the State of Millan, with other conditions concerning it, which were to be regulated, according to divers accidents which might fall out. That the Venetians should be nominated in this peace, as friends both to the King and Emperour, who had proceeded so equally, as both these Princes were either content, or not dissatisfied. But it fared not thus with the Pope, of whom the French complained, for that being very fervent for them, he had not, notwithstanding, done any thing for them, in their so great need: And the Imperialists, plainly accusing the Pope's intentions and de-

designes, said, That his not declaring himself openly for the King of France, was not for any want of will, nor out of any respect of not offending Cesar, but for fear of his forces. Inasmuch as the Pope's Legats could not, without much difficulty, obtain, that the Pope should be admitted into this agreement; which was at last granted, rather out of decency, then out of any sincere affection; it not being fitting, that the Pope, who is the head of Christians, should be left out in that Peace, which was said to be made for the common good of Christendome. This Peace insuing in a time, and in a manner, such as was least expected by those, who were best experienced in the management of affairs, though it was much desired by all, afforded occasion of many severall discourses; the secrets of these Princes not being easily to be seen into, nor could it be prognosticated, of what continuance it would be; every one spoke diversly of it, according to their passions, or interests: Nay, those that had the same relations, did not agree in their judgments. Some Venetians thought, that this peace would continue long between these Princes; for the King of France getting thereby the State of Millan, or in lieu thereof the States of Flanders, a rich Country, and lying very conveniently for the Crown of France, might now appease his thoughts. And the Emperour, having put the Duke of Savoy into his State, married his daughter nobly, and into his own blood; and being now weary of war, might peacefully enjoy the glory he had won, and his exalted fortune. It was likewise thought, that this Peace, as very durable, would be acceptable and advantageous to the Common-wealth, for thereby the power of Christian Princes would be preserved, and they might the better resist Soliman's so vast Forces, which were bent upon the ruine of Christendome. And that it made likewise much for her service, that the Forces and greatnesse of these two Princes, should be balanced as equally as might be, which proportion was likely to be destroyed, or weakened, if the war should have continued, by which the King of France was forced to fight within the bowells of his own Kingdom, in defence of his own affairs, against powerful Armies. And moreover, the parting of the Dukedom of Millan or Flanders, from the so many States, which were fallen to the Crown of Spain, could not but be commodious for other Princes, who were to be jealous of such greatnesse. Others notwithstanding were of another opinion, thinking that this agreement would be to no purpose; for that Cesar, who would not see France oppress'd by the King of England, which had made him make this agreement, would not likewise suffer it to encrease and flourish by peace, and by the acquisition of so noble Dominions. And that King Francis, who was naturally very unquiet, not content with what he might have got by agreement, but aspiring still after new things, might very likely give occasion of re-assuming Arms. But say that, this were to prove a good and true union, the Common-wealth had reason to suspect it, since so many men as were in these Princes Dominions, could not keep long idle; that there was no thought of seeing them doe any thing against the Turks, since there was speech already, that they were to send Ambassadors joyntly to Soliman,

to treat of Peace, or of a long Truce. That it was likewise to be considered, the Common-wealth would be of lesse esteem, when neither the King of *France*, nor Emperour should need her friendship; that the jealousie which these two Princes had for a long time, to see this Common-wealth joyn with either of their Rivalls, or Enemies, whereby either of them might grow more powerfull then the other, had brought much safety and reputation to her affairs, each of them forbearing in this respect to injure her, or rather seeming to value her very much, and desirous to make her partiall to them. But in this diversity of private opinions, all men appeared to make publick shew of rejoycing for the conclusion of this peace: for which thanks were given to God with much solemnity, and the wisdom and piety of these Princes were much commended, every one expecting what fruit it would in time produce.

This mean while *Barbarossa* being gone from *Porto Hercole*, to return to *Constantinople*, coasting along the Rivers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had plundered and burnt much, particularly in the Islands of *Ischia*, and *Iapari*, which were almost barbarously destroyed, passing from thence to *Corfu*, and being there friendly saluted, he received the accustomed present, dealing friendly with all men, not suffering any the least injury to be done to the Islanders. *Polino* was with the Fleet, who followed it with five Gallies, and some few Ships, and seeming desirous to come to *Venice*, the Venetian Commanders offered to conduct him thither with their Gallies: but afterwards, changing his mind, and accompanying the Turks as far as *Lepanto*, he returned with his Vessels to *Marcelles*. The Turks were much troubled at the news of Peace between Christian Princes, thinking it might hinder their going against *Hungary*, or *Transylvania*, for which enterprize they did already prepare. But they fought to conceal this their displeasure, the better to sustain their reputation, being accustomed to make little account of Christians. They did not onely therefore not forbear their former intentions, but made greater preparations then usuall, by publishing, to make War the next spring against the House *Austria*; and yet they said at the same time, that if the Embassadors of these Princes should come to that Court, they should be willingly received and heard; for by their Law none was refused to be heard, who came to demand friendship, and peace, from their Grand Signor. The terror of their Arms being increased by the news of these preparations and the late ruines, made *Cesar* and *Ferdinando*, hasten their resolution of sending people expressly to that Court, to treat of Agreements. And to make such way the more easie, they got the King of *France*, to send a servant of his, to discover what *Soliman*, and his Bathaw's minds might be therein and to desire a safe conduct for their Embassadors. The King accepted this employment willingly, as well in respect of the Articles he was entred into by the last Capitulation, of assisting *Cesar* upon any occasion of warring with the Turks, as also to acquit him selfe in part of that infamy which lay upon him, of making use of the forces of Infidels against Christians, he him selfe being a Christian Prince. Wherefore his Embassador acquainting

ting them of *Venice*, with his departure for *Constantinople*, told them by order from his King, that his King kept friendship with the Turks, to no other end, but that upon such occasions, he might make use thereof for the good of Christendom. He therefore sent a Gentleman of his, one Monsieur *Dalla Vigna*, to *Soliman*, to effect this, who found him very ready to grant all that was desired, not out of any desire to pleasure the King, but for his own peculiar interests; for new Tumults were raised upon the confines of *Persia*, which necessitated him to turn his Forces into those parts, to resist that warlike Nation.

The safe conduct being gotten, which was in the beginning of the year 1545. *Girallomo Adorno*, went to *Constantinople* in *Ferdinando's* name, who going from *Vienna*, took his way by *Servia*, *Valachia*, and *Bogdania*. But the Emperour having chosen Doctor *Girardo* for this employment, made him go first to *Venice*, and being accompanied by Monsieur *di Montuch*, who was at that time the Kings Embassador in that City; they went to the Court at *Constantinople*, being carried by the Common-wealths Gallies to *Ragusi*. These men, before their departure, had requested the Senate in their Prince's name, that they would enterpose themselves by the means of their Countull, which they did, and he readily obeyed, but so dextrously, as the Turks might not suspect his words, nor actions, whereby more harm might have insued to the Common-wealth, then good to any others; for it was very certain, that by reason of false imputations laid upon the Venetians, by those who did either seek to disturb their quiet, or to make use thereof in some other of their occasions; those people being naturally jealous, did so suspect the Venetians friendship and fidelity, as they watched diligently over their wayes. At the same time an accommodation was treated of at *Venice*, of the differences which yet remained undecided between *Ferdinando*, and the Common-wealth, as well in old affairs, (no means being as yet found to fulfil the decree of *Trent*) as touching the more recent differences of *Marano*. For which Treaties, Doctor *Antonio Queta*, who had been there many times before, was sent again to *Venice*, where many things were treated of concerning those businesses; and it was at last concluded, that as for the affairs of *Trent*, Commissioners should be sent, who should end those differences upon the place: *Francisco Michaele*, Advocate of the Treasury, one who was well informed of the publick interest, was chosen by the Venetians for this Employment; and the Major and Caprain of *Islria*, for what belonged to that Territory, the Major of *Cividale* for those of *Friuli*; and the Captains of *Vicenza*, and *Verona*, for the confines of *Trent*. But the business of *Marano* was referred to be discut at *Cesars* Court, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that the Venetians should pay 75000 Duckets to *Ferdinando*, which when other differences should be accorded, they promis'd to pay in three years, by three equall proportions. These Treaties, though they wrought not the accommodation that was expected, were notwithstanding malignantly interpreted by such as went about sowing of discord, and were reported to *Soliman* as Treas-

Treaties of Leagues against him, and in favour of *Ferdinando*, to whom the Turks said, that the Venetians gave this money, to raise Souldiers, according to the obligation they had undertaken: the which reports, being afterwards justified to be false, by the truth of the action, and *Soliman* being satisfied, it was not thought good to give him new occasions of jealousies; wherefore the Consul forbore visiting the Embassadors, and all other publick demonstrations, though he forbore not to do all good offices that he could in his private discourses with the Bashaws, that the Agreement might proceed; wherein, because the Common-wealth had no other end then the common good and quiet, the Senators desired the Bashaw, that *Cesar* and *Ferdinando* might be bound not to wage War in *Italy* during the Truce; but *Russen Bashaw* hearing this proposall, and being desirous to do something, to the particular satisfaction and advantage of the Common-wealth, said, he would have her named in what soever agreement should be made, as a friend to the Grand Seigneur; nay, that it should be declared in exprels words, that the State of *Venice* should not be molested during that Agreement, by those Princes that were therein comprehended; and that if it should happen otherwise, the Agreement with *Soliman* should be taken as broken; and yet there was an opinion, that the Venetians opposed the Truce, which, there being no hopes of Peace, was treated of: wherefore *Cesar* made his Embassador *Mendoza*, return from *Trent* to *Venice*, not cloaking this suspicion, but attesting howsoever his great good-will to the Common-wealth, and praying the Senate to favour the treaty of Truce, which was said to be already well begun at *Constantinople*, and would be the easilier brought to a good end by the assistance of the Common-wealth, promising to make her be named therein on their behalfe, and included as a friend. These things made the Venetians the more desirous to endeavour a suspension of Arms between these Princes, because besides other no small considerations, they thereby received much safety and honour, being to be declared friends to both Parties, and to receive and enjoy the benefit of peace, which might arise from that Agreement, which made the Senators more zealous in interpoling their Authority, knowing very well how much it might make for them, to make the Turks believe that she was in good esteem with the Christian Princes, and the same Christian Princes that she was so valued by the Turks, as that they were steadfastly resolved to keep peace with her. It was thought the Emperour did so very much endeavour the conclusion of this Truce with the Turks, because he was not onely out of all hopes of being assisted by the German forces against them, but inforced to take up Arms against the chiefe Lords and States of *Germany*, who contaminating both sacred and prophane things, to the great disparagement of the Church of *Rome*, and Majesty of the Empire, did daily plot more Novelties, breaking forth into open Rebellion: Wherefore the Emperour, who to purchase their loves had formerly yielded, not without the Popes resentment, that the Council should be held in the City of *Trent*, with great prerogatives on the Germans behalfe,

halfe, did afterwards repent himselfe, knowing that he had done little good to the cause of Religion, lost much ground with the Pope, and gotten nothing with *Germany*, and sought to moderate the conditions, whereupon the Council was to meet; he therefore sent his Embassador, *Don Diego de Mendoza*, to the Common-wealth, to bridle the liberty which some of the most licentious, and worst affected towards the Court of *Rome*, used. But the Venetians knowing that the calling of the Council was not acceptable to the Pope, as being done at an unreasonable time, and in an unfitting place, and in a manner little becoming the dignity and authority of the Apostolick See, thought they would not openly oppose it, would not send their Embassadors thither: But the Agreement at *Constantinople*, which was so hopefully brought neer a conclusion of Truce for many years, no way of accommodation being to be found, for the difficulties which arose touching the restoring of some little Castles in *Hungary*, ended in a short suspension of Arms for but one year; but with intention, as it was said, and written also from *Soliman* selfe to the King of *France*, that things being better debated at *Ferdinando's* Court, the Embassadors were to return again the next year to the Court at *Constantinople*, with new Commissions, to establish peace for a longer time.

New dislikes arose this mean while, between the Turks and Venetians, upon occasion of the Confines of *Dalmatia*, where the *Sangiachi* of *Bosnia*, and *Cliffa*, desiring to trouble the quiet, for their own advantage, or else to pillage the Country, or to make the Venetians give them something to avoid those troubles, went about to usurpe a good part of the Territory of *Zara*, alleadging, that a Country which contained 49 Towns, did belong to the Towns of *Nadino*, and *Urania*, as the proper Territories thereof, which being by the last conventions granted to belong to the Grand Seigneur; they said their Territories belonged unto him too, wherefore they threatened the Inhabitants of these places, upon pain of great penalties, not to acknowledge any other Government then *Soliman's*. This did much trouble the Venetians, this Country being of great concernment both in it self, and for the preservation of the City of *Zara*. And though their claim was clear, for *Nadino* and *Urania*, being small Castles, have no peculiar Country; but the Towns thereof make up a Country, together with *Zara*, the chief City of that Province; yet by reason of the strange and insolent proceeding of the Turks in such like affairs, laying claim to any whatsoever Country, whereupon the Grand Seigneurs Horse hath once set his foot; they feared this might be the occasion of longer and greater trouble. But *Soliman* being acquainted with the businesse, referr'd the examination of the difference over to the *Sangiaco*, of *Chersago*, and to two *Cadi's*; (these are the ordinary Judges in point of justice) and what they should determine should be done, who were to meet upon the place to that purpose, with the Representatives of the Common-wealth. The Senate chose *Luigi Reniero* for this employment, who handled the businesse with such dexterity and wisdom, as the possession of that whole Territory which was in question,

tion, was left free and quiet to the Common-wealth. And new difficulties being raised again upon what had already been decided, according to the Turkish custome, *Remiers*, as being well acquainted with the business, was sent. Consult to *Constantinople*, who making our claim appear clear to *Soliman*, did not onely obtain that these pretensions should never be any more questioned, but that some other Towns formerly usurped, and till then enjoy'd by the Turks, should together with the 49 Towns be restored to the Venetians. So great a friend was this Prince to what was just and honest, unlesse he were misled by false suggestions. This year the Doge, *Pietro Lando*, dyed, leaving behinde him the reputation of a good and wise Prince; and *Françisco Donato* was chosen Prince in his place. Nor did any thing else worth memory happen this year.

The next year, 1546. those who desired the peace of *Italy*, were secretly afraid, that she would quickly return to her former troubles; for the peace between the Emperour and the King of *France*, not having effected the most important affairs, which were agreed upon between them, it remained to loose, that nothing but opportunity of time was expected, to make them re-assume Arms; both their forces and thoughts for the present, being otherwise employ'd. The King of *France*, by the unreasonable death of his son, the Duke of *Orleans*, could not obtain the Dukedom of *Millan*, promised him in consideration of the marriage; but his antient desire of possessing it was no whit lessened. Nor was the Duke of *Savoy* re-possessed of his Towns, the King detaining them under various excuses, hoping to satisfy *Cesar* some other way. An other novelty likewise hapned, which was thought, would add fuell to this fire of war, which was a kindling. The Pope finding his other designs, for the agrandising of his house, prove vain, the City of *Parma* and *Piacenza* being severed from the Church, which were thereunto joynd by *Julius* the 2^d. gave them in fee-farm to his son *Pier Luigi*, obliging him to pay 8000 Crowns a year for them, by way of tribute; and in lieu thereof, to yield up the Dukedome of *Camerino*, and the Signiory of *Nepi*, wherein his son *Ottavio* was but a little before invested, to the Apostolick Sea. *Cesar* was so much displeased hereat, as he could by no means be brought to assent thereunto, nor give way to the investment thereof, desired of him by the Pope, as being Lord of the State of *Millan*, whereof these two Cities had wont to be a member. This obdurancy of *Cesar* did so alienate *Pier Luigi's* heart from him, who was formerly sufficiently enclined to the French, as it was thought, he would embrace any occasion that should be offered, to witness his ill-will, and to damnify *Cesar*. The Pope being for these respects grown suspected by both sides, and equally mistrusting both *Cesar* and the King of *France*; but being notwithstanding resolved, come what will come, to make good what he had done, touching the setting of the new Dukedom upon his son, he had much discourse with the Venetian Ambassador, shewing in what danger the affairs of *Italy* would be, as soon as the King of *France* should have rid his hands of war with the King of
Eng-

England, with whom he was in treaty of peace: Or when *Cesar*, having reduced the Protestant Princes to his obedience, at the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, should have no need to take up Arms against them. He therefore desired, that the Senate would joyne in close intelligence with him, concerning the common interests; and in signe of greater confidence, he made the new Duke send *Agostino di Laudi*, as his Embassador, to *Venice*, who acquainting the Senate with the dignity conferred upon him, offered both himself and State to be at the Common-wealth's service. Correspondence was had hereunto in a friendly manner, but in generall terms, which might not any waies oblige, nor whereby the Pope might be the more encouraged, to do any thing upon these hopes, which might disquiet *Italy*. But minding their own defence, and providing for what might happen, the Senate took *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbain*, into the service of the Common-wealth, with the title of Captain Generall of the Militia, allowing him 5000 Crowns a year pay for himself, and 15000 for a hundred Curassiers, and a hundred light Horse, which he was bound to have alwaies in a readinesse for the Common-wealth's service.

But *Italy's* safety consisted, in the troubles which were to continue between the Emperour, and the King of *France*; for the latter could not, by any forces, though very great both by sea and land, and by hazarding all fortunes, recover the City of *Bullen* from the English, who were resolved not to restore it upon agreement. And *Cesar* having assembled the Protestant Princes in the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, to treat of things touching Religion, could do no good upon them, though he went there himself in person. But whereas they first seemed contented, that the Council should be held in *Trent*, promising to send their Doctors thither, to treat of the points of Faith, and to stand to what should there be decided; they now demanded, that a Nationall Council might be called in *Germany*, which being afterwards reduced to *Trent*, that the meeting might be in all parts free; and other more exorbitant things. Whereby the Pope argued, that making use of this occasion, he needed not to fear the Council, but might secure his son in *Parma* and *Piacenza*; since both *Cesar*, and the Princes, and people of *Germany*, had turned their thoughts else-where, and were to end bitter contentations by war. He therefore began to incite *Cesar*, by frequent messagers, who was already sufficiently incensed against many German Princes and Cities, exhorting him, for his honours sake, to take up Arms against those Rebels, and promising him great assistance, not onely by concession of many boones in *Cesar's* States, but by contributing a great many Foot & Horse, to be paid by the Apostolick Sea. The Senate had at first a hand in this business, seeking, as they formerly had done, to slacken the Pope's fervour, in undertaking this war, whereby they thought *Italy* might receive prejudice, and no certain hopes, that the affairs of Religion would fare the better by force; for whole *Germany*, a great and powerfull Province, being, as it was said, to concur therein, whereof many of the chief Hans-Towns had already declared for the Protestant Princes, who were risen, for fear,

lest the Emperour might, under other pretences, bereave them of their libertie; and the name of the Pope being grown greatly hateful in *Germany*, there was reason to fear, that that warlike Nation might overflow *Italy*, and they be prejudiced thereby, who had no hand in that commotion. Or if *Cesar* should subdue *Germany*, his forces and reputation growing greater by this victory, his power would be more dangerous for the Princes of *Italy*. But afterwards, knowing the Pope's resoluteness here in, and that being carried away by two powerfull affections, fear and hope, touching State respects, and his own greatness, and the like of his family, he would not be brought to listen to any other counsell.

The Senate forbore any such courses, and rather sought to go by the way of diversion, in the discourses which were often held with them to this purpose, by the Pope's and *Cesar*'s Embassadors; that they might not offend *Cesar* without any advantage, by advising him against the enterprise; or, by commending it, make him demand more expresse aids of them. Notwithstanding all this, it was said, that the Common-wealth was comprehended in the League, which was made at *Rome*, which some did so assuredly aver, as in the notes which were publickly given about, of the confederates contributions, and of the preparations for war, five thousand Foot were reckoned to be paid by the Venetians; who being desirous to satisfy these Princes, in what might neither cost them monies nor trouble, did, upon request, willingly grant passage to the Pope's Souldiers, who being mustered in *Bologna*, to the number of 12000 Foot, and 500 Horse, were to passe to *Trent*, through the territories of *Verona*; and the like was done to *Cesar*'s Souldiers, they being furnish'd with victuals, and all other conveniences. The Pope's Army was made up of the best Souldiers of *Italy*, and commanded by valiant Captains of all which the Pope's nephew *Ottavio Perthesse*, was General; a young man, but of great hopes, and who had been trained up some few years before in the Militia, when he went with his father in Law the Emperour to the African wars. But people from several Nations were flock'd to *Cesar*'s Army, and many out of *Germany* her self, drawn out of the Patrimoniall States of the House of *Austria*, and out of those of the Dukes of *Baviera* and *Gleves*, and of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, which Princes adhered unto the Emperour: So as he might muster about 40000 Foot, and 5000 Horse. At the same time the protestant Princes, whose chief Commanders were *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, Elector of the Empires, and *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*, endeavour'd to get more Lords and German Cities to joine with them, and used all the means they could to increase their numbers, making profession to defend the liberty of *Germany*, and causing those who joyned with them, to swear fidelity to the Empire, which they said, *Cesar* would possess himself of, as of his own peculiar State, and turn it into a tyrannicall Government. Wherefore many chief Lords and Cities, embracing this as the common cause, took up Arms against *Cesar*, as, the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, the Count Palatine, the Community of *Argentona*, *Muns*, *Frankfurt*, and *Norimburg*, the City of *Ausperge* being long before de-

declared. These sent their Embassadors to *Muns*, where a Dyce was intimated, to treat particularly of preparations for war, any where there was such a concourse of almost all *Germany*, as they soon got an Army of 80000 Foot, and 10000 Horse, with which Forces they hoped the rather to beat *Cesar*, and to drive him (as they said) out of *Germany*; for that they saw, he could not raise any considerable Army of Germans; they onely apprehended forrain souldiers, and chiefly the Pope's Italian Foot, which they being desirous to keep from coming, they writ very earnestly to the Venetian Senate, declaring the good-will they bore to the Common-wealth, which was highly esteemed by the whole German Nation; desiring them, that they would not afford passage to those people, which the Emperour sought to bring in to their prejudice, and to enslave all *Germany*, to the pernicious example of all other Countries. The Senate replied to this, That they did very much cherish the friendship of those Princes, and of all those people; to whom they had alwaies corresponded with like affection, and esteem of their particular persons, and of the whole noble German Nation. But that their Country being plain and open, they could not hinder souldiers from passing through it, unless by strong force of Arms, which their Common-wealth was not wont to do, unless to their declared enemies. Soon after, there came particular Letters from the Duke of *Saxony*, and from the *Lahsgrave*, wherein declaring their designs, and their necessities, and that they had taken up Arms in their own defence, they desired to be befriended by the Common-wealth, with a certain sum of money. Which desires of theirs were much furthered and assisted by the King of *England*, who employ'd his secretary therein, he being then resident in *Venice*, who presented these Letters. The King was moved to defend the cause of these men, though not altogether openly, either for their joynt dissenting from the Church of *Rome*, or for that he was not well pleased with *Cesar*, for the agreement with *France*; and that he was troubled at his greatness. But the Senate continuing their wonted answers, said, That they esteemed those Princes as their very good friends, and wish'd them all good success; but that they could not pleasure them in this, lest they should offend other princes, whose peace and friendship they desired to preserve. These respects being set aside, the Senate seemed very well mittid toward the German Nation. Also when the City of *Ausperge* had by expresse Letters recommended their Merchants to the protection of the Common-wealth, many whereof were already in *Venice*, and others came thither daily in greater numbers, by reason of these commotions, that their persons and goods might be safe. For after this City had declared enmity to the Emperour, they had received ill usage in other Cities, where they had been for their own private affairs. Answer was made; that the people of that City, and all other people, had alwaies been welcome, and well received, as if they had been their own Citizens, and that they would still keep all terms of justice and civility with them. The City of *Venice* keeps alwaies great commerce with *Germany*, because of many things

things which come from the *Levant*, which the Germans have need of, and which are brought unto them by Venetian Merchants ships, as Spices, Cottons, and severall other Merchandizes; and likewise many other things, which grow abundantly in their Country, are brought to *Venice*, and carried from thence to other parts, to the great advantage of private men, and of the publick customes; wherefore for the better conveniency of the German Nation, there was long before this, a great and Noble Pallace, or Warehouse built in *Venice*, upon the *Rialto*, standing upon the *Canale Maggiore*, in the fairest and most frequented place of all the City, where usually many of this Nation are, and whereof many of them, finding themselves so well treated, live all their life, chusing this City for their Country, where they purchase Estates, and build particular Houses to themselves.

Whilst all sides were thus intent upon making War, and that a mass of Souldiers being got together, they were ready to march, news was given out that peace was made; and though the conclusion thereof was not certain, it was most certain, that messengers were employ'd on both sides to treat thereof; whereat the Venetians were not a little troubled, considering that when so great Armies were in *Italy*, they might peradventure betake themselves to other enterprises, and, other States being unprovided, might cause much apprehension in them all. Therefore the Pope, fearing lest the Senate might joyne in some straiter friendship, and Intelligence with some others, which might be contrary to his designs, discours'd long with the State's Embassador, shewing that he had been alwaies desirous to keep the peace of *Italy* for the Common good, but that he had continually had a particular eye to what might concern the Common-wealth's safety and greatnesse; he wisht him therefore to assure the Senate of his good-will, and that he would keep good intelligence with him still, which would be the way to preserve both their States, and the rest of *Italy* quiet. That he had renewed this his desire purposely at this time, when he himselfe being armed, and free from offence, it might be believed, that it was not fear, but true zeal which made him thus unbowel himselfe unto them. But the indeavours of Peace proving vain, the Armies of both sides were drawn into the field, in one and the same Country; for though the Protestants (which was the denomination they gave themselves, who were in league against the Emperour, by reason of their protestations made in matter of Religion) indeavouring to do that for themselves, which they could not get others to do; to wit, to stop the passage of such as came against them through *Italy*, had posselt themselves of the Castle of *Chiusa*, in the County of *Tiroll*, placed amongst the Mountains, by which way they thought the Enemy was to passe. But the Papall, and Imperiall Army, being gone by the way of *Isprach*, were entred into *Bavaria*, and were pass'd from thence towards *Ratisbone*, where the Emperour waited for them with more men. Both sides stood a long while idle, each of them expecting some advantage: And though the two Armies were often approached so near one another,

other, as great skirmishes past between them in face of both the Armies, yet they came not to a joynt battell, which *Caesar* wisely fought to evade, that he might draw the businesse out in length, and so break the Enemy, who had severall Commanders; and were of severall opinions; as he did. For the people and Souldiers beginning to fall from their first high conceits of being able quickly to overcome and chase *Caesar*; and being troubled with the great contributions for war, and King *Ferdinando* being at the same time entred with an other great Army into the State of Duke *John Frederick*, accompanied and adhered unto by Duke *Maurice of Saxony*, who was *Fredricks* Enemy; the Enemy was so confused and terrified, as suffering many Castles to be taken within sight of their Army, and the Army beginning already to moulder away of it selfe. *Charles* the Emperour with unexpected successe, was able in a short time to bring that dangerous War, by unexpected successe, to a good end. For having by this his first good fortune won much reputation, many Princes, and Hans-Towns, came in unto him, and craved his pardon, so as in a few moneths space he had subdued a great Tract of ground, belonging to powerful Princes, and warlike people; a thing which he could hardly have hoped to have done, with much hazard, and in a long time. The War being thus ended for this year, and winter being already come on, *Caesar* dismiss'd the Pope's Forces, who being disbanded, returned for *Italy*, and Cardinal *Alexander Fernelse*, the Popes Nepew, who was his Legate in the *Campe*, being to return for *Rome*, would take *Venice* in his way: where though he understood he was to be received with great honour, yet he resolv'd to come thither privately; but he was so joyfully seen, and honour'd by all, and so complemented both in publick and private, as he departed very well satisfied. The Cardinal was much favour'd and beloved by the Venetians, not onely for his being so near in blood to the Pope, but for his noble qualities, and for that he was lately received into the number of the Gentlemen of *Venice*: For not long before, at the Popes desire, the honour of being a noble Venetian, was conferr'd upon the Family of the *Fernelse*, an honour highly esteem'd by persons of the best degree, by reason of the Antiquity of the Common-wealth, and for the unblemish'd reputation the holds of liberty, with the dignity and authority of no small Dominion: and since some mention happens to be made thereof here, it will not be amiss to understand some particulars touching it.

Those are called noble Venetians, who partake of the Government of the Common-wealth, that is, who have authority to chuse, and may themselves be chosn publick Magistrates, which power is gotten by birth, not by the usuall way of votes. For he that is born of Noble Parents, is Noble, and at a certain time, and in a manner prefix'd by the Laws, may enter into the great Council, wherein the usuall disposall of Magistrates is made. Such are admitted into this order, who either have descended from the first inhabitants of the City, and who have more eminent then others for worth, or wealth, have from the beginning had the managing of publick affairs; or such as have at severall times, and by various accidents, been received there.

thereto for some famous and signall service done for the good of the Common-wealth, who for the most part are of noble Families of other Countries; or some others, who have the honour of this order conferr'd upon them, out of particular grace and favour, wherein such a measure is notwithstanding kept, as it is onely granted to Lords of great quality: and by this way were the Families of Este, of Gonsaga, and some other chief Families of Italy, admitted thereto; and Henry King of France, being at Venice the year 1574, amongst many other honours received that of a Noble-Venetian, which he seemed to be very well pleased withall. And it hath been the inducements of many Popes in these latter times, to get their Families admitted into the Venetian Nobility, esteeming it a great honour to them in prosperous fortune, and in adverse fortune, a safe refuge. This honour is continued in all those that descend from any one that hath once been received into this Order, and great care is had, that it be preserved pure and immaculate: so as it is required, that in the birth of those that are admitted into the great Councill, the Fathers nobility be not onely considered, but that they be born in lawfull Marriage, and of no mean woman, but of one of good condition. The charge wherof is particularly committed to a chief Magistrate, called, L'Auogaria del Commune, who keeps Books, wherein the names of all the Nobles that have been from the beginning, are written. Into this order was the Family of the Farneses thus received, at the importunity of Pope Paul the Third, and hath ever since been, and is still, esteemed a friend and confident to the Common-wealth.

But to return to our Narration. Cesar was mightily cry'd up every where, for the successes of Germany; his glory therein being the greater, for that by this act he witnessed to the world, that the victories which he had won by the German Forces, were gotten by his own worth and felicity; since the same, who whilst they fought under his guidance and fortune, were Victors, when they became his enemies, were subdued and overcome by him: and though, to quench the remainders of this War, there remained nothing but his overcoming of Duke Frederick and the Lansgrave, who dispairing of pardon, as having been the heads of these Tumults, continued in their contumacy against Cesar's yet it was easily seen that their Forces were not sufficient to hold out long against so victorious a Prince. Upon better considerations, the Pope found by this business, that the Venetians had advised him well, which made him praise the Senate's wisdom therein: He saw that none of these things had succeeded, which he had propounded to himselfe. The Councill was still open, though some Prelates were gone from thence, by reason of the Wars approaching: nay it grew more dangerous for him, for that Cesar desired to give some satisfaction to the people of Germany, whereby to continue them in his devotion, by waging War out of Italy. Nor was Duke Pier Luigi very safe, since the Emperour was so soon to be rid of that war, which was thought would have continued longer: and in the opinion of men, he was cheated in the glory which he hoped to purchase to his name; for it was wholly attributed to Charles, who by his wit and worth, had overcome all difficulties. Therefore recalling his men from the Imperiall Campe, he openly complain'd, that Cesar had not shared the

the advantages of war with him, by giving him part of the monies, which were paid by those that compounded; nor having communicated the most important advices of peace or war to him, nor his representatives, as he ought to have done, since he shared in the expence and hazard. But on the other side, Cesar said, that the Pope had fail'd him in his promise, and devoure, since the war nor being yet fully ended which he had undertaken, chiefly at his entreaty, and by his advice, he had recalled his men, whereby he did not onely deprive him of that aid, but did diminish the forces and reputation of his Army, whereby there was yet a great strength of men to be overcome in Germany, under the conduct of John Frederick, and of the Lansgrave; the one of which, for the ancient blood of Saxony, and the other, by reason of the love the people bore him, would be able to raise so great an Army, as without due providing for the contrary, might yet question the victory. These things did Cesar amplify, either to draw the Pope to a new contribution of Monies or Foot, or to get leave, as he had often desired, to make use of the revenues of the Church in Spain, for this war; or peradventure to make his victories appear the greater, by magnifying the forces of the enemy. But the Pope, being far from favouring Cesar's designs any further, prefer'd the apprehension of his greatness, and his being very ill satisfied with him, before all other respects.

But the occasions of dividing the Pope from the Emperour, grew much greater the next year, 1547. For Cesar's power and reputation daily encreasing, he grew the more ambitious of Government. He did so prosper in Germany, as bringing the Duke of Saxony to Battle, not affording him time to withdraw into the strong holds in his own Contry, as he designed to do, he won such a victory, as he thereby put an end to the war, the Duke being taken prisoner, and his forces so utterly defeated, as the Lansgrave despairing to save himself by force of Arms, or by any other means, put himself willingly into Cesar's hands, who possessing himself of the Forts of Hesse, detained him prisoner. So as all things being peaceable and quiet in Germany, he entered as it were in triumph into Auspurg, where he summoned a Dyet from all the parts of Germany, wherein he obtained many things for his advantage and satisfaction; amongst the rest, a great contribution from all the Princes and Haunle-Towns, whereby to take 20000 Foot, and 4000 Horse into pay, for the service of the Empire; wherein he comprehended his own patrimoniall estate, and the like of his Family: Betwixt which, and the Princes, and Haunle-Towns of Germany, a perpetuall League was made for the common defence. Yet these his great prosperities, did not at all quench his thirsting after new acquisitions and glory; his chief aime was at Italy, and together with other higher designs, to settle himself fast in the State of Millan, whither he sent great store of Artillery, which were presented him by divers German Lords; and afterwards a good number of Spanish Foot, making of them an ordinary Garrison in that State, esteeming them most faithfull to him. He also made the people swear fealty to him,

him, and to whomsoever he should name to be Lord over them, intending that Government to his son *Philip*, who to that end, was to go quickly for *Italy*. And he treated still with the *Swissers*, capitulating with them to defend the State of *Millan*. He moreover had placed a guard of 400 Spanish Foot in *Sienna*, and an Officer of his, who exercised much authority in many things, and attempted to build a Fort there, intending, as it was thought, to bring them under the yoke of servitude, for the which, occasions were not wanting, by reason of commotions raised in the City; the people whereof not being able to see themselves inflamed, had driven out the Spanish Foot, and done many other things, contrary to *Cesar's* dignity. He sought also to possess himself of the Town of *Piombino*, and to take it from the Lord thereof, upon several pretences, promising to recompence him with other territories; that he might make use of that situation, which lay upon the Sea-coast of *Tuscany*; and was very commodious in other respects, for affairs at Sea. But above all other things, the taking of *Piacenza*, which was done, as shall be said, together with the death of Duke *Pier Luigi*, caused fear in all men, and particular affliction in the Pope; and two of the prime Princes of Christendom, *Francis* the first of *France*, and *Henry* the eighth of *England's* death, which ensued not long after one another, all things seemed to smile upon *Cesar*: For these Princes, of great power, and mature counsell, being taken away, he remained in supreme authority, and sole arbitrator of affairs. The King of *France* his death begot more alteration in thought, than in effects; for *Henry* his third son, coming by the death of the *Dolphin*, and of the Duke of *Orleans*, to the Crown, who was brought up under his father's discipline, and did inherit his affections, especially his hatred to *Cesar*, appeared soon ready to tread in his fathers foot-steps, and not to yield any waies to *Charles* his fortune. But the King of *France* his death was severally interpreted by the *Italians*; some thought, that the occasion of many troubles to *Italy* was taken away, which by reason of his unquiet nature, of the bitter hatred which he bore to *Cesar*, and of his obstinate resolution of getting the Dukedom of *Millan*, was never to have an end, but by his death. Others were of a contrary opinion, who thought, the new King would not so soon forego his fathers resolutions and enterprises; which though he should do, they thought, that more prejudice than advantage, would redound thereby to the *Italians*, who, the counterpoise of the French forces being taken away, were, with little cure to their liberties, to depend the more upon the Spaniards will. Some in *Venice* did, with much griefe, call to minde, the love which the late King bore to the Common-wealth, his readinesse to assist her, in her lowest ebb of fortune, and chiefly his assisting her, in the recovery of *Verona*. They likewise alleaged, as signes of his good-will, his having so often desired a new conjunction with the Common-wealth, not being any waies scandalized at his so many repulses, which had won no small honour to the Common-wealth, and had made her be the better esteemed by *Cesar's* self. Others, not without some bitterness of spirit, remembered the sicklenesse used by this

this King, upon many occasions, and his great ingratitude towards the Common-wealth, which having with much readinesse taken up Arms, and exposed her self to so much expence and hazard of war, first for his own freedom, and then for the like of his sons, from *Cesar's* hands, had been so scornfully abandon'd by him, as that in his agreement made with *Cesar*, he had made peace, not onely without making any mention of her, but with much prejudice to her affairs, and not acquainting her with any such resolution: And that the estimation he seemed to put upon the Common-wealth, proceeded onely from his own interests, which when they were severed from those of the Common-wealth, he valued her honour nor safety no longer. Yet in this variety of opinions, all agreed, in preserving friendship with the Crown of *France*, as they had done of late years, without quitting their Neutrality: Wherefore as soon as they heard of King *Francis* his death, they chose two Embassadors, *Vellor Grimant*, and *Matteo Dandolo*, who were to go forthwith for *France*, to condole, according to custome, with the new King, and Court-Lords, and then to congratulate the King's succession to the Crown; affirming, that the Common-wealth was willing and ready to continue peace, with the same observancy, with *Henry*, as they had done with his father, and according to the usuall and antient affection, born by the Venetians to the Crown of *France*. The *Italians* made lesse account of *Henry's* of *England's* death, he being lesse interested in the affairs of *Italy*, by reason of the far distance of his State; but the Venetians valued the friendship of that King and Kingdom, more then the rest; not for any reason of State, but for that by holding good intelligence with the English, they received many conveniences in their Merchandising; for divers sorts of Merchandise were usually sent from *Venice* to *England*, so as the commerce with that Nation, was very advantageous to the Venetian-Citizens, and Merchants: Wherefore the Common-wealth kept usually an Embassadour in Ordinary in *England*; who being upon some occasions removed, in the time of war with *France*, upon the ensuing peace, the same King desired the Embassadour might return; and *Bernardo Navagiero* was chosen for that employment, whose journey was stoppt by *Henry's* death, who, by reason of this commerce, had rane a great affection to the Venetians, and did much favour the affairs of the Common-wealth, in her times of greatest trouble, as may be known by the precedent Narrations. And though being alter'd in his own conditions, his minde was sometimes alter'd in this point, and his friendship lessened, he continued notwithstanding, to make much of those of the Nation, particularly of the Nobility, in whom, upon many occasions, he did confide, in many most important businesses; and lately, in the Treaty of peace with *France*, he made use of *Francesco Bernardo*, a young man, full of spirit, who for some occasions of his own, kept in that Kingdom, and past often, by order from the King, into *France*, and was the chief instrument in making the peace. King *Henry* was succeeded by his son *Edward*, who not being yet eleven years old, the government of the Kingdom was put into the hands of some of the

chief Barons. The Senate chose *Dominico Bolani*, their Embassadour for *England*, who met with excellent correspondency in the chief Lords, and those of greatest authority, touching the maintenance of friendship and commerce with the Venetians, with promises of giving fair entertainment to all Venetians, who should come to that Island. But the peace between the English and the French lasted but a while, the Inhabitants of both Nations being naturally enemies, for the King of *Scotland* having left one onely daughter, heir to his Kingdom, King *Edward's* Governours desired, she might be married to their King, so as those two Kingdoms might be joynted under one Government, as they are joynted in neighbourhood. But the Scots abhorring to be brought under the obedience of the King of *England*, to preserve the honour of their Kingdom; and through a naturall hatred which they bear to all the English, would not give ear thereunto, and had recourse to *France* for help, if the English should endeavour to compell them by force of Arms, promising their Queen to *Henry*, for wife to one of his sons, together with the succession of that Kingdom; and obliging themselves to bring her into *France*, as a pledge of their fidelity. These offers were the readilier accepted by King *Henry*, who took upon him the protection of the Infant Queen, and of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: For that being desirous of acquiring new Dominions, he was not well pleased with the agreement made by his father, whereby the City of *Bullen* was to remain in possession of the English: So that a bitter war began already to be kindled between these two Kingdoms. Those that dreaded *Cesar's* power, did much dislike, to see the new King busied in this enterprise, whereby he was to give over the thoughts of *Italy*, and leave *Cesar* free, to prosecute his own designs: But of all others, the Pope was most troubled hereat, who not onely for the common cause, but for his own private interests also, had designed to bridle *Cesar's* greatness, by the French forces: He therefore resolved to send Cardinall *St. George* into *France*, to procure, as it was given out, that the French Prelates might come to the Council of *Bullognia*; but indeed, to make the King set his minde to oppose *Cesar's* greatness, offering him therein his friendship and assistance. Whereunto *Henry* willingly listned, as he, who being strangely ambitious of warlike glory, would not let any occasion slip, of making war, upon hopes of doing some remarkable action; for which, the Pope was thought a very fit instrument, in regard of his forces, for the opportunity of affairs in *Italy*, and much more in respect of his authority. Wherefore being easily perswaded to attempt novelties, he set his minde upon encreasing his faction in *Italy*, by all means that he might, and to gain friends; and amongst the rest, he sent for *Pietro Sirozzi*, whom he honoured with the Order of *St. Michael*, which was then in great esteem, and given onely to people of great birth, and such as had deserved very well of the Crown of *France*, esteeming him for the vivacity of his spirit, for his being an enemy to quietnesse, and for his being greatly followed by out-lawed Florentines and others, to be an apt instrument, to make some important commotion, for the service of the

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Crown of *France*, by disturbing the affairs of *Italy*. He also fomented the rising of those of *Sienna*, and incited them to defend their Liberties, out of hopes of his assistance: but the Pope, and King of *France*, (between whom a union was already settled and confirm'd, *Horatio Fernese*, Son to *Pier Luigi*, having married a naturall daughter of *Henries*) bent chiefly all their indeavours to get the Venetian Senate to joyn with them; whereupon they thought they were to ground their chief foundation, of attempting any thing in *Italy* against *Cesar*, to which purpose the King sent Monsieur *de Solfonne* to *Venice*, a man of great account for his birth sake, and to the same purpose made use of Monsieur *de la Casa*, who was the Popes Nuncio there. These hoped to finde the Venetians more ready hereunto, than they had been formerly, for what hath been already said of *Cesar's* Achievements, and particularly in consideration of the weightinesse, and unworthinesse of the action committed upon the person of Duke *Pier Luigi*, who was slain by some Gentlemen of *Pinerolsch*, who had conspir'd his death, by the assent and foreknowledge, as was commonly believed of *Don Ferrante Gonsaga*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant in *Italy*, and the City of *Piacenza* was posselt by a good number of Spanish Foot, led on by the same *Don Ferrante*, and was still held in *Cesar's* name; whereby it was perceived, that *Cesar* aspired to posselt himselfe of other mens states, not onely by force, but by fraud. It was known that this action would be very displeasing to the Venetians: wherefore *Gonsaga* had quickly sent *Giovann Battista Scbizzo* to *Venice*, a Senator of *Millan*, to affirm that he had not any ways been the Author thereof; but that he could not notwithstanding refuse, being thereunto call'd, and requir'd by those that had slain the Duke, and who had quickly had recourse to him at *Millan*, to receive that City in *Cesar's* name, till such time as his will should be known, who they knew to be a friend to what was just and honest: yet his actions perswaded to the contrary; for at the same time he caused the building of the Fort to be continued, which was begun by the Duke, made the people and Nobility swear fealty to *Cesar*, and posselt himselfe of many Castles, fortified them, and prepared to besiege *Parma*; *Ottavio* complaining in vain that such injury should be done to him, who was the Emperours Son in law.

This Commotion made the Venetians bestir themselves in making better provision for their own defence. They made *Stephano Tiepolo*, their Commissary Generall on *Terra ferma*, that by the Authority of the supream Magistrare, he might order their Militia, view their Forts, and speedily provide for what was needfull. They had likewise recalled the Duke of *Nivin*, Generall of the Commonwealth's Forces, into the State, who was at this time gone to *Rome*, upon occasion of his marriage formerly concluded, with *Virginia*, Daughter to the late Duke *Pier Luigi Fernese*. And they commanded *Antonio da Castello*, who was a man well reputed, and Captain of the Artillery, to go to *Brescia*, and to increase the ordinary Garrison, with the Country-people. They did the like at *Verona*, whither the Commissary-Generall hastned, and great care

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was taken for the safe custody of all other places of concernment; and all things seemed full of snares and jealousies. Things being in this condition, the Pope and King of France ceased not to try the Venetians, inviting them not to delay declaring themselves any longer, and not to stay applying remedies to the eminent danger, till there was no remedy to be found, but that all Italy must run the same fortune by the totall ruine and loss of Dominion and Liberty. But the Senate would not be easily moved to take up Arms against a powerfull Neighbouring-Prince, in the height of his prosperity and greatness. For the Common-wealth was not in so weak a condition, as that any enterprize might be easily undertaken against her by any whosoever, nor yet in such a height as to insufe fear into others, and make them seek to secure themselves by abasing her; so as her condition seemed to differ from the like of the rest; and therefore the Common-wealth being some-what freer from fear, of being molested by Caesar, might wait the advantage of Time, and till by the variation of the present condition of affairs, a way might be opened to safer resolutions. And what reason have we (said the Senators, whilst they advised upon what answer should be returned to the Pope, and to the King) to part from Caesars confederacy, and to enter into other Leagues, and union? What should persuade us to seek for safety, by exposing our selves to nearer and more certain dangers? wherein hath Caesar failed us, for the space of near upon these eighteen years that we have had peace with him? By what injury hath he provoked us? The Common-wealth was never more quiet at Land then now; And if it were not that War by Sea doth trouble the so many advantages of Peace, certainly this our City would be now in the height of all prosperity. And shall we, by seeking after better fortune, bereave our selves of Peace? and vainly think that we shall be benefitted thereof by others? Who knows not, that the League which is propounded to us onely by way of defence, will quickly necessitate us to offend others, and expose our selves to the offences of others? It is used as a forceable argument to make us embrace a new League, that Caesar is desirous to acquire glory, and dominion: But I beseech you, is not this so proper to every other great Prince, as who should be otherwise, would be despised by others, and by his own subjects? Hath not the King of France the same thoughts? Shall we peradventure persuade our selves, that we shall be at more quiet, if we have him for our Neighbour in the State of Milan? We have tried oft enough, when the French were in Italy, how anxious they are, and easie to break peace upon any sleight occasion: wherein hath this ambition of Caesar's hurt us? when did he ever cease upon any thing that was ours? what sign hath he given us of his ill will towards us? what necessity have we to be at expence, to secure our selves from his mischief? But on the contrary, what dislikes, nay what open enmities have there been between the Pope and Emperour? what ancient, and inveterate hate between the French and Spaniards? how great emulation between the Kings of France, and House of Austria? The French cannot indure Caesar, not onely out of fear of his greatness, but for meer hatred to his particular person, and measuring things rather according to their desire, than to the likelihood of success, they would drive him out of Italy: But what is there of like in us? If we may say truth, Caesar hath not onely abstain'd from injuring us, but

but hath alwaies seemed to honour and esteem the Common-wealth very much, and hath rather been an instrument to preserve, then to disturb our peace. How oft, and with how much readiness, and affection (were it, or really, or feigned) hath he interposed himself to accommodate our differences with others, particularly with his Brother, and in the businesse of Marano? All mens say, that he helped much to pacifie Ferdinando; why should we then joyn with them in these commotions, not having the like cause to take up Arms, either for fear or revenge? 'Tis true, we are somewhat troubled at the taking of Millan; but it is as true, that it was chiefly for our sakes, that he went about to replace Duke Francis Storza in that State; and afterwards, upon our pressing, promised to grant it to the Duke of Orleans, though at last by his death, and to the almost fatall misfortune of Italy, it be fallen again into his own hands: and how often hath he asked our advice, and seemed chiefly desirous to satisfie us, touching what he ought to do concerning that State? wherein our proceedings have been so cool, and so full of circumspection, as we may partly blame our selves, if we have not met our desires therein. And if he had so great a mind to suppress the Common-wealth, as is affirmed: when could he have better done it, then of late years, when we have had our hands full of War with Soliman? yet he hath rather endeavour'd our maintaining, then our suppressing, having sent his Fleet to assist us; and he hath increased our honour and our Forces, to defend our selves against so powerfull an Enemy, by the new confederacy he made with us; and if his provisions for War may seem to have been short, and tardy, in respect of our necessities and desires, and that his actions have not been answerable to his promises, we must be content to have received such usages, as all men do receive by the Law of Nature: that he minded more his own interest, then that of others: and if we measure this very thing more by affection then by true reason, it is a usuall thing for humanity to do so. Caesar would assist us to such a degree; but he did not think it became him, to expose his Fleet to the same danger as we would do ours, his cause not being the like to ours. He would not see us fall, yet he would not see us grow too powerfull, lest he might have reason to apprehend our greatness, as we now fear his. These are passions common to all men, and very usuall in Princes: but if we weigh all things well, we are not onely not necessitated, but we have no reason to make Warre with Caesar, neither for any injury we have received, nor for any we are likely to receive.

These reasons were the more easily credited, because they tended to the preservation of Peace, to which every one was of himselfe well inclined; and Caesar endeavour'd much to keep them in this mind, promising faithfully to preserve Peace and Friendship with the Common-wealth. The Pope's, and King of France his desires were conformable, but, by several messengers, thus answered: That the Senate commended the care they took of the common good, and for the defence of their own affairs, that they would take example by them, and watch the more narrowly over their State, which they thought would prove a sufficient remedy at this time against such dangers as were to be feared; wherefore they saw no reason of coming to a stricter and more particular union, by which they might provoke such as went about to disturb the Peace. Though the Pope, nor King of France, were not well satisfied with this

this answer, yet they seemed to be so, to keep from alienating the Venetians further from them, hoping that they might at last be brought to alter their minds, and adhere unto them; therefore praying the mature wisdom of that Senate, they said, that *Cesar's* intentions, which could no longer be concealed, being now better discovered, and the world believing no longer that they had ambitious ends, they would speedily resolve upon assured and good grounds, to secure the affairs of the Common-wealth, and of all *Italy*. But though the hopes of any good success in their endeavours against the Emperour, were lessened by this the Venetians resolution; yet the Pope's, and the King of *France* his desire of taking up Arms, was not much lessened; which they were kept from doing, rather by the difficultie of the business, then for any want of will. But though they could not use open force, the French and the *Fernese's* held private intelligence in divers Cities of *Italy*, particularly in *Genoa*, *Sienna*, and *Milan*, Cities which were infected with humours of severall factions, and therefore the more easie to mutiny; for that upon finding a good Inclination to Noveltyes, they might with the lesse forces compass their designs. It is certainly worth consideration, to think how great human Imperfection is, and into how many excesses they fall, who give themselves over in prey to their own affections. Pope *Paul*, who was a very wise man, so many years vers'd in the weightiest affairs of the World, being by the unavoydable laws of nature, brought to the extreame period of life, yet being carried away by vast designs, and irregular thoughts, did not value the exposing himselfe, his Family, the Church, and all *Italy*, to the greatest labours, and dangers of eminent ruine, by taking up Arms against *Cesar*, so powerfull, and so prosperous a Prince, at a time when he had whole Germany to joyn with him, which was implacably offended against the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, for the difference of Religion, for the counsell given by the Pope to *Cesar*, to wage War with them, and for not being able to obtain, that the Councill of *Trent*, which they had so earnestly desired, and which was now granted, should be perfected; and on the other side, he being so ill provided of men, monies, and friends, to withstand so great a force of War, as he drew upon him; and being bereft amongst those Hereticks, of that sacerdotall Majesty, and respect, by which Popes have kept themselves free from injuries, more then by forces; which things being seen and well known by the Venetians, they were much troubled at, inasmuch as though their Counsels were not listned too, and suspected, they forbore not notwithstanding, when they found the Pope, after their answer, still resolute in his former opinion, modestly to represent unto him these things so worthy of consideration, to which he had sometimes given ear, when his reason prevailed over his sense; wishing him therefore to be somewhat more circumspect in these his intentions, and in delivering himselfe, as it were a prey, into the power of the French.

The next year, 1548. was spent in almost the same Negotiations, in indeavours of Leagues, secret Treaties, Princes machinations up-

on other mens estates, preparations for Arms, and in a desire of attempting noveltyes, but without any great effect or commotion. For though the King of *France* did very much desire, to trouble the affairs of *Italy*, so to keep *Cesar's* thoughts and forces busied there; yet he thought, his hopes in the Pope were but small, who was already very old, in almost a decrepit age, having little money, and peradventure no constant resolution to maintain the war; if any accommodation should at any time be proposed by the Emperour, (as might easily happen, by his alliance with *Ottavio Fernese*.) He saw the Venetians resolved, though Arms should be taken up, not onely to keep their neutrality, but so joyned in amity, by the friendship of so many years, with *Cesar*, as he thought it impossible to divide them. He had also a minde, and had already turned much of his forces, to prosecute war against the English, hoping by reason of many divisions, risen between the Governours of the young King, in point of religion, and out of particular contentions, not onely to defend *Scotland*, by vertue of the marriage between the young Queen thereof, and his eldest son, who was destin'd to be her husband; but also to recover *Bullen*, which was by his fathers agreement, yielded up to the English. For which respects, he entertained divers practises, not onely with the Pope, touching the affairs of *Parma*, but also in *Genoa*, and in *Sienna*, to alter the Government of those Cities, which depended upon *Cesar's* authority. Yet did he not prepare to put these his designs in execution, nor did he openly declare himself an enemy to *Cesar*. But on the other side, the Pope, though he had a very great desire to revenge the injuries done him by *Cesar*, and to recover *Piacenza* to his family, yet he was doubtfull, whether he should attempt this by force, or by treaty. Sometimes he was induced to hope well, considering that the Emperour, who was Lord of so many States, though he appeared more severe unto him then, to the end that he might obtain other things of him, might not at last deprive his son in Law *Ottavio*, and his children, of that State, and reduce him to a private condition. He had therefore often sent severall expresses to him, desiring, that *Piacenza* might be restored to *Ottavio*, and that he would cease troubling him in the possession of *Parma*. But at the same time he negotiated a League with the King of *France*, by which the King was to take Duke *Ottavio*, and the City of *Parma*, into his protection, and to defend it against the Imperiall forces. Sometimes, to honest, and to facilitate the business, and to satisfie himself at least, in taking this City from *Cesar*, he thought to re-assume it into the obedience of the Church. Nor did he cease to sollicite the Venetians, sometimes by promises, sometimes by minding them of the fear of *Cesar's* forces, to joyn with him in the defence of *Italy*, for which, he said, he was no lesse troubled, then for his nephews interest. And sometimes he complains, that they were too much Imperialists, and did glory in *Cesar's* friendship and favour; which was occasioned more by *Cesar's* own words, then by the Venetians; for in his public discourse of the Common-wealth and Senate, he named them with love and honour, meaning, it may be, to make them by this

means more his friends. But he did not much confide in the King of *France*, whom he named his friend and confederate; suspecting lest the King, who demanded, that the City of *Parma*, preserved by his forces, should not be given to *Ottavio*, of whom he might alwaies be jealous, as being the Emperour's son in Law; but to *Horatio*, who was not onely the Popes nephew, but his son in Law. When he should have gotten that City, which lay very opportunely for the molesting of *Millan*, might keep it for himself. Moreover, what could make him despair more, of finding favour at *Cesar's* hands, then to see, that that City should be given into his enemies hands, and by whom he might be much prejudiced, by the *Fernese's* means? Being much distracted in his thoughts, by reason of these considerations, after long and various disputes and difficulties, touching the Council, which the one would have celebrated at *Bullen*, the other at *Trent*; the Pope, to give satisfaction to *Cesar*, resolved, after having sent the Bishop of *Fano* his Nuntio to him, to send also the Bishop of *Verona*, his Legate into *Germany*, with authority, to dispence with the Germans in many things, which were demanded by them, and with some alteration of the usuall rites of the Church of *Rome*; a thing which *Cesar* had very earnestly desired, to curb those people, who not having obtained the generall Council, which was promised them by *Cesar*, and many of them not having accepted of a certain reformation, made for a time, and therefore called the *Interim*, till the Council should be celebrated, threatened to mutiny again, unless they might receive satisfaction in some of their obnoxious demands: Whereat *Cesar* was much troubled, because it hindered his other designs. But he minding onely his own affairs, and not being moved by any affections, or reasons, which were contrary to the interests of his Dominions, did wisely nourish certain uncertain hopes in the Pope, and in Duke *Ottavio*, whereby he kept them unresolved, and in doubt: Sometimes he propounded proposalls of accommodation, with recompence of Territories elsewhere; sometimes he said, he would have it tryed, whether the Church or Empire had more lawfull pretence to those Cities; and sometimes, seeming much incensed, instead of restoring *Piacenza*, he demanded, that *Parma* should be delivered up unto him. But in fine, it was conceived by those, who saw further into his designs, that by these uncertainties, he would keep the Pope in perpetuall doubts, being already resolved, by no means to part with *Piacenza*, as lying very opportunely for the State of *Millan*; but that he went about to protract time, and to shun the necessity of taking up Arms, expecting the Pope's approaching death, that he might the mean while put an end to his other deeper designs. He thought to settle a mighty Monarchy upon his own Line, making the Empire, together with so many other Kingdomes and States, descend upon his onely son *Philip*; and his brother *Ferdinando's* claim to the Empire standing in his way, as to that, who was some years before made King of the *Romans*, a title confer'd upon such, as are declared to succeed in the Empire he sought by several waies to persuade his brother, to give way unto his son, promising to give the Dukedom of

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Wittenberg to *Ferdinando*, to help his son *Maximilian* to be chosen King of *Bohemia*, to give him his daughter for wife, with some Territories for her portion, to make him Governour of his Kingdoms of *Spain*, in his sons absence, and other things, which were not afterwards altogether effected. But *Philip* part from *Spain* into *Italy*, whither *Maximilian* was gon before, to celebrate the marriage concluded, with 300000 Crowns for portion, but no Dominion; and to tarry there as Governour of those Kingdoms: for *Philip* was to go into *Germany*, to his father, who was gone to *Brussels*, to ease *Germany* of the Spanish Souldiers, part whereof he sent to meet his son in *Italy*, and led part along with him into *Flanders*. The Prince was received with great pomp and honour in every place; he was met at *Genoa*, where he landed, by many Embassadors from severall Princes, and particularly by *Frederick Badoaro*, in the behalf of the Common-wealth, whose Commission was meere Complement, and to attend the Prince, whilst he passed through the State of the Common-wealth, which he was to do, as he went from *Millan* towards *Germany*. A stately Bridge, richly adorned, was built over the River *Adice*; and upon the confines of *Verona*, he was met by the Captain of that City, nobly attended, and by a great concourse of people, who were come from several parts to see him, who was born to so great an Empire, and to succeed in so many Kingdoms, and united States, as he was likely to have been the greatest Prince that ever was in Christendom. This Prince did not, upon this occasion, satisfie mens expectations, but was held to be very haughty, being as yet very young, unexperienced in affairs of the world, having never been from home before, and bred up by his mother in great pride and elation, according to the custom of the Portugalls: But afterwards, when he came to mature years, he proved a Prince of singular worth, and full of modesty and temper, treating with all men with a miraculous comeliness, so as greater civility nor gravity was not to be desired in him.

Whilst Christian Princes were thus full of disorderly and unquiet thoughts, their States and Dominions were not troubled by the Turkish Forces; by reason of an unexpected advantage, which arose from new resolutions put on by *Soliman*, of turning his Forces against *Persia*, which were first destin'd for *Hungary*: For being eg'd on by a fervent desire of glory, which he thought he might acquire, if he could beat *Tamas* his forces: Being desirous to effect this his designe, he listned more willingly then before, to new treaties of Truce; to which end *Ferdinando* had sent his Embassador, *Justo de Giusti*, to *Constantinople*, with new Commissions, and Truce was at last established for five years, upon engagement, that *Ferdinando* should pay 30000 Duckets yearly to *Soliman*, by way of Tribute, for the Towns of *Hungary*. The Common-wealth was named by both sides in this Agreement, which redounded, in mens opinion, much to her honour and safety; especially, because it was therein exprest, that none of the within named, should disturb the peace or quiet of rest, during the time of the Truce. And truly it was worth observing, how our Princes did by their want of Trust,

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lessen their own reputation, and add to the authority and daring of the common enemy. *Cesar* demanded, that, the King of *France* being to be comprehended in this Convention, should be bound to observe those things, which were promised him by his father King *Francis*. And on the other side, the King of *France* desired, that by the Articles of Truce, *Cesar* should not make war with any Christian Prince, during the said time. And the business proceeded so far, as King *Henry* sent his Embassadour, Monsieur de *Cadogne*, in all haste, to *Constantinople*, to disturb the agreement, though the directions of Truce were dispatched; affirming, that *Cesar's* onely end in making this Truce, was, that he might the more freely make war with him; and that it became the wisdom of *Soliman*, not to suffer *Cesar's* power to encrease; for he would observe the Truce no longer, then might make for his own advantage, Monsieur de *Cadogne* said the same things at *Venice*, minding them likewise of *Cesar's* greatness, and exhorting the Senate to joyn with him, in keeping the Treaty from being effected: Which though the Venetians did not assent unto, yet he passing on to *Constantinople*, and finding the Truce already concluded, procured a Letter from *Soliman* to *Cesar*, and to *Ferdinando*, written in an imperious manner, but containing things becoming a great and just Prince: That he did willingly accept of the Truce, but with an intention, that Arms should be laid aside every where, by those who were friends to either parties. And that therefore, if any of the within named Princes, should make war with the others, he would with his forces assist the injur'd party, against him that should first disturb the peace. The King of *France* upon this occasion grew jealous of the Venetians, that out of a desire that this Agreement might be concluded, wherein they were to be comprehended, not caring for the interest of him their friend, they had too much favoured *Cesar's* and *Ferdinando's* affairs. And on the other side, *Cesar* complained, that this counsell was first given to the King of *France* by the Venetians, and was afterwards countenanced by them in *Constantinople*, to the end, that he might be the more straitly obliged, to keep peace with the King of *France*, out of a desire, that he might have no occasion of renewing war in *Italy*, which would be very inconvenient for them. But the truth was, that after the first treaty for universall peace and quiet, the Venetians meddled in nothing, but what concerned the interest of their own Commonwealth, knowing that these Princes would be jealous of every thing.

At the same time, great dislikes grew between the Pope and the Emperour, and there was great appearance, that they would come to an open breach; for *Cesar* was still for the celebration of the Council, as it was first intimated, and already begun, at *Trent*, as well to content *Germany*, which desired it very much; as also for that he thought, it would detract from his reputation, that the Council which was already proclaimed by his authority, nay, at his desire, to be held in *Trent*, should now, without him, and contrary to his will, be dissolved, and transferred to another place, and the Pope was as resolute, that the Council should be celebra-

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ted in *Bullogna*, whither many Prelates and Bishops were already gone by his order. But the Imperialists, though the Pope had made it be intimated unto them, that they should depart; affirming, that the Emperour was protector of the Council, but that he had no power to call it, tarried still at *Trent*, obeying *Cesar's* power and commandments; who, on the contrary, protested against the Prelates which were at *Bullogna*, and against the Pope himself; and to give it the greater force, sent the Cardinall of *Trent*, of the House of *Madrucci*, a Prince of the Empire, to *Rome*; affirming, that he would not give his assent to any Council, save that which was summoned at *Trent*, which if it should be disturb'd, and that thereupon great mischiefs should ensue, he desired to be justified before God and Man. Though these things were very grievous to the Pope, especially being added to the successe at *Parma*, yet his hopes of agreeing with *Cesar*, made him proceed more cautiously. But whilst the time was spun out in many negotiations, *Ottavio* being impatient to wait any longer, for the recovery of *Parma*, having in vain endeavour'd to reduce it into his own power; for *Camillo Orsino*, who had the custody of the City, had forbid him coming into the Citadell, resolved rashly to throw himself into the power of the very Spaniards themselves, from whom he had so lately received such injuries, to get possession of that City by the favour of Arms, as *Mendosa*, Embassadour at *Rome*, had cunningly perswaded him to do. The Pope was strangely dejected at this accident; the great dislike whereof being added to the weakness of his very great age, for he was 84 years old, he died soon after, having govern'd the Sea of *Rome* 15 years, with great wisdom and commendations; for he had proved himself to be a just Prince, a lover of good and virtuous men, and for a good while having been Neutrall amongst Princes, and desirous of peace and quiet; for which he would have been the longer praised and remembered by men, if he had not parted from his former resolutions in his latter time, being carried away by an immoderate desire, of aggrandising his family. He alwaies bore a great respect to the Commonwealth, and was particularly well affected to the Venetian name. He honoured *Gaspero Contarini*, and *Pietro Bembo*, noble Venetians, and men of singular learning and worth, with the title of Cardinall; and had them in great esteem. The Italian Princes were much grieved and troubled at the Pope's death, fearing that it might prove an occasion, of disturbing the peace of *Italy*; for the French and Imperialists had raised a masse of men, in many parts, with intention, as it was thought, of possessing themselves of *Parma*, which was as yet held by *Camillo Orsino*, but with a small Garrison, and little preparation of maintaining war; he having denied obedience to the Letters and Orders of the Colledge of Cardinalls, who had ordered him to deliver up that City to *Ottavio Farnese*: But he said, He would keep it for the next Pope. This fear encreased the more, for that it was long ere a new Pope was chosen; the two factions of French and Imperiall Cardinalls, strove with much obstinacy for the Popedom; neither whereof would give way to the other, but

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endeavour'd the more fervently, and more cunningly, to have the greater part in the election of the Pope; for that it was commonly thought, *Italy* would not continue long quiet; which made each faction desire to have the Pope to be one, who might depend upon them, and who for so great a benefit, might be obliged to be governed by them, and to favour their designs. The Venetian Senate, following the custom of their fore-fathers, would not interpose themselves in this long contestation; but aiming onely at the common good, writ to the Colledge of Cardinalls, wishing them to chuse such a Pope, as might prove most serviceable for Christendom. The Venetians, being therein very wise, have never endeavoured, to make Cardinalls partiall to their Nation; nor did ever use the authority of the Common-wealth, in the election of the Pope; although they ought to cover as much, as any other Prince, to be befriended by the Popes. And the Common-wealth being so principall a Potentate in *Italy*, doubtlesly their faction; if they had so pleased, might have been very prevalent: But they knew, that this so great combining with particular persons, in the Court of *Rome*, might be a great prejudice to the publick; and that the word Faction, first begun in *Rome*, upon the occasion of Ecclesiastical dignities, might creep also into their own City, and infect it with this disease; therefore they have alwaies forborn it. At last, *Giovann Maria Cardinal dal Ponte*, was by adoration created Pope, a Tuscan by Nation; one, who being gotten to the degree of Cardinall, without any noble descent, or prop of parentage, was thought to be a very good and vertuous person, and to be far from siding with any great Princes. Wherefore thinking him either to be equally their friend, or at least not their back-friend; the Imperiall and French Cardinalls, did all of them willingly give their assent, to his being named Pope, by Cardinall *Farnese*. The Venetians were very much gladdened at this choice, perswading themselves, that depending no more upon the Emperour, then upon the King of *France*, he would keep friendship with them both, and produce peace between them in *Italy*: Wherefore their Embasadour, *Matteo Dandolo*, received speedy orders from the Senate, to congratulate *Julio* the third, which was the name the new Pope took upon him; and soon after, a solemn Embassy of four of the prime Senators, was destined to go to *Rome*, to give the due and usuall obedience to the Vicar of Christ; by name, *Philippo Trono*, *Francisco Contarini*, *Marc Antonio Veniero*, and *Nicolo da Ponte*.

The End of the Eleaventh Book.

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THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA:

Book XII.

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cepted. He goes to France, and treats with that King. The Emperour's unhappy condition. The Confederates prosperous success. A Diet in Polonia: The Princes Pretensions. The King of France tries the Venetians, touching the enterprise of Naples, to no purpose. An alteration of affairs, unfortunate for the King of France, and successfull for the Emperour. The Sench put themselves into liberty.



He Popes actions did not at all correspond to the hopes which were conceived, no not in what was most expected and desired: to wit, that he would appease the Tumults which were raised, and provide for the Peace of Italy, and the safety of Christendom: for giving himselfe wholly over to building, and other trifling matters, he seemed to neglect the more weighty affairs, which became his degree, and the times, wherein seeds of great troubles were sown in many parts of Christendom. And though Peace was now made between France and England; yet it was known it would be the beginning of another War. For Henry King of France, being of a very lively spirit, and desirous of Glory, finding himselfe free from Wars with England, and having by that Agreement gotten safety and honour to himself and Kingdom, by the recovery of Bullen, was not likely to keep long quiet. Horatio Fernelse being gone to him in France, to recommend the protection of his Family, and of his House yet further unto him, and the defence of Parma, things which had been before treated of by others; he was willingly seen and listned unto by the King, who was desirous to trouble the quiet of Italy, whereby he might have occasion at last to take up open Arms against Cesar, hoping (though it fared much otherwise with him) that this might make way for his holding straiter intelligence with the Pope, or at least to alienate him from Cesar, since he undertook to defend a vassall of the Church, whom Cesar sought to oppress, and would not for any thing the Pope could do, desist from molesting him in the business of Parma, but required that Piacenza might likewise be delivered up unto him, so as a great fire was already kindled in the midst of Italy. No lesse dangers were likewise threatened in other parts; for Ferdinando, King of the Romans, taking occasion from the discords which arose amongst the Barons of Hungary, and particularly from the commotions raised in Transylvania, by George Bishop of Varadino, a man of great Authority, and who hoped to be able to possess himselfe of that Province, parted from Austria, laden with promises of assistance from the Emperour, which tended to the inducing him to yeeld up his pretences to the succession of the Empire, to his Son Philips; he was gone into Austria, where he had already commenced Dyets, that he might raise as many men and monies, as he could for such an enterprise: And on the other side, it was known that Soliman, who was already returned from Persia to Constantinople, would not indure that that infant King, recommended to his protection, should be bereft of any part of his Dominions: and he had the better occasion to take up Arms against

gainst the House of Austria, and to think the Truce for five years, broken, for that the Imperiall Army had taken two Towns in the Rivers of Africa; to wit, A City called by the same name of the Province, Africa, and Monestero. These Towns being formerly posselt by the Moors, were the year before taken by Dragute, who being afterwards made a Sangiaccho, had received them into Solimans custody; and were since taken by Prince Doria, who put therinto a Spanish Foot-Company. The Venetians were the more displeased at these accidents, because they thereby lost their hopes of renewing the Truce for a longer time, a thing which was yet in Treaty at Constantinople, promises being past therein on all sides; and if it had succeeded, the Common-wealth would have been therein named, and comprehended with much honour. But Soliman continuing his desire of friendship, and peace with her, when he came to Constantinople, sent a Chiaus to Venice, to acquaint the Senate with his return from Persia, and of his prosperous success, boasting them sufficiently, according to the custome of that Country; though in effect the attempts made in Persia, meeting with greater resistance by the Persian Forces, than was expected, proved to no purpose; so as he was return'd to Constantinople, with his Army very much harrassed: But the Senate being desirous to prelerve Solimans favour, corresponded with this his demonstration of friendship, and sent Caterino Zeno, Ambassador to him, who though he were very aged, being 84 years old, refused not to serve his Country, though it were to take so long and difficult a journey. And his Embassy proved very prosperous; for by his wisdom he quieted the complaints which were often renewed by the Turks; touching the death of Sabba Rays, whereof Soliman promised there should be no more speech had.

The year 1550. past over with these petty proceedings, which was the more celebrated notwithstanding throughout Christendom, for that the year of Jubilee fell that year, wherein the treasury of Indulgencies, according to the ancient Rites of every five and twenty years, is largely opened in Rome to devout people, whereof there was a greater concourse then, in that City, upon occasion of the new Pope. This year was likewise more remarkable for other reasons; for the new intimation of the Councill to be held at Trent, whither many Prelates flockt apace from all parts; and then by reason of a great scarcity of Corn, which was almost generall, but chiefly in Italy, which made Princes make bold with the publick Monies, to furnish their people, particularly the Signory of Venice; which with singular Piety and Liberality, provided for the people of that City, and of her other subjects, and inviting others to bring Corn from Countries far off, they gave great sums of Moneys to such as brought Grain into Venice, from whence it was distributed into other Towns belonging to the State, according to their need.

But the year 1551 which insued, the fire of War began to flame higher in Italy than before, to the danger of all Italy; whereat the Venetians were the more troubled, because they had alwaies taken

the greatest care and pains to preserve peace. The Pope was a great cause hereof, but more out of the uncertainty of his resolves, than out of any ill-will: For he suffered himselfe by little and little, to be drawn from his first intentions, giving out Writts of summons against *Caſar* *Ferneſe*, whose defence he himselfe had undertaken but a little before: accusing, and protesting against the King of *France*, his having taken the City of *Parma* into his protection; though (as it was said) he seemed at first to assent thereunto, at least not to dissent. He was not aware that the bitter words which he continually used against the French and the *Ferneſes*, made them joyn the closer together, and to increase their Forces, and provisions for War; against which not providing any sufficient defence, he was brought into a necessity of throwing himselfe into *Cesars* power; with whom he was notwithstanding ill satisfied for the very selfe same business of *Parma*. The Pope was by degrees drawn into these Inconveniencies by tricks used by the Imperialists, which he was not aware of; those who were nearest him, seeking for their particular ends to conceal the truth, to make other mens dissimblings be believed, and to nourish vain suspicions in him; so as without being aware thereof, he was drawn from his neutrality, and occasioned the interruption of that quiet, by which he at first intended to win praise and Glory. It becomes Princes to berhink themselves well, before they undertake any businesses for they cannot without loss of honour, easily withdraw themselves from their resolutions, when they are once made known; nor can they often prosecute them to any purpose, without great prejudice to themselves, and subjects. The Venetians did oftentimes intercede with the Pope, to appease these most troublesome commotions, considering how long and grievous the War was like to prove, which was now about to begin upon so slight an occasion in *Italy*. That it was a very unfitting time for it now, by reason of the news which was every where heard, of *Solymans* intentions, nay of the preparations which he was making to assault the Christian Countries both by Sea and Land. And these Discords between Christian Princes, what were they else, but inducements to make the Turks sooner put on such resolutions; nay assured hopes of giving them the Victory in their hands? Peace and Quiet was to be desired by all men, but particularly by him, to whom it was recommended as to the common Father, and expected from his wisdom, and from that holy resolution which he had shewn, of being Neutrall between Princes; and of maintaining general Love and Agreement between them, which had made men begin to celebrate the memory of his Popedom, as very glorious. The Pope appearing to be somewhat persuaded by these reasons, began to think of an Agreement; to which purpose he sent the Cardinall *de Medici*, brother to the Marquis of *Montgane*, and Cousin to the Duke of *Parma*, and proposed the giving of *Camerino* and *Nepi* to him, in lieu of *Parma*, which was to remain unto the Church: wherewith he forthwith acquainted *Cesar*, making use both of the Senates reasons and authority, and affirming that he was thereby put upon such a resolution. The Pope thought

thought he should not find the Emperour averse to an Agreement; if not out of his own disposition, at least not to alienate him from him, by despising these his proposals, and his pleasure, and giving him occasion to favour the French faction in *Italy*, not without danger to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by reason of the insurrections which were therein at that time. And it was thought that the Popes inducements would have prevailed with the Emperour, had not he been otherwise wrought upon by contrary counsels given unto him by his Ministers of State, and chiefly by *Don di Mendoza*, Embassador at *Rome*, and by *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, Governour of the State of *Millan*; who used therein, as it was thought, their own particular enmity against the *Ferneſe*, more then their love to their Princes good. But the Pope finding it repented otherwise, and not daring for fear of his Forces to offend him, returned to his first purpose of prosecuting the *Ferneſes*, who on the other side, being joyn'd in League with the King of *France*, could the less listen to any proposals.

All wisest, and best men, were much troubled to finde the State of affairs in this condition: for it was too clearly seen, that the continuance of this controvertie for the affairs of *Parma*, would breed open War between the two most potent Princes of Christendom, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Henry* King of *France*; and would bring the Seat of War into *Italy*. For whilst the Pope was incited to the recovery of *Parma*, by *Cesars* Forces; and the King of *France* did back the *Ferneſes* in the possession of that City, by his Men and Monies: their Forces must needs meet, and suddenly full foul one upon another: so as those who saw further into the sequel of these things, knew, and did not stick to say openly, that the reward of this Victory, would be the appropriating of this City to the one or the other of these Princes, to the certain prejudice of the *Italians*, since they would not want pretences, either by way of re-imburement of the expences which they had been at, or for some other reasons, to retain this City which must be either taken, or preserved chiefly by their Forces. The King prepared to send succour to the besieged, and encouraged *Obazio* with great hopes: and the Emperour, having much increased his Forces in *Lumbardie*, did still encourage the Pope, promising to make them joyn with the Forces of the Church, and that he would give order to *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, to observe the Popes commands, in the business of *Parma*; but the Pope growing jealous of *Cesars* designs, and openly detesting the proceedings of his Officers, began to repent what he had done, and sought how to draw himselfe out of the business. He therefore resolved to send his Nephew *Aſcanio della Cornia*, to the King of *France*, to perswade him to desist from Arms, and to listen to some Agreement; shewing him the difficulty of the enterprise which he had undertaken, in maintaining a City which was so farre distant from his Dominions: and not long after, he sent *Achille de Grasi* to *Venice*, who though he seemed to be sent onely to justify the Popes actions, and to correspond with the so many inducements oftentimes used to him by the Senate, in exhorting him to Agreement; having

shewed him powerfull reasons, by which he said he was perswaded to put on that resolution; yet mentioning other matters, whereby the Pope might be conceived to desire that the Common-wealth would interpose her Authority with the King, and the Duke, to bring the businesse to some Agreement, which the Senate was not unwilling to do, if they thought they might have done any good for the common quiet. *Ascanio* returning speedily from *France*, brought word back of the Kings good inclinations, which he would be willing to witness by his actions; for he would perswade *Ostasio*, that *Parma* might return to the Church, upon condition that the Emperour would likewise restore unto her the Castles held by him in the Territories of *Parma*: nor would he remove his Garisons from *Parma*, till he might be sure the Emperour could not possesse himselfe of it: wherein there being many difficulties, it was seen that the proposition tended more to the spinning out of time, then to come to any Agreement: So as there was no thought now on any side, but to provide for Arms. The King continued sending of men into *Italy*, under Monsieur de *Nevers*, and other Commanders, raising more Souldiers at *Mirandola*, commanded by *Pietro Strozzi*. The Pope and the Emperour did the like, so as the Imperiall and Ecclesiastick Armies being numbred together, they amounted to 15000 Foot, and good store of Horse, which were all commanded by *Ferrante Gonzaga*, who was Captain of the League. And these Forces were held to be such, as it was generally thought the City of *Parma* would soon fall into the Leagues hands. But *Strozzi* used great vigilancy and diligence, who parting suddenly from *Mirandola* entered the *Bullognian* Territories, over-running, and plundering the Country so fearfully, as the Pope beginning to apprehend not onely *Bullognia*, but *Ravenna* also, and some other parts of *Remagna*, was forced to send for his men from before *Parma*, to come to the *Bullognian* Territories, to keep his own affairs from danger; which *Strozzi* making use of, he marched with miraculous speed towards the parts about *Parma*, and entered the Town himself with a good number of Foot, and great store of Victuals; so as the besiegers dispaired to get *Parma* in halfe; and war was likely to be drawn out at length, and occasions likely to be given of many other weighty occurrences, whereby all *Italy*, already much perplexed, might be reduced to much danger and calamity. Therefore the Venetian Senate, being intent upon all things, and resolving whatsoever should fall out, to depend onely upon themselves, resolved to take 4000 Foot, and 500 light Horse into pay, whereby to increase the Garisons of their frontier Towns; and placing their chiefe Commanders in them, they had a great care of their own affairs. But the Duke of *Florence*, being bound to *Cesar* for many favours already received, and out of hopes of others, that he might receive, did openly assist the Imperiall party, both with Men and Monies: not with any intention of fomenting this fire, which he would much more willingly have seen extinguished, but not to increase some jealousies that were conceived of him; that he as well as the other *Italians*, did not approve of the Imperiallists proceedings, nor of *Cesars* own in-

intentions. Which suspition was much increased, by the new Fort which they built in *Sienna*, which was commonly called the *Cepo* or *Stocks of Tuscany*. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who, as vassall to the Church, ought to have proceeded with much circumspection; following his own dependencies and passions, did adhere sufficiently in his minde, and in underhand-helps, to the French faction. Wherefore to keep those that were besieged in *Parma*, from being relieved with victuals and other things, from that side, the Imperialists had taken *Brissello*, and two other little Castles belonging to the Duke, which stood upon those confines. The Duke being much moved at these things, sent his Embassadour, *Girolino Serosini* to *Venice*, to be advised by the Senate, how to govern himself in these hard times, and so sad occasions; for he was resolved to walk in the same steps the Senate did, and follow their wise counsels, particularly in keeping himself Neuter, but that he had not forces enough of himself to do so: so as unlesse he should receive some assistance, he feared, he must be enforced, for the preservation of his State, to side with some one, and to act contrary to his desire. This was thought to be a piece of cunning, whereby the French desired, to spy into the Venetians intentions, that they might draw them into some confederacy, or at least discover somewhat more of their meanings. Therefore the Senate thought fit, to answer in very generall tearms, That the Senate had ever desired above all things, that the peace of *Italy* might be preserved; to which purpose, they had used severall endeavours, both with the Pope and others, as they saw needfull: But since they could do no good thereby, they would at least keep themselves in peace, and in their former neutrality; which that they might do, with more honour and safety to the Common-wealth, since the rest stood upon their Arms, they were resolved to Arme also, and by providing for their own affairs, they would have respect to the preservation of the Duke's State, out of the particular affection which they bore unto his person, and for their own interest, which by reason of the neighbourhood of their Dominions, was almost inseparable from his. The French not being satisfied with this answer, thought to discover unto the Senate, as it was already generally known, their intentions, of attempting some important novelty in *Italy*; to which purpose, the King had sent *Luigi Alemanni* to *Genoa*, to make that City, upon severall pretences, joyne with his faction, and particularly, that he might have the use of their Havens, for his Fleet to put into, and to land the men which he designed to send into *Italy*: And Cardinall *Terrene* being then at *Venice*, whither he had retired himself, when together with the other French Cardinalls, he was commanded by the Pope to depart from *Rome*; he was ordered by King *Henry* to appear in the Colledge, and in his name to acquaint the Doge and Senators, with the condition of the affairs of *Italy*, with the occasion which had moved him, and with his intention, to send his forces to assist Duke *Ostasio*, and to maintain his cause: wherein, he thought, he did a generous act, and what became a great Prince, and which he thought would please all the Italian Princes; since thereby he undertook the defence of a petty Italian Prince, who was unjustly oppressed by others, and who had had recourse to him for protection. That he could not dream, the Pope would have been displeased that

that a Vessall of his, should be preserved by the forces and assistance of another, not being able of himself to defend himself; and that he did much less believe, but that the other Italian Princes would be pleased, that Cesar's greatness might be moderated, and some bounds put to his vast desires, which were lent, as was clearly seen, to thrust the weakest to the wall, and to enslave all Italy. That the art itself might testify, that his thoughts were bent upon nothing else, since he was in a condition, as not needing the City of Parma, by his being possessor of so many Cities in Picmont, he had opened his way to what he designed to do, against the State of Millan. But that since he now understood, his actions were otherwise interpreted, he had resolved to give it over. Yet he could not be persuaded, but that the Venetian Senate, being so great and so wise a Potentate in Italy, and upon whose authority the rest would finally depend, would have that care and consideration of these commotions, as many other of their important consequences did require. That he did excuse what the Pope had done, as actions rather of necessity than free-will, being overcome with fear, both by reason of Cesar's so great power, and of his so many armed men in Italy; as also by the Council already intimated, out of weighty and dangerous designs, the German Hereticks lying to convene therein. But that if he could be assured, of the company and assistance of other Princes, doubtless he would be of another mind; for to sever himself from Cesar's friendship, in such a condition of affairs, might be esteemed a regaining of his liberty. The King was very much thank'd for these his overtures and counsells; and his generosity, in defending those that were the weakest, and stood most in need of his assistance, was commended; and they hoped, that by the Agreement, wherein the Senate had already interceded with the Pope, and which he seemed not to dissent from, affairs might be quieted. The King for all this did not forbear prosecuting the war, though he could not, according to his desire, hope to meet with any, that would receive or favour him therein, in Italy, except Duke Ottavio. Nay, being now resolved to declare himself more openly against Cesar, he sent more souldiers into Picmont, and suddenly assaulted severall places, that were guarded by Imperiall Garrisons, some of which he quickly took; and ordered, that the Gallies, which were forty in number, commanded by the Prior of Capua, brother to Pietro Strozzi, and which roved upon the Seas, might upon all occasions evill intreat the Imperiall vessells. And it hapned soon after, that Doria, who as he was conveying Maximilian King of Bohemia, and his wife, in his Gallies, past from Barcellona to Genoa, escaped narrowly, being assaulted, and fought with by the French Fleet, whereof some Vessells which were behind, were notwithstanding taken, and carried to Marcelles. But the League which the King of France negotiated with Duke Maurice of Saxony, with Albertus Marquis of Brandenburg, and with other Princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, all of them unsatisfied, though for differing occasions, with Cesar, was of much more moment; some of them were highly incited at the *Lansgrave*, being detained prisoner, contrary to Cesar's parole, as some of those Princes affirmed; and others were incited to novelties, for fear of Cesar, in matters of Religion. Henry was so resolute herein, as he communicated his thoughts

thoughts to Giovanni Capello, who was with him; as Embassadour from the Common-wealth, telling him, that he would go himself in person into Germany; and earnestly desiring his company, because he thought he might have some occasion, to treat of a confederacy with the Common-wealth, or at least, to keep Cesar in continual jealousy and suspicion. Yet the Senate, who were not willing to come to a nearer conjunction with the French, thought it not fit to deny the King so much satisfaction, to witness their good-will to him; and because it made for the good of the Common-wealth, that Cesar, who knew very well, that the Italians were grown very jealous of him, for the affairs of Parma and Piacenza, and for other actions of his, might conceive, a straiter intelligence might be had between the Venetians and French, to the very much prejudice of his Territories in Italy. But the Pope, being very much perturb'd at these commotions, for that they had their first rise from the business of Parma, which might draw upon him the infamy of this war, which was raised in Christendom; and that according to the various success thereof, he might not be free from danger, resolved to send two Cardinalls, as Legats of the holy Sea, to these Princes, Verrali to the King of France, and Carpi to the Emperour, to desire them, That they would lay aside all hatred, and all thoughts of waging war one with another, for that the successe at Tripoli might admonish them to agreement, and much more the preparations which the Turks made, both by Sea and Land, bent to the prejudice of Christendom. But the fire was already kindled to such a height, as these endeavours were not of force enough to quench it; so as though the King of France gave good words, and that not long after he sent the Cardinall Tournone to Rome, to keep the treaty of Agreement on foot, and also to desire the Venetian Senate, to intercede therein with the Pope; yet it was comprehended, that he was not any whit more inclined to peace in his minde, but that rather, having resolved within himself to make war, for which he had prepared all things, he thought the business of Parma to be offered as a very fit occasion; but he kept this his truest intention concealed, out of hopes to draw the Pope by little and little, rather to accompany him in the war, which he intended to make against Cesar, then in making peace with him. The Emperour, on the other side, apprehending these practices, had re-inforced his Army which was about Parma, and laid the straiter siege to it, thinking that his reputation was sufficiently concerned, if he should now be brought to yield the least in any thing. Wherefore the Pope being in a very doubtful condition, out of fear of not being forsaken by the Imperialists, and not well annex to the French, knew not what resolution to put on; yet being swayed by Cesar's present power, and being already oblig'd unto him by particular ties of confederacy, he resolved to make severall demonstrations, of his being very well-minded towards him. To gratifie him, he made many Cardinalls, all of them of the Imperiall faction; and spoke bitterly against the King of France in the Consistory, detesting many of his actions, and particularly the friendship he held with the Turks. Inasmuch

as the King, despairing altogether of his friendship, discharged his Legat from the Court, and recalled also his own Embassadour, Monsieur de Termes, from Rome, threatening many things very prejudiciall to the Pope, and to the whole Court, if he should be so treated; and particularly to free himself of the obligation of sending to Rome, to pay for the investiture of Church-livings; affirming, it was not fit that war should be made against him, with the monies of his own Kingdom.

At the same time were 30 of the Turkish Gallies put to Sea, commanded by *Sinon Bassaw*, by *Rufin*, first *Vicer*, and by other experienced Captains, amongst which, *Dragut*, one who was much esteemed and feared, as being very well versed in the Western Seas, and a bitter enemy to the Christians, which caused much apprehension in all men, by reason of their strength, and of the uncertainty of what course they would steer, or what enterprise they intended. The newes of this preparation by Sea, made the Commonwealth encrease their Fleet to the number of 47 Gallies, over which they made *Stephano Trepolo* Captain Generall the second time, and chose Governours for 20 other Gallies; for the arming whereof, all things were ready, that they might be ordered according as occasion should require. The Turkish Fleet past quietly through the Channell of *Corsu*, and going from thence to *Sicily*, they desired to know of the Viceroy of that Island, what order he had received from the Emperour, touching the restoring the African Towns, and *Monesterio*, which *Doria* had taken the preceding year. And answer being returned, That *Cesar* would keep them, which he must do, to take away the nest from those Pirats, which did infect those Seas: the Turk's, who till then had abstained from doing any injury, landed a great many men, and took and sack'd *Augusta*, carrying a great many men from those shores, whom they made slaves. From thence the whole Fleet went to *Malta*, where finding the business very difficult, they re-imbarked their Men, and their Artillery, which they had landed, and going soon away, they pass'd to *Gozo*, an Island eight miles distant from *Sicily*, which they totally plundered, and stormed the Castle, though it were well munit, and had in it a good Foot-Garrison. Then taking the way of *Barbary*, they coasted along the shore, and went to *Tripoli*, and after a while-battery, they took the Town, upon agreement, that the Knights of *Malta*, who were within it, for it was then under their Government, having made but small defence, they, and some of the chief of the Town, got away in the French Gallies, which were in the Turkish Fleet; the rest, contrary to promise, were cruelly treated. These things were very sore of themselves, but men were more terrified with the apprehension of the next years danger; for it was noised abroad, that this Fleet was to winter in *Tolon* Haven, and to joyne with the French Fleet, the increase whereof was much endeavoured, that they might put forth to Sea very strong, and very early in the next season. Yet mens fears were quickly over, by the Turks steering their course towards the *Levant*. The King of *France* was generally blamed by all men, but chiefly by

by the Pope, as the promoter of these mischiefs; wherefore the Kings Embassadour, who was at Venice, had a long discourse with the Senators in the Colledge, wherein he laboured to prove, that his King was falsely accused to have been the Author, and occasioner of these Wars, and of the so many mischiefs which then befell Christendom. The Turks proceeded thus at Sea, but the Christians had the better of them by Land, in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*; for *Ferdinando*, King the Romans, assisted by *Jovan Battista Gastaldo*, by *Sforza Palavesino*, and by others, posselt himselfe of whole *Transilvania*, and of the Country and Town of *Timisuar*: which though they were taken from the Infant King *Stephen*, and from the Dowager his Mother, were notwithstanding protected, and defended by *Soliman*: who sent the Bashaw of *Buda* first thither, and then the *Belgerbie* of *Greece*, with a great number of Horse, to drive out *Ferdinando's* Forces; but in vain as then, the authority and discretion of *Fra. Georgio*, having done much therein, by whole advice, though contrary to the Barons of the Kingdomes opinions, who did all they could to encourage the Queen, with hopes of assistance from the Turks: but she despising their Counsells, and being full of apprehension both for her selfe and Sonne, resolved speedily to yield up the whole Country of *Transilvania*, to King *Ferdinando*, contenting her selfe, to receive by way of recompence, the Dukedom of *Opello* in *Slesia*; together with a promise of marriage, between a Daughter of the said Kings, and her Son *Stephen*, when he should be of years; and of other honours, and more Revenues; so as the Turks succours coming, when *Ferdinando's* Forces were grown very strong, and were already posselt of the Towns of *Transilvania* and *Timisuar*, they could not drive them out, but being overtaken with the inconveniences of winter, the Turks were forced to forego the enterprise, and with little honour, to return to their own homes; and by the same reason, of the bitterness of the season, actions of War were likewise ceased in *Italy*; the Imperiall and Ecclesiasticall Camps, keeping still before *Parma*, and *Mirandola*, not doing any thing.

But it was generally thought, there would be much greater doings, and chiefly the two Brothers of *Austria*, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Ferdinando* King of the Romans, had business enough to take order for the safety of their Dominions, and Dignities. Sore War was protested against *Charles* by almost all *Germany*. It was treated of in a Dyer, how they might do to beat him out of *Germany*, and create a new Emperour, he having done, as they allcaged, many things to the prejudice of the Empire, and of the German Liberty. He, contrary to his usuall custome, hoped to appease these commotions by agreement, but it proved almost fatal to his eminent dangers: For as it was too late to provide against them, so also did his provisions prove scarce, and uncertain. For it was in vain for him, to endeavour the raising of Souldiers out of the Towns and parts of the Empire, they being for the most part either risen, or about to rise against him; and King *Ferdinando* had drawn all the best men out of *Austria* and *Tirol*, the *Swissers* and *Grisouns* were employ-

ed in the King of *France* his service, so as his chiefest hopes lay in 1000 Spanish Foot, which the Duke of *Alva* was to bring to him. *Ferdinando* was in no lesse trouble, by reason of the great forces which *Suliman* prepared, to assault *Hungary*, and *Transilvania*; to resist the which, he was the more disabled, for that he could not hope for any help from his Brother, by reason of his being employ'd elsewhere, and for that there was no great love between them, because *Ferdinando* had denyed to resign up the succession of the Empire to his Nephew *Philip*, the Emperours Son, as he was requested to do. Therefore indeavouring to provide for his safety by some other means, he had indeavoured to appease *Suliman*, by offering to pay him other 30000 Duckets by way of tribute, for *Transilvania*, as he did for the Towns of which he held in *Hungary*, and to free himselfe from insurrections, if he should be forc'd to fight, and from any intelligence which the Turks might hold, as it was suspected they did in the parts which *Ferdinando* had gotten: he was very diligent in observing all mens proceedings, whereby he came to discover, that the Bishop of *Varadino*, who had then been made Cardinal by the same *Ferdinando's* intercession with the Pope, in reward for the service he had done him, held private intelligence with some *Bashaws*, and adhered unto the Turks, aspiring to have the Dominion of that Province himselfe, under *Sulimans* protection. Wherefore to free himselfe from these treacheries, he resolv'd to take away his life, as he did by the means of *Sforza Pallavicino*, who taking some few others along with him, slew him: no lesse preparations was rumour'd to be made by the Turks in *Constantinople*, to send forth a powerfull Fleet the next spring, well provided of all things for some great enterprize: All men were the more afraid, because it was not well known what *Sulimans* designs were, and because these his Forces by Sea, might easily betake themselves to severall places, and enterprizes. The Venetians were more vext hereat then any others, by reason of the vast expence and assured trouble they were to be at, by the Fleets putting so often forth from *Constantinople*, it becoming them to be provided for all accidents. They therefore made *Stephano Tiepolo*, Generall at Sea the third time; they increased the Garrisons of the Islands, and maritime Towns: they made some Gallies be armed in *Candia*, and were very diligent in making men work extraordinarily in the Arsenall, that they might be furnisht with many more. The Senate did moreover choose twenty Governours of Gallies, and other twenty were chosen by the *Consiglio Maggiore*, to the end that all things might be ready, and in good order, to increase their Fleet to the number of 100 Gallies, upon any unexpected accident which might fall out.

These so great preparations of the Turks, did not onely not incite the Christian Princes to any better Agreement, but the King of *France* seem'd the more eager to molest *Cesars* affairs, for that he saw him busied in fencing himselfe from the Turks Forces, but continued his intention of going into *Germany*, believing that the Emperour being straitned in so many parts, and being particularly re-

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duced to so great dangers, by the conspiracy of so many German Princes against him, would be brought to some Agreement, even by the parting with some of those States in *Italy*, or in some other parts whereunto the Crown of *France* had any pretence. Having therefore assembled about 40000 Foot of severall Nations, and 4000 Horse, together with a great train of Artillery, he went towards *Lorraine*, where the City of *Metz* had been taken a little before by *Ana de Momorancy*, High Constable of *France*, who was gone before with part of the Army, a City belonging to the Chamber of the Empire, though the Government thereof was put into the hands of some of her own chieft men, whereof the Bishop was the head. The King entred arm'd therein too, soon after, and was received as became a great and victorious Prince, with much honour. He kept a while with his Army in this Country, to keep those of *Flanders*, who were prepared by Queen *Mary*, sister to *Cesar*, from disturbing his designs, or the like of the confederate Princes of *Germany*, who had begun so successfully in their first attempts, as having taken the City of *Ausburg*, and passing easily and speedily through the Duke of *Bavaria's* Territories, had caused much fear in the Emperour, in King *Ferdinando*, and in the whole Court, which was then at *Isprach*; so as it was propounded in the Council, to retire to a place of more safety: but afterwards taking more courage, and having well munited some strait passages of the Mountains, by which the Enemy were of necessity to passe, if they should be resolv'd to come and finde them out; they forbore doing so, since their sudden & shameful flight might prove infamous, though an agreement might insue thereupon. The King of *France* inheartened by the apprehensions of these Princes, and by the prosperous success of their enemies, thought he was not to let slip the occasion of straitning *Cesar* yet more, and of sharing in this glory: He therefore resolv'd to draw near the River of *Rhine*, that he might keep the Confederates true to him, and adhere unto them, intending to passe on further himselfe: but he was not well got thither, when he found himselfe so deceived in his expectation, as he returned back; for the Confederates thinking that they were strong enough of themselves to deal with *Cesar*, and being desirous to keep their own Country from such sufferings, as they feared it might receive by the French Armie; they agreed that Duke *Maurice* should by his Letters advertise the King, (which was more for their own convenience, then for any truth that was in it) that they had already made an Agreement with *Cesar*, wherein they had obtain'd all that they had propos'd unto themselves, or desired by this League: and that now they had no more to do, but to return many thanks unto his Majesty for so great a favour, which *Germany* would never forget, but alwaies acknowledge it as a great obligation from the Crown of *France*. The King was much troubled at this news, seeing himselfe fallen short of the so great hopes which he had conceived, and that the charges and labour of so great a journey was lost; yet that he might make use of his forces elsewhere, he retreated with his Army into the Dukedom of *Luxemburg*, where he took many

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places of importance, and also the Fort *Monvalliere*, esteemed to be the Key of that Country, wherein Count *Mansfelt* was made Prisoner, who was Governour thereof in *Cesar's* behalfe. But ruminating still upon much higher designs, he thought it his best course to free himselfe from all Impediments, by closing in with the Pope, so to separate him from *Cesar*; and he at last obtain'd, that Armes should be laid down between the Church, and the Crown of *France* for two years, as concerning the affairs of *Parma*, and the Prince of *Salerno*, going to the Camp to him; he propounded unto him the enterprize of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which the King willingly listned unto, and began to advise with him in many things, touching forces, and how the businesse was to be carried on. And it was agreed upon, that the said Prince should command in chiefe, he being very forward in making offers, and promises, grounded upon severall things, and chiefly out of the great desire of those people, to withdraw themselves from the Spanish obedience, and to put themselves under the Government and Empire of the Kings of *France*. The Prince of *Salerno* had lived a while at *Padua*, having withdrawn himselfe out of the Kingdom, for divers dissatisfactions received from *Don Pietro de Tulleo*, Vice-roy of *Naples*; and from the Emperour himselfe, for suffering those injuries to be done him. Wherefore taking occasion to raise Novelities, out of these present Commotions, and to resent himselfe at the same time, of the private injuries done unto him, and of the publick injuries done unto his Country by *Cesar*, he resolved to go himselfe in person into *France*, but would go first to *Venice*, to communicate these his intentions with the Senators, that he might carry some news to *France* of the Senates intentions, touching the propolalls which he was to make to the King. He therefore in a long and eloquent Oration, held out what reason the Common-wealth had to regain the Towns and Havens which she had formerly been possessor of in *Puglia*, and to secure themselves from *Cesar's* greatness. He sought to finde out how they would be inclined to this businesse, if it should be propounded to them by the King of *France*; He wist them to consider, how ill-satisfied, and discontented the *Neapolitans* were at the Spaniards Government, by reason of the Vice-roy's insolent and Tyrannicall proceedings, who was not onely torn with, but rewarded by *Cesar*; but chiefly by reason of the office of the Inquisition, which was endeavoured to be brought in then into that Kingdom, to the persecution and ruine of the Nobility; who, not being able any longer to undergo that bitter slavery, would indure any thing rather then to continue under *Charles* the Emperour's Dominion, by whom they had been so dispised and injured. That these same things being represented to the King of *France*, had made him much compassionate their miseries, who as became the magnanimity of such a King, had taken them into his protection, and promised to assist them in what he could; but excused himselfe for not being able to serve them to any purpose at the present, by reason that his Fleet was so small. Therefore, said he, it becomes the Venetian Senate, more then any others, to embrace this enterprize, as being an Italian Prince, a lover of Liberty, strong at Sea, and having a just pretence to a part of that Kingdom. That no friendship could be more usefull to the Common-wealth, nor more to be desired then that of

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France; which was so clearly seen by things past, known by so many proofs, and by so many reasons confirmed, as there was no need of any persuasion thereunto. That such was the magnanimity of the present King, in particular, that all great things were to be expected from his liberality, and from the affection he bore to the *Venetians*. And what greater opportunity could be offered, then the condition of the present times? wherein the Emperour had his hands full of employment, by the War waged with him by almost all *Germany*, by the threatening preparations made against his brother *Ferdinando*, by the *Turks*. But the wisdom of the *Venetian Senate* ought chiefly to consider, not to suffer the *Neapolitans*, being abandoned of all help, and in so great necessity, to precipitate themselves to their own losse, and the like of others, and to have recourse for succour to *Soliman's* forces, which were now ready to put to Sea with a great Fleet. As also the Kings negotiations already had at *Constantinople*, to try this, as the last hope the *Neapolitans* had. These words made no impression in the Senators, nor did any one listen unto them. Whereupon the Prince was dissatisfied, they seeming displeased with the malignity of the times, and particularly with the Prince his perturbations, and holding out the importancy of the businesse, which would require long and mature consultation. Yet he went, as hath been said, into *France*; and representing the businesse which he had designed, to be more easie then it was, and that there was greater hopes, then he really found, to work upon the *Venetians*, he was entred into strait practice with the King, to effect what was thus designed.

The King of *France* was in some doubt what to do, but had still these intentions in his mind; he received severall advertisements, which might confirm him in his first purpose; to wit, Of the great straits whereinto *Cesar* was reduced, which were such, and so many, as he might really seem to be abandoned, by that good Genius, which had wont to accompany him in all his actions, with miraculous prosperity. Duke *Maurice*, and the rest of the confederate Princes, pursued their march towards *Isprack*; and having found a strong and narrow passage, called *Chiusa*, neer *Fussen*, and took it, it being the place wherein the Imperialists chief hopes lay, of hindring the enemies passage, so as their way being open to go to *Isprack*, *Cesar* and his brother *Ferdinando*, took such counsell, as was dictated to them by necessity; and in the obscurest time of night, not having above 500 Horse with them, they went from *Isprack* towards *Persenon*, and from thence to the County of *Tyroll*: And hearing soon after, that the Enemy were drawn neer *Isprack*, they took their way again over steepy Mountains, and march't apace, nor tarrying till they came to *Villacco*; where they likewise were so full of fears and jealousies, as being told by those that came from *Italy*, that Armes and Horles were a raising in *Friuli*, they began to think, that the Common-wealth of *Venice* might be agreed with the King of *France*, and with the *Germans*, and might raise men to assault them. This jealousy was occasion'd by a great number of *Savergnian* Horle, which were seen to be assembled about the Castle of *Ossio*, to meet and rescue the Count *Gazulo*, who was going to the Emperours Court. *Cesar* had likewise conceived these jea-

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louties, (men being easie to believe, either what they fear or hope) by the Treaties of the Prince of Salerno; so as though he was counsell'd, when he was at *Spisack*, to go into *Italy*, he was not thereunto enclined, thinking he should not passe with safety through the State of *Venice*, though the Venetians were alwaies so far from making any advantage of the aduerser fortune of any great Prince, who was their friend, as some German Lords having offered their service to the Common-wealth, and to bring with them upon any occasion 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horse; the Senate, that they might not be any waies interess'd at this time in the affairs of *Germany*, and being desirous not to cause any jealousies in the Emperour, would hardly listen to their proposition. But being at last freed of this suspicion by *Dominico Morefino*, who was Leiger Embassadour with him, and had alwaies followed him, as also by the fact it self, he thanked the Senate, for the good-will which they had shewed unto him. Truly, great was the example of the inconstancy of human affairs, to see that very Emperour, who but a little before, had in a glorious and triumphant manner, subdued and overcome *Germany*, should be put into such a terrour by the very same Forces, that he distrust'd his liberty, and the dignity of his person. In these so many straits, the Foot not being yet come which were expected from *Spain*, *Cesar* turned his thoughts to agreement, giving way to the present bad crisis of affairs and times, and expecting a better occasion to redeem his antient honour. To this purpose, a Dyet being called in *Possionia*, by the confederate Princes, the King of the *Romans* went thither himself in person, to negotiate conditions of peace. But the *German's* pretensions were great, who would make use of those occasions, to moderate *Cesar's* greatness, and to encrease the liberty and privileges of the Princes, and Hans-Towns. So as, though *Cesar* was sometimes willing to satisfy them, being forc'd so to do by necessity, and his so many misfortunes; yet sometimes he re-assum'd his accustomed courage: He said, That rather then to give way to such unworthy things, and so prejudiciall, not onely to himself, but to his successors, he would run all hazards of fortune. But at last being resolv'd, not to grant further liberty to those Cities in point of Religion, nor to give way to the Decrees of new Dyets, he was content to accept of Agreement, as far as concern'd the setting prisoners at liberty, and the receiving of the Rebels into favour. The King of *France* was the more encouraged by these successes, and both he and the Prince of *Salerno* conceiv'd better hopes, of bringing the businesse of *Naples* to a good end; to the effecting whereof, the Venetians assistance being of all other things held most necessary, the Prince of *Salerno* returned to *Venice*, where, accompanied by Monsieur *di Selva*, the Kings Embassadour, they did again endeavour, to bring the Common-wealth to joine in League for such an enterprize; they alledged all things, whereby they might hope, to bring the Senators to hate and undervalue the Emperour, urging his ill-will towards the affairs of the Common-wealth, and his present low condition. And on the other side, they concealed nothing, which might purchase good-will to the King of

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France, or reputation, by reason of his mighty Forces, and of the love he bare to the Common-wealth. And because it was known, that the Senate was very positive in keeping their Neutrality, Monsieur *di Selva*, handling this businesse with much fervency, said: *Are not you aware, Gentlemen, that it lies not in you to hinder the Kings intentions, since he is resolv'd, if not accompanied by you, or any others, to undertake this businesse of himself alone. And whatsoever resolutions you shall put on, these Princes will try their fortunes; and which way soever it shall bend, you will not be able by your Neutrality to secure your State, nor the affairs of your Common-wealth, but will rather, let the event be what it will, leave them equally exposed to the hatred of the Conqueror, and Conquered? Of the latter, because, not valuing his adversity, you would not assist him when you might; of the former, because you would not joine with him, out of envy to his prosperity. And what can my King expect from you, and from your antient, and (as you your selves tearme it) so dear friendship, if you do not accept his so gracious offers, tending to your so great, and so assured advantage, if you do not listen to his fair and advantageous desires? How can he hope to have you his friends in adverse fortune, if you seem so much to slight his friendship, when fortune smiles upon him? What more fit occasion can you expect, to encrease the welfare of your Common-wealth, and to secure your self from *Cesar's* formidable power, if you neglect this? How often have both you, and your ancestors, taken up Arms, much to the praise of your magnanimity, being mov'd therunto out of these very reasons? Can you peradventure doubt, that my King, who scorns to make any agreement with *Cesar*, now when he may do so much to his advantage, will do it at any other time without you, or without the great good both of you and himself; or does it prevail with any of you, that if *Cesar* shall chance to return to his priusline greatnesse, he will remember, that you would not take up Arms against him, when intreated; when it is much more likely, that following the custome of all Princes, but more particularly his own, he will not value his own convenience and interest more, then any thing that is done, or could be done in his behalf? Are not the Cities of *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Genoa*, examples hereof; which he hath rewarded for their many services done him, with bereaving them of their liberties? These things had a fair appearance; but being well looked into, it was found, that they were not grounded upon any solid reasons, nor upon any sound foundations; for to forgo *Cesar's* friendship, which had been so many years preserv'd, with much prosperity to the Common-wealth, out of avoiding uncertain, and far-distant dangers, appeared to be no good nor wholsom advice; and if they should have any thought of quitting their Neutrality, and make another tryall of the Common-wealth's fortune, how should they think this to be a good opportunity, the season being already far spent, for attempting any thing that year by Sea, and having few or no Souldiers, to make any important attempt by Land. Nor was *Cesar* at so low an ebb, but that upon agreement with the *German's*, which was still in treaty, and was near effecting, he might recruit himself, and take the forer revenge, for the injury he should have receiv'd, it being aggravated by the condition of affairs and time.*

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These things being maturely considered, and added to the desire of peace, to which the Senators were much inclined, made them resolve, by almost all their votes, to give this answer to the Prince, and to the French Embassador: *That they very much thanked both the King and Prince, for this their forwardnesse to accommodate the Commonwealthe, which they would never forget: But that they having been, for many years past, in peace with all Princes, they were of opinion, that they could not depart from it, having no occasion to do so. That in all things else, the Senate would willingly correspond with the Kings pleasure, desiring the continuance of all Splendour and prosperity to his Majesty, and to his Kingdom.* This answer being given, the Prince did notwithstanding pursue his former purposes, causing a meeting of severall personages of the French faction, in the City of *Chiocza*, to consult touching the managing of the businesse of *Naples*. Here met the two Cardinals of *Ferrara* and *Tornoue*, Monsieur *de Termes*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Italy*, the Duke of *Somma*, and other Dukes and Lords of the Kingdom; to whom, though the Prince did endeavour to demonstrate the easinesse of the enterprise, yet they finding many evident difficulties therein, it was not absolutely approved of. Nay it so fell out, as the same things being more maturely considered, by the King of *France* himself, he soon after sent to the Prince, and to Monsieur *de Selva*, wishing them to forbear proposing any such thing to the Venetian Senate. But it was already done, as you have heard; and the Senates wisdom, in their resolution and answer, was generally the more commended.

And behold the face of affairs began soon to alter; for the King of *France* receiv'd news, that the Dutch were fallen from him, allcading for this their alienation, that he possess'd three chief Towns, *Metz*, *Tull*, and *Vervane*, which did belong unto the Empire. And Queen *Mary* having encreased her forces, by the Flemish, did with them besiege *Eden*, a Town in *Picardy*. And on the contrary, grievous and contagious sicknesses fell in the Kings Army, which made it of it self daily to dissolve. Wherefore he was forced of himself to give over the enterprise of *Luxemburg*, and breaking off the course of his victories, to send many of his men to their winter-quarters, and to bring the rest to the frontiers of his Kingdom, to defend his own affairs. This mean while, 10000 Spanish Foot were come unto the Emperour, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who had at first adhered unto the King, facing about, joyned, with all his forces, with the Emperour; whose example was afterwards followed by many of the chief of *Germany*, who had first made the French colours be displaid; being displeased with the King of *France*, for not having been able to obtain somewhat; which they did very much desire. The Emperour having by these new accidents recovered his former ardency, began to bethink himself of going in person, with all his forces, immediately to the recover of *Metz*, though the winter season, which came on, and the condition of the City, which was very strong both by situation and art, excellently well munited with a Garrison of 10000 French Foot, and many valiant Com-

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Commanders, did advise him to the contrary. All his Commanders differed from him in opinion; but the businesse being unseasonably attempted, met with conformable event: for having much lessened his Army, by the sufferings of many of his Souldiers, he was forc'd to retreat, having done more prejudice to himselfe than to the Enemy.

Whilst these things were in action, another Combustion, which had been long raked up in ashes, broke forth in *Italy*. The *Senesi* being no longer able to indure the insolent proud command of the *Spaniard*, and having all things ready to drive out the Imperiall Garrison, and to regain their Libertie, sent to *Rome*, to acquaint the French Officers with this their firm resolution, requiring their assistance at this their so great need, and promising to keep the City for the King of *France*. The businesse, whereof there had been formerly some secret Treaties had in *France*, was willingly listned unto; and order was given, that many Foot, who were under the French pay, in *Parma*, and *Atirandola* should march presently towards that City, and soon after, Monsieur *de Lanfack* went thither himself in person, the more to encourage the people. So as, according as it had been first ordered, many armed people of the Country coming thither at the same time, and many forraign Souldiers, conducted by *Nicolas* Count of *Perigliano*; the Spanish Souldiers were suddenly affrighted, and driven by an assault out of the Town. The Fort was slighted, and many other things done in contempt of *Cesar*, and his dignitie; his Ensigns dragg'd about the street, his Arms broken, things which made this action appear more grievous to *Cesar*, and which did trouble him the more, and made him very desirous of revenge; therefore, to lose no time, to satisfie his anger conceived against the *Senesi*, and to keep the French from having another receptacle in *Italy*: he commanded *Don Pedro di Toledo*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, to go with 5000 Foot, what Dutch, what Spanish, (the Kingdom being now free from the danger, for which the Garrisons of those Cities were increased with these men) into *Tuscan*, and endeavour the reducing of the City of *Sienna* to his devotion again. It was thought that this success, if the French-mens designs should prove secure, would be very prejudiciall to the Emperours affairs in *Italy*; for though the French profess'd in words, that they had rane upon them the defence of *Sienna*, to free it from the oppression of the *Spaniards*, and to restore it to its former dignity and freedom; yet their intention was too well known. For refusing propositions of Agreement which were offered, they would continue their Garrisons in that City, that they might make use thereof, and of other places which they had gotten, to raise men in *Italy*, and for other designs of theirs. So as in reward of Liberty, the King of *France* required of the *Senesi*, that they would declare themselves to be friends to his friends, and Enemies to his Enemies. The Vice-roy then desiring suddenly to obey *Cesars* Commands, obtained passage through the Churches Territories; which the Pope said he gave way unto, because he knew not how to hinder him. He entred with his Army into the parts about *Sienna*, which he plundered; and took some

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weak Castles, which soon yielded; but the stronger places were so well munired, as the Imperialists were forc'd to keep long before them: the whole force of the War almost was reduced to about *Monte Alcinò*: whilst which Fort was preserved, *Stenna*, which was excellently well provided of all things, was in the lesser danger. That which made the *Senesi* chiefly so resolute to defend themselves, was, the fear of being severely punisht by *Cesar*, if he should regain the City, and their hopes of not being long troubled with the Imperiall Army, by reason of the dangers which befell the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the Turkish and French Fleets. The *Venetians* endeavourd to quench this fire which was kindled in *Italy*.

The End of the twelfth and last Book, of the first Part, of the Venetian History.



THE
HISTORY
OF
VENICE,

The Second Part.

Written by PAULO PARUTA, Procurator
of St. MARK.

Wherein the War made by the League of
Christian Princes against *Selino Ottaman*, upon
occasion of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*,
is contained, in three Books.

Book I.

THE CONTENTS.

THE cause of the war of *Cyprus*. How that Island fell to the *Venetians*. Tribute paid for it to the *Turks*, who desire the possession thereof; notwithstanding *Solimán* does nothing therein. His successor *Selino*, is inclined to this enterprise, out of divers respects. He confirms the Articles of Peace with the *Venetians*, and doth other things, which make him appear more given to peace then war. But soon after, he deceives mens thoughts, and consults about the taking of *Cyprus*. He is dissuaded by *Mehemet*; but being persuaded by others, he undertakes the enterprise. Many tumultuous risings are appeased by him. The dearth of the year 1569. Fire in the Arsenal the same year. The Consul advertiseth the Senate, of *Selino's* resolutions, but is not much believed; but by reiterated advices, they begin to look about them. Provisions made. Consultations had, how to use the provisions which are made. They minde the Garrisoning

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The War made by the Common-wealth of Venice against Selino Ottaman, when his Empire and fortune was at the greatest height, both by Sea and Land, in defence of the Kingdom of Cyprus; he being the most powerful Emperour of the Turks, and in League with some of the chiefeft Princes of Christendom; may be numbred amongst the most remarkable things which hath hapned in our times, or in the memory of our fore-fathers, or in whatsoever other former Age: The War being undertaken with much fervour, and warlike preparation on both sides, and with no lesse indignation then power; whilst not onely the ablest Nations, but such as did differ in Customs, Lawes, and Religion, did contend for the priority of the Militia, and for the glory of the Empire; so as the present War contains events, which for their variety and greatnesse, may afford such delight and help, as the knowledge of what hath been done, usefull to afford: I have thought it a praise-worthy work, in being very carefull and diligent, in recollecting all the Counsellis, and most important Actions which insued in the space of three years, the time which this war lasted; and severing them from the continued Series of other things whereof I am to write, to give you a particular story thereof, that I may fully satisfie the curiosity which the fame of great things may excite in those which shall come after us, to know so strange events orderly and distinctly; and that being taught by such examples, they may the better draw some usefull precepts for politick Government.

The occasion of this War, was that which hath troubled almost all Christendom for these many years; the Ottaman Princes immoderate desire of Empire, and military Glory, which is begot in them by the Rules of that State, being wholly given to Action, and military Exercises: So as thinking the enlargement of their confines a sufficient reason of making War, they have been alwaies troublesome to their Neighbours; not reputing those their Enemies, who have been readiest to provoke them by injuries; but those are most exposed unto their fury, whose forces are weakest, or whose States be most convenient for them, or whom they may opportunely offend; and these they have indeavoured to bereave of their Dominions, whereof both this and the preceding Age doth afford us many evident examples. But it will be clearly seen, by what shall hereafter be said, what the particular occasion of this war was, and pretences the Turks made use of to take up Arms.

The Venetians, amongst other of their Territories in the Levant, were at this time possit of the Island of Cyprus, which they had been Masters of for fourscore years: for the Common-wealth seeing that Kingdom reduced to eminent danger, of falling into the Turks Dominion, it being oppress'd by the Inares and violence of Baiazet Ottaman, who apparently aimed at the getting of it; after he had for many years defended the Dowager Queen, wife to Giacopo Lusignan, the last King. The Dowager being a Venetian, & whom the State

State had adopted for her Daughter, to make her the more worthy of to great a match; the Common-wealth endeavour'd by the means of her Brother *Georgio Curiano*, that she would deliver up the free and absolute Government of Cyprus to her native Country: for her onely Sonne being dead, she by her Husbands last Will and Testament, was left sole Heir and Legitimate Lady of that Kingdom: Which she giving way unto, was, after she went from thence, reduced unto a Province; and the Common-wealth continued still to send divers Magistrates to look to the Government thereof, being very carefull to preserve so noble a Member, and so great an adornment added to their State: whereby this Island hath not onely hitherto been preserved from the Turks, but hath been much enriched by the industry of many Gentlemen of *Venice*, who being invested with Inheritances there, began to manure the Grounds, to govern their Farms, (which the Country people there call their Ville) and to use frequent Navigation thither in Venetian bottoms, whereby not onely the native Commodities were exported, but many other Merchandizes brought thither from *Egypt* and *Soria*, it being made as it were a Landing-place, wherinto divers sorts of Merchandize were brought from the Neighbouring Turkish Territories, as into a safe and convenient place. The Venetians paid unto the Turks yearly, eight thousand Duckets, by way of Tribute for this Island, which was wont to be paid by the *Lusignian* Kings, to the Emperours of the *Malamucchy*, after that King *Giano*, Sonne to *Giaco*, overcome in battel by the *Soldan*, and carried Prisoner to *Cairo*, was forced for his freedom to tax his Kingdom with this perpetual Tribute; having also disburs'd a great sum of Gold. The *Ottoman* Emperours did afterwards succeed to this interest, when *Sultan Selino*, father to *Soliman*, had subdued the Empire of the *Malamucchy*: wherefore the Venetians, as new possessors, continued this recognition to them, which made the Turks still desirous to possess themselves of this Kingdom, both out of reason of State, and for the cause of Religion, it being a particular fee-farm of the *Meccha*, a place of worship and devotion amongst the Mahometans. The Turks grew also suspicious that this Island, by reason of the fitnessse of its situation, was become a receptacle to the *Malta* Gallies, and to other Western Pirates, by which the Rivers of their neighbouring parts were infested, and the subjects of the *Ottoman* Empire, kept from sayling safely on those Seas; and had yet a more particular quarrel, for that the voyages of those *Masselemans*, who out of any vow, or religious zeal, sayled to *Meccha*, were thereby hindered, and expos'd to danger. The disturbers of the peace making use of this, and cloaking their own peculiar interests under it, strove to make War with the Common-wealth, to bereave her of this Noble and Rich Island: Nor was the inclination, which was known to be in many of those inhabitants to change their Government, that so they might change their fortune and condition, a small incitement hereunto. For a fore slavery being by ancient custome introduced, which arose first from a small tax laid upon the inhabitants to pay the Cavalry which kept those

those shores from incursions, and the Venetians not daring to appropriate it, when they had gotten that Kingdom, for fear of losing the love of the Nobles, whose Lands were labour'd by these slaves, whom they call *Parisi*; many of those men grew discontented, and desirous of Novelty, which not hoping to attain unto from elsewhere, they had recourse unto the Turks, as to those to whom such an enterprise might prove very easie and opportune, by reason of their power and nearness. But these things being represented to *Soliman*, and much discourse being had thereupon, which bred much doubt and jealousies in the Venetians, could work no effect. For he, were it for that he was alwaies employ'd in other affairs; or that he would not without occasion violate his friendship with the Venetians, and by breach of Oath stain that glory which he was alwaies so ambitious of; or for that he thought it not good to necessitate them whose friendship he might make advantage of, to turn their forces against him, which were very strong at Sea, and therefore very fit to molest many of his Dominions, and to occasion a League amongst the Christian Princes, and so interrupt his greater designs, would never lend an ear to those who advis'd him to this enterprise, nor make use of any occasion, wisely refusing the invitations, and the promises of the *Parisi* of the Island. The Venetians were not wanting to preserve this opinion in him; wherefore refusing all Counsells which tended to War, and thinking it not fit to make use of any occasion which might compell them to take up Arms against so potent an Enemy: they these late years stood idly looking upon others mens actions, that they might not indanger themselves to free others; having learnt by experience, how unfortunate they had been in waging War with *Soliman*; how powerful and formidable an enemy he had been to all Christendom, and how little reason they had to trust to the help of other men, or in the doubtful success of War, having been much to their prejudice deceived in their hopes, either by the insincerity of some of the Collegues, or by the uncertainty of fortune. At this time all men commended the Senates wisdom, who could use such temper with the Turks, as they should neither fear, nor despise the Venetian name. For as oft as any powerfull Fleet was put to Sea, they spared for no cost to keep the maritime Forts munished, and by arming their Gallies to give a kind of counterpoise to the Turkish Forces: But they did still shun all occasions of interposing themselves in their designs; and kept such friendship with Christian Princes, as might seem to look more at their own safety, than at the injuring of others, and rather to the preserving of what was their own, than to the acquiring what was their Neighbours. Whence the Turks saw that the Venetians desired to keep friendship with them; and that they knew how, and were able to make War, and be at parity with them: that they willingly avoided all occasions of making triall of their Forces, but yet would not suffer such injuries as might be prejudicial to their Honour, or State: and by this means they had enjoy'd peace for above thirty years. Wherby, besides the spinning out of time, which made much for the weaknes, they did very much ad-

advantage the City of *Venice*, wherein all Arts and Merchandize did flourish. Whereby being much increased in inhabitants, and in all sorts of Commodities, they had lived a long time joyfully, and contented, in great tranquillity & plenty; the Citizens gaining much by traffick in the *Levant*, and enjoying their Revenues so long free from extraordinary taxes of War. Yet were not all mens minds free from jealousies and troubles; for finding that *Soliman* had studied Sea-affairs, more by much than any of his Predecessors, so as he sent forth almost every year a great Fleet, the end whereunto not being known, it caused much fear; the Common-wealth being able, by reason of her situation, to give a just counterpoise to the Turkish Fleets, which grew now as formidable at Sea, as their Armies had been some years before at Land: so as feeling the inconveniences of War in time of Peace, they were oft necessitated to Garrisonize their Ports, knowing how little faith they were to adhibit to Infidels, and to be in continuall expence and jealousy, as may be known by what hath been said in the preceding Books. But all men were chiefly concern'd in the care of *Cyprus*, that Kingdom being a very considerable member of the State, and which lying far from the City of *Venice*, and being environ'd round about by the Turkish Territories, was in greater hazard of being possess'd by so powerfull Neighbours. Being therefore intent upon the preservation of so rich and commodious a Province, they had reduced the City of *Nicosia*, the Metropolitan of that Kingdom, into a Fort-Royall, and had added new Foot-Companies of those of the Country, to the ordinary Militia of the *Stradioti*, and made other provisions for War, endeavouring thereby to secure that Island, and to bereave the Turks as well of mind, as of means to assault it. Thus this war, which had been feared many years, was defer'd all *Soliman's* life time.

But, his Son *Selino* succeeding him in his Empire, all men grew quickly more afraid, it being publicly given out, that he had long had an inclination to the enterprize of *Cyprus*. For before his Fathers death, whilst he, according to the custome of the *Ottomans*, lived far from him in the Province of *Magnasia*; having occasion, by reason of the Neighbour-hood, to receive severall informations of that Island, and daily hearing much talk of the fruitfulness thereof, of the Noblemens wealth, and of the abundance of all things therein; he had a great desire to possess it; so as he said publicly, that when he should succeed his Father in his Empire, he would seek to make himselfe master thereof. It was also given out, that *Selino* had begun to build a magnificent Moschea in *Andrenopoli*, following therein the custome of many of his Ancestors, who, (perhaps in imitation of those ancient Egyptian Kings, who built Pyramids, and other Fabricks of a stupendous magnitude,) endeavour'd to perpetuate their memorie to posterity by making royall Edifices. He being therefore very fervent herein, was told by the Musty, whose authority is as venerable, in the Mahometan superstitious Ceremonies, as is the Popes, in the true Christian Religion; that he not having as yet made

made any acquisition, it was not lawfull for him to build a Moschey, together wherewith many pious works were to be instituted; and that it was not lawfull by their Lawes, to employ any of the ancient Revenue of the Empire in such things, but onely the Incomes of such Countries, as were conquered by him, who would have so much honour done him. Hereunto was added, that it seemed, *Selino* had not onely an occasion offer'd him to do this, but that he was almost necessitated to make war somewhere, that he might follow the footsteps of his predecessors, who were alwaies used to do some notable action, in the beginning of their Empire, to win the favour and good-will of the Souldier; the which it was thought it was the fitter for *Selino* to do, for that he not being held to be a warlike Prince, began to fall from that high reverence amongst the souldiers and people, which was wont to be given by them to his fore-fathers. War being therefore to be made, it was not judged convenient for him, to make it in *Hungary*, and much lesse in *Persia*, since the confines of the Turkish Empire were of so large extent, as their Armies could not be conducted thither, without much inconvenience, they being much wasted by sufferings, and by the length of the way, before they could see the face of the enemy, as had hapned to his grand-father *Selino*, in the wars against the *Sophie of Persia*, whom though he overcame in Battle, yet he himself was overcome at last, having in his return lost the greatest part of his Army, by the length and difficulties of the march. And as was more clearly seen, in the last enterprize made by *Soliman* in *Hungary*, wherein the getting of the Fort of *Ziget*, was not thought answerable to the losse of so many of his best souldiers, which ensued thereupon. So as it was best for *Selino*, to betake himself to some Sea-enterprize, whereof none lay more convenient for him, then that of *Cyprus*, it being full of wealth, and placed in the utmost precincts of the Venetian Dominions, and therefore weakest, as lying furthest from the heart, wherefore it might prove an easie and a rich booty. Whereas if he should go to the sterill parts of *Spain*, to attempt any enterprize, he might fear, he should consume his men in vain by hardships, and consequently reap rather blame and hatred from the Souldier, then love and honour: And by any bad accident, he might fore-bode bad successe in the remainder of his Government. And the recent example of the bad successe at *Malta*, which was maintained by a few Knights of *Jerusalem*, (whose peculiar seat and habitation it is) against a powerfull Turkish Fleet, might better teach them, upon what disadvantage war was waged in anothers Territories, far distant from their own Dominions. Whereas on the contrary, a more assured victory, and good reward was promised him, by the enterprize of *Cyprus*, a plentiful Country, and environed on all sides by Rivers, whereunto he had but a short passage of sixty miles for his men to make. These things being maturely considered, did at first produce great fears, that *Selino* would war with the Venetians, concerning the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. But finding afterwards, that he had very readily confirm'd the same Articles of peace, which had for many years been establi-

shed, and inviolably observed by his father; and that he had given signes of long continuing his paternall affection to the Commonwealth, by his handsome treating of the Venetian subjects, and their affairs. Moreover, it being observed, that no great preparation was made for the Sea, and that severall Summer-seasons being past over, one onely Fleet had put to Sea, and that but a weak one. All men were perswaded, that what was formerly said of *Selino's* being naturally given to pleasure, and not to military exercises, degenerating therein from the *Ottoman*-race, would prove true; and that he would passe over his Government in delights, and in idleness. His having given over the enterprize of *Hungary*, which was happily begun by his father; his having made Truce for eight years with *Maximilian* the Emperour; his not preparing to lend out Fleets, and other such like things, would have made it be believed, that all this had been done, to confirm and to encrease his forces by some repose, after the many past wars; and that, free from other impediments, he would the better attend what he had propoised unto himself. This opinion was likewise confirmed, that *Selino* would continue peace and friendship with the Venetians, for that *Mehemet*, who was the first Bashaw, and his son in Law, was thought, would be of great authority with him; who, as a wife man, and well experienced in the management of many weighty worldly affairs, would not advise him to make war with the Venetians, knowing that it made not for their advantage, to deprive themselves of the Venetians friendships, and of the many commodities which were brought unto them by Venetian Merchants, who trafficking much in those parts, accommodate them with many things which they want and, to the great advantage of those Inhabitants, export many commodities wherewith they abound, into other Countries. To which the Prince his particular intereit was likewise added, whose customes and publick revenues were much encreased by Traffick with forraign Nations. And if such a prejudice were not to be considered, to try fortune rashly and unnecessitated, unseasonably, and without any cause, affording thereby occasion to all Christian Princes, to joyn in a League, was judged to be a very considerable thing for when they should fee their sateties undermined, under the shaddow of a seeming peace, and that a supream Monarchy was laboured to be grounded in the *Ottoman*-Empire, they would be forced, being thereunto moved by their own danger, to take up Arms together with the Venetians, to abate the power and daring of the common Enemy. Which danger was not counterpoised, by the hopes of getting a little Island, which though it were a Noble one in it self, yet was it but a small addition to so ample a Dominion. To these so great interests both of Prince and subjects, was *Mehemet's* own particular concernment added, for he being in greatest honour and authority, he might in peace enjoy his riches and his power, whereas in war he was to run many hazards; since he being to tarry at *Constantinople*, when his Master should be in the wars, he would be accused of negligence in making provisions, by his Rivals; and if any ill luck should

should happen, other mens bad counsels would be imputed to him; or the main enterprize being committed to another, this other man, if things should succeed happily, would be advanced in his Princes favour and esteem. It was therefore believed, that the wisdom and dexterity of *Mehemet*, would much allay *Selino's* immoderate desires, and that he would be a fit instrument, to divert him from these thoughts. Hence it was, that many men beginning to fall off from their first suspicions, the Venetian Merchants did not onely continue their former Traffick under the new Emperour, but traffickt more then before, striving who should send most gold and silver, and other precious Merchandise, into divers places belonging to the Turks, whither people of severall Nations came, every one beginning to promise peace unto himself, out of the aforesaid considerations, which were much credited out of hope of gain.

There is nothing more difficult, then to penetrate into the inward counsells of Princes; there is no more fallacious argument, then that which is made upon their resolutions, especially when their minds (as for the most part they are) are agitated by variety of reasons, or disturbed by various affections. *Selino* being in this height of greatness, though of himself he was no great friend to Arms, yet this his naturall defect being overcome, by the orders and power of that Empire, or being perswaded out of the aforesaid reasons; he bent his minde to possesse himself of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Thus in the third year of his reign, in the month of November, as he rid out with some of his chief Bashaws to hunt, (which the Turks call their *Divano a cavallo*) he began to consult with them herein. *Mehemet*, the first Bashaw, continuing in his former opinion, out of the aforesaid reasons, fought by all means possible to dissuade him from it; he shewed, That whether it were Religion, State-interest, or Glory, which moved *Selino* to make war, he should do it, to succour the Moors of Granado, rather then for any other respect. That it became the greatest, wherein by the favour of the Prophet Mahomet, the Ottoman Emperours were placed, chiefly not to abandon them, who with a pious and constant resolution, had never abandoned the Mahometan religion; and who whilst they suffered bodily slavery, kept the liberty of their conscience unspotted, by any superstition. That it likewise became the power and safety of that Empire, as also the glory which *Selino* seemed so desirous of, not to permit any Potentate to grow too powerful, but to quell these first, who might oppose the Ottoman grandezza, as did the King of Spain, and to undertake things, which though they might peradventure prove difficult, would notwithstanding merit praise, and be of great expectation. That therefore he should acknowledge, and make use of so good an occasion, as God did now lay before him, to preserve the faithfull Musselmans, to molest their enemies, and to make way for noble and glorious achievements. But *Piali* and *Mustafa* Bashaw endeavoured the contrary, with much fervency, and with the same reasons, but applied otherwise; who not onely out of envy to *Mehemet*, but as his declared enemies; the former having by his means been deprived of the dignity of Bashaw del Mare; and the latter's life much endangered by severall imputations, whilst he was Governour of Cairo,

did alwaies oppose *Mehemet's* designs and counsells; and they appeared the more zealous herein, for that knowing they advised that, whereunto their Lord was much enclined, they hoped to wind into his favour, and to deprive him thereof, who advised the contrary, by applauding his resolution. To this was added, That if the businesse of *Cyprus* should be pitched upon, according to their opinions and perswasions, *Piali* hoped to be restored to his former honour, and to be Governour of the Fleet; and *Mustaf* hoped to have the chief employment by land: so as upon any happy successe, they might each of them regain their former reputation and authority. These men, sometimes considering the advantage, sometimes the easinesse of this enterprise; and oft-times mixing the consideration of Religion with these concerns of State, shewed, How that the Venetians forces were of themselves weak, and that what assistance they might receive from other Christian Princes, was by example known to be uncertain and fallacious. That the Island of *Cyprus*, by reason of its far distance from Venice, was hard to be garrisoned or succoured, very convenient to be assaulted by them, by its lying so near their Countries. That it was a rich and noble Kingdom, commodiously seated for their other Territories, and so, as it might secure the navigation upon those Seas, to the Subjects of the Ottoman Empire, which so great an Emperour as he, ought rather to take into his care; for that not onely in derision of his enmity, but to the bairous scandall of Religion, and of the name of Muselman, the voyage to the Mecca was impeded, the Pilgrims being miserably made prisoners by the western Pirats, who had safe harbour in that Island. And that as this war was of it self holy, so it might be made the more meritorious, by applying the rich revenues of this new acquisition, to the use of the magnificent Temple, which *Selino* caused to be built in Andrenopolis. They moreover opposed *Mehemet's* opinion very strongly, and the Spanish enterprise, urging the difficulty of carrying so numerous a Fleet into so far distant Countries; to what dangers it would be exposed, sailing through places, where there were no Havens, through the enemies Rivers; and then how long it would be, before the war could be begun, what alterations time might afford; how vain those hopes use to prove, which are grounded upon popular insurrections, without the groundwork of real forces. How craggy and mountainous those parts were, and naturally apt to hinder any considerable progresse of any power, how great forever. *Selino* listened the more willingly to what these men said, for that it was conformable to his own sense; and on the other side, *Mehemet's* allegations were of lesse authority, for he being known to be very wary, nay, rather timorous sometimes in his advices, he was thought to act according to his own inclinations, when he was against making any war without necessity; and now when he was for the enterprise of Spain, wherein there wanted not much difficulty, he seemed to do not onely what was contradictory to reason, but contrary to his own nature. *Selino* proceeded therefore herein with great respect and temper; and at last meeting with no more opposition, he resolved upon the enterprise of *Cyprus*, saying, He would be himself in person in it. And he was so affectionate, and so constant in this resolution, as all men believed, he would have begun this War the

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very first year of his Empire, had he not been detained by other impediments: for he found the Empire much exhausted of many things, by reason of the continuall Wars made by *Soliman*, and especially in the last enterprises of *Maha* and *Sighe*, wherein many men were consumed, and the Fleet was also almost unfurnished of all things; so as it was necessary to refresh the Forces, and to recruit the Navy, by time and rest.

The Bashaw of *Cassa* being put upon it, as it was thought by *Mehemet*, to imploy the Grand Signior in other affairs, had put him in minde, that by cutting a neck of Land, about some eighteen miles over, in a place called *Ajdagan*, which was posselt by the *Russians*, two great and famous Rivers might be joyn'd together, the *Tanai*, and the *Volga*, whereby severall Navigations would be much accommodated, and the fishing of the *Tanai* would be bettered, to the great and assured advantage of his Highnesse Impolls, and with hopes of greater things; for thereby an easie Navigation would be opened to *Mare Maiore*, whereinto the *Tanai* falls, and to the Caspian Sea, whereinto the *Volga* doth disgorge her selfe; so as Armies might upon any occasion be easily led into *Persia*. For the which many men being assembled, and much indeavour being had, the *Muscovites*, through whose Country the Cut was to be made, did not onely raise many Horle to disturb the worke, but the King of *Persia* hearing thereof, and considering (as it was true) that by leaving this way open to his Territories, they were bereft of a great security, by reason of the difficulties of the deserts, and by the length of the march, which the Armies meet withall which come to assault them, he began to multiply his men, who were upon his confines, and gave *Selino* just occasion to suspect, that these things being discovered, he would not ratifie the peace and confederacy which he had made with his Father *Soliman*. Nor was the rising of the Arabians to be slighted, who had posselt themselves of much Territories about the River of *Giemen*, tane the City *Aden*, and indeavoured to make themselves Masters of the *Mecca*, and giving out that they held intelligence with the Portuguese, made greater proceedings be apprehended. But these rumours of the Arabians being at last appealed, and the King of *Persia* having sent Letters, that he would continue his friendship and former confederacy, and together with them (which made them be the better credited) notice being given by the Bashaw of *Erivran*, that all things were peacefull upon the confines of *Persia*; *Selino* thought that being free from all impediments, and having already made much provision for War, he ought not now defer it any longer; and the rather, for that he seemed to be invited to hasten the enterprise, by two sad accidents which hapned this year, which did much incommode the Venetians, but not so much as it was thought. The one was, that there was so great a scarcity of all sorts of Grain this year throughout almost all Italy, as there was great want thereof in the City of *Venice*, and in all parts thereabouts: so as it was thought, that not having wherewithall to feed their own people, it would be impossible for the Venetians to maintain an Army, and a Fleet. The

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other accident was not so sad of it selfe, but very horrible in appearance. For fire taking on the 13th of September, in the Ammunition of the *Arsenal* by night, were it by chance, or by any other malice (which was never discovered), it burst out into so great a flame, as much mischief was done, not onely in the buildings which are within the *Arsenal*, but in the parts about it, and to the wonder of all beholders, it wrought some miraculous effects. For those Towers wherein the Gun-powder was placed, were blown up even by the foundation, in so much as in the plain thereof there was a ditch, above fifteen foot deep; and the walls which begirt the *Arsenal* on that side, though they were very strong, and of a large circuit, and certain huge vaults, under which Gallies are sheltered, were thrown down to the ground. It threw down likewise the Church Monastery of the Nuns, *Della Celsitia*, and some other neighbouring houses, and many other Houses that were further off, were torn and spoiled; great holes were made in the walls, marble broken, tops of Houses carried away, all the Houses of the City did so shake, as it was generally thought, that if such an accident had hapned a little before, whilst some little Towers in the neighbouring Islands were not replenish'd with Gun-powder, whereinto the greatest part of the Ammunition Powder, was carried but a little before: that noble City, full of so many, and so stately structures, had been utterly ruin'd; and truly, the noise was so great and terrible, as it was heard by those that were above thirty 30 miles off; and many in *Venice*, amazed at so unusual a sound, thought Dooms-day had been come. It was noised abroad, that very great mischief was done in the *Arsenal*, and a great part of the Navall preparations lost by this fire; though indeed the prejudice was not great, nothing having suffered, save onely four Gallies which were crush'd by the weight of the Vaults; but those who solicited the War at *Constantinople*, exaggerated these things, representing to the Grand Signeur the Venetians condition to be very low and mean, prognosticating certain ruine to the Common-wealth, and an assured victory to the *Ottoman* Empire. These were the reasons why the Turks continued peace for many years with the Venetians, and why they broke into war with them at this time.

The Senators received due information of these Counsells and transactions from *Mark Antonio Barbaro*, their Consull at *Constantinople*, a very wise man, who did excellent service all this while to the Common-wealth. But at first men could not believe their own fears, which they had found to prove false severall times before; so as being now accustomed to a long peace, they could not easily perswade themselves, that their condition could be altered; but either not believing these advertisements, or interpreting things otherwise than they were, they thought that this fury of war would burst forth somewhere else. Nay, some of the chiefe Senators, and best experienced of that Nation, advis'd that they should be very wary in making provisions for the Navy, lest they might peradventure raise more jealousies then were needfull in *Selino*, by their too great preparations, and make him do that which peradventure

ture he never dreamt of; whereby they might rather hasten, then avoid their danger. The long nourishing of these appearing hopes, was the cause why they did not make such provisions, at the beginning of these jealousies, as the eminent danger did require.

But at last, in the beginning of *January*, the year 1570 being now commenced, Letters came from the Consull to the Senate, wherein he gave notice not onely of the generall speech and stirrings; but of the certain resolution put on in the *Divano*, to assault *Cyprus*; though the Bashaws constantly affirming the contrary, sought to conceal it. *Mehemet*, that he might not oblige *Selino* to do it, by divulging it, and so deprive himselfe of any occasion which time might produce; *Mustapha*, and *Piali*, that to their better advantage, they might assault *Cyprus* at unawares. But the Consull cunningly seeming not to believe that which he knew to be very true, discouraging with the Turks, and chiefly with *Abraham*, their interpreter, a domestick servant of the first Bashaw, and therefore of good esteem; he drew him at unawares into severall communications, whereby he learnt much of the Bashaw's intentions, of their preparations, and particularly of a great number of flat bottom'd boats, which were making in the Gulph of *Atazzo*, and in the *Mare Majore*, and of Orders given out by the Captain-Generall of *Asia*, (by them called the *Belgierbie della Natolia*) to all the Souldiers of that Province, that they might provide to ride into *Caramania*, and of other things of like nature, by which he might clearly learn, that the next summers action was to be against the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. After which advertisements, they all began to be very diligent in providing for so great a need, sought by their present diligence to repair the time they had lost, and gave themselves with all diligence to provide for all such things as were thought fit to withstand the fury of so certain a war. They resolv'd to send forthwith great Garrisons into *Cyprus*, and wisht all the Governours of the Island to be very vigilant in preparing all such things to sustain the War, which was chiefly intended against that Kingdom, to exhort the common people to Loyalty; and the Gentlemen that were Feudatories, to provide Arms and Horses, according as they were bound to do; and Commanders in chiefe were provided for their Sea-forts, *Luca Michiele* was made Commissary of *Gania*; *Lorenzo da Mula*, being sent a little before into *Candia*, with title of Commissary Generall of that Island, with particular charge to inform himselfe of such as were fit for the Oare, wherewith to furnish twenty Gallies, which were to that purpose sent into that Kingdom. *Sebastiano Veniero* went to *Corfu*, who had the supreme Authority of the Militia of that Kingdom given him; and *Giovanni da Lege*, a Cavalier, and Procurator of *St. Mark*, was sent to *Lara*, and made Generall of all *Dalmatia*. All the Ships which lay in the Havens of the City, were forbidden to depart without licence, though they were so few at this time, as thereby the difficulty of sending such Foot as was requisite into *Cyprus*, was made the greater. Souldiers were raised in many parts of *Italy*, divers Commanders were brought thither, and with much union and diligence they were continually careful,

in ordering all their Forces both for their own defence, and to offend the Enemy, insomuch that there was never any provision for War proposed in the Senate, which was not approved of by almost all the Votes. But chiefly they gave themselves with all diligence, to have work done in the *Arsenal*, and to prepare great store of Gallies: There were eleven Governours chosen of the greater Gallies, and *Francesco Duodo* was made their Captain, one highly esteemed for his valour, and knowledge in Sea Discipline; and eighty were chosen to be Governours of the lesser Gallies, who were all of them chief Gentlemen of the City, and such as were best experienced in Sea affairs. *Pietro Trono*, was made Captain of the Frigates; and they resolved to arm a Gallion, very artificially built before by *Vittore Fausto*, a learned man, and who had a particular excellency in composing Sea-Engines; *Girolamo Contarino*, was made Captain thereof; but *Girolamo Zane*, Procurator of St. Mark, was to have the supreme Authority over the whole Fleet: He was held to be very fortunate both in his own private condition, and in the publick employments, who had always govern'd himselfe therein with much integrity and wisdom. These things being thus ordered, they apply'd themselves diligently to see them performed; and all provisions were so easily and readily had, as exceeded expectation. Concerning the using of these Forces, some propounded, that forty Gallies should speedily be sent towards the *Levant*, who keeping in *Candia*, should be ready to make use of such occasions as time, and the Enemies proceeding should offer. They considered, that to shew this courage at the first, would adde comfort to the subjects, and reputation to their affairs; and on the other side, would infuse doubts and confusion into the Enemy, and retard their expedition. For it was likely they would not venture to come forth of the Strait of *Galipoli*, without their intire strength, when they knew they should meet with such resistance: The which was known, would be of so much the greater help, for that they understood afterwards, that the Turks feared this more than any thing else; and that therefore they had been extraordinarily diligent in sending out 25 Gallies, that they might carry the Ammunition which was prepared for the enterprise of *Cyprus*, early from *Allesandria*, which if they should be intercepted by our Gallies, they knew their whole design would be lost. To this it was objected, that it might prove to be of greater danger then security; for that the Turks did always keep so many Gallies ready for the usual guard of some of their places, as that many Pirats Vessels being added thereunto, (as was usually done in time of War) they might trouble our Gallies, and perchance endanger them, which they thought was the rather to be shun'd, for that they had great hopes to do some remarkable action, by using all their forces jointly together. Therefore laying all other thoughts aside for the present, they seemed all of them to be chiefly troubled, how to put sufficient Garrisons into the Ports of *Cyprus*: Some were for the furnishing them so with men, as if they were never to be relieved; and for providing to relieve them so, as if they had never been Garrisoned.

Part II.

Written by Paulo Paruta.

risonized. But as the one was variously incommoded, by the shortness of time, by want of vessells, and by fear, that the enemy would be out, very strong, and very betimes; so they thought, they could not repose any certain hopes in the other, by reason of the enemies powerfull forces, and out of the various events of war, and of actions at Sea. This mean while, whilst they were treating, whom they should send to bear chief sway in *Cyprus*, together with *Lucour*, *Eugenio Singilitico* Count di *Rocas*, a noble Cyprian, who at this time discharged the office of Lieutenant Generall of the Militia, by *Terra Firma*, and was for the most part resident at *Venice*, readily offered himself to relieve his Country, at this her so great need, and to serve his Prince: And being speedily dispatcht, went his way in a ship with a 1000 Foot, and was by the Senate made chief Commander of all the Cavalry of that Kingdom. *Girolamo Martinengo*, conductor of the *Gens d'Armes*, readily and generously offered himself, to raise 2000 Foot within a few daies, in the States of other Princes, and to go with them himself to the reliefe of *Famagosta*, and to stay there to defend that City. Thus having in a very short space, much to his praise, put all his men in order, and brought them to *Venice*, to embarque both them and himself, in ships destined to that purpose, he would shew himself with all his souldiers to the City, appearing in a military habit in the *Piazza* of St. Mark, a thing well worth the seeing; for the sight of so proper men, adorned with bright Armes, and variety of other noble ornaments, did much delight the unskillfull multitude, who being pleased with the novelty of the spectacle, considered not, what the progresse and end of war might prove: For these so many and so valiant men, did all perish in a short time, some by suffering, some by the sword of the enemy; and *Martinengo's* self falling grievously sick, through the inconveniencies of Navigation, dyed before he could arrive at *Cyprus*, being herein the lesse fortunate, that he did not die in Battle, and crown his glory with a more noble death. He was much praised for his loyalty, and for the service he shewed to his Prince.

The Senate, when they were certain of these the Turks designs and preparations, made an account be given thereof by their Legier Embassadors, to almost all the Princes of Christendom: wherein the Venetians were the more solicitous, being moved thereunto, not so much out of hope of getting them to joine in their defence, as that they might not seem to scorn the help of others; and that confiding too presumptuously on their own strength, the event of that War, wherein the common cause of Christendom was concern'd, might be the more endangered. They therefore acquainted them with the weight, of what War the Common-wealth was to sustain, and with the dangers wherewith at the present they were threatned, but wherein all Christendom would in time be concerned. So as some Senators were not listned unto, who advised to do what they were able, speedily, and of themselves, left by relying upon the uncertain hopes of others, they might either slacken their own provisions, or being allured by the no-certain promises of Princes, quite give over all thought of any treaty of peace. Pope

Pius Quintus sat then in *St. Peters* Chair, who being but of a mean extract, and exalted to that Supream dignity out of the fame of his integrity, made good the opinion of his worth, and his so great authority. Wherefore the *Venetians* address themselves to him, as to the chief head of *Christendom*, and as to a person of singular goodnesse, intreating his assistance, and that he would perswade other *Christian Princes* to embrace the common cause. *Nichiel Saviano* was at this time Embassadour for the Common-wealth at *Rome*, whose experience in State-affairs was the more set off by his learning: He, adding to the *Pope's* already good inclination, many weighty perswasions, did continually excite him to take to heart the Common-wealth's cause, in this time of so great danger. He sometimes urged the examples of other *Popes*, who had at other times readily assisted the *Venetians*, against these enemies to the faith of *Christ*; sometimes he remembered the services done by the Common-wealth to that *See*, for which she had alwaies so readily exposed her forces, against powerful *Princes*. But he oftentimes mentioned the great & eminent danger of the Common *Christian Kingdoms*, and chiefly of the Church-Dominions, if the Common-wealth of *Venice* should be weakened, which was held by all men to be the surest Bulwark of *Christendom*. The *Pope* being by these perswasions wrought upon very much, to defend the *Venetians*, shewed a very great zeal to the common good, and an ardent desire to provide for what was needfull for this War, and to assist and sustain the Common-wealth, that her dignity might not be suppressed by so potent an enemy, nor her dominions and forces weakened. Yet calling to minde what had been done formerly, upon like occasions, by other *Popes*, and lately by *Paul* the third, in the League made against *Soliman*, he desired to be pardoned, if he did not all he desired to do; deploring the condition of his times, wherein the monies of that *See* were much exhausted, and also by reason of the commotions in *France*, wherein the City of *Avignon* was much indangered, being put to great expence and trouble. Therefore though he often moved in the Consistory, that the defence of the *Venetians* might be embraced, that they might be assisted in this their necessity; and though their cause was approv'd of in the Colledge of *Cardinals*, and generally favoured, yet they came to no particular declaring what they would do; only it was granted at the first, that they might raise 100000 *Duckets*, for the maintenance of that war, by a generall tax upon the *Venetian* Clergy, from which no *Prelate* of what condition soever, should be exempted. The *Pope* propounded afterwards, that the *King of Spain's* Gallies might speedily joyn with those of the *Venetians*, whereby to make a powerfull Fleet to oppose the *Turks*, and to disturb these their first designs: And that in the mean time, a League might be treated of with the said *King*, and the other *Princes* of *Christendom*, whereby their forces might for a long while be established, to oppose the *Turks*. And having made this be signified to the Senate by the Embassadour *Saviano*, exhorting them to assent to this proposition, and to put this businesse into his hands, who, as the common Father, would be very zealous of the good of *Christendom*, and would have a particular care of the good of the

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Common-wealth. He found them all very well inclined, to follow his authority and advice. He resolved at the same time likewise, to send *Ladovico de Torres*, Clerk of the Apostolick Chamber, into *Spain*, to *Philip of Austria*, the Catholick King, to exhort him to assist *Christendom* readily, against *Selino Ottaman*, enemy to himself, and to the Catholick Faith, which he did particularly profess to protect, as by the glorious name acquired, by the pious and generous actions of his Ancestors, he was bound to do. He therefore laid before him, the great danger, wherewith divers States of *Christian Princes* were threatened, by the *Turkish Fleets*, which though it was given out, they were intended against *Cyprus*, yet was it not certain, but that they might easily and speedily fall upon his Dominions which though they were not for the present molested with war, yet were they in the future the more exposed to the incursions and assaults of the *Turkish Fleets*, when the *Venetians* should be weakened in their Maritime forces, and the *Turks* Empire encreased. So as he was to esteeme the interests of that Common-wealth inseparably joyned with his own. That the *Ottaman Empire* was a common enemy to all the Potentates of *Christendom*, and more strong and powerfull, then any one of them apart. But that if all, or most of the *Christian Princes*, would joine together, they would exceed the *Turks* in power, and might hope, not onely to resist them, but perhaps to beat and conquer them. That the *King* was to consider, that if he should not aid the *Venetians*, at this their so great need, he would lose much honour amongst the *Turks*, making either his weaknesse clearly appear, as if the *Moors* insurrections were sufficient to keep him so employed, as that he could not make use of his forces elsewhere; or else, that he held but bad intelligence with the Common-wealth, or with other *Christian Princes*, by not moving against his enemy, being invited by so fair an occasion, but abandoning the common cause. That he had used the same endeavours to the *Venetians*, who had readily referred all things to him, promising to stand to all that he should decree; nor was their truth herein to be doubted, since they knew by experience, they could not ground any safety to themselves by peace with the *Turks*. Moreover, that great respect would be given to his authority, since he had the spirituall arms in his hands, and did declare himself to be the head and manager of all this businesse. These things were prudently and effectually represented to the *King* of *Spain*, in the *Pope's* name, by *Torres*, who presented him likewise with a Brief, wherein the *Pope* did much deplore the miseries of the present times, remembering therein particularly, the many mischiefs which *Christendom* had suffered in severall parts, through the wicked conspiracies of men branded with heresie, and severall infamous vices; who rebelling against God, and against their *Princes*, had with much audaciousnesse and fury, shaken severall whole Provinces of *Christendom*, and sought to corrupt the integrity of the Catholick Faith. To which inward grievances, other mischiefs and greater dangers were added, by forraign enemies; *Soliman* having attempted by great forces, to bereave *Maximilian* Cæsar of the remainders of the Kingdom of *Hungary*: which fire of war was likely to have burnt forth throughout all *Germany*, had it not been extinguished by *Soliman's* death. But that now, new combustions and calamities did seem to threaten *Christendom*: that therefore he knew it became him, to have an eye to these commotions, and to denounce so great dangers to *Princes*, wherein he was

to address himself chiefly to the Catholick King, and to excite him to be the first, that should embrace the defence of Christendome, since God had endowed him to that purpose with greatest power and command. That for what concerned himself, he would not be failing in anything that lay in him, nor in pouring forth prayers continually to God, that he would look with the eyes of mercy upon our actions.

These were the endeavours used by the Pope to the Catholick King, who listening thereunto with much benignity and attention, seemed to be very much rejoiced thereat, shewing a very good inclination to the common welfare, and to put an high esteem upon the Pope's authority and advice. But because the King was then in *Cordua*, and was to expedite the affairs in the Courts of *Castile*, he excused himself, that he could not give a positive answer to the particulars propounded by *Torres*, in an expresse memoriall, till he should come to *Sevill*. Yet *Torres* soliciting his expedition with reiterated endeavours, as he who knew nothing could be so prejudiciall to the businesse in hand, as delaye, nor nothing so helpfull, as speedy resolution; He got the King to promise him, that he would give order that his Gallies, and those of his stipendiaries, and confederates, which were about 75, to bee with those of Spain, which by reason of the commotions in *Granada*, were to tarry in those Seas, should be all brought to the Island of *Cicily*, with particular Commission to *John Andrea Doria*, who had the command thereof, to follow the Pope's commands, touching the time and manner of joyning with the Venetian Gallies, and to undertake the voyage and businesse of the Senate. He likewise obtained orders to the Viceroyes of Naples and *Cicily*, that they should furnish the Venetian Fleet with as much corn, as they could conveniently spare, out of those Kingdoms. But as for the League, he would not at that time determine anything, since the King said, it would require mature consideration. But soon after, when he came to *Sivill*, he resolved of his own free-will, though it was thought, he was perswaded to the contrary by many, to send sufficient Commissions to *Don Jovan di Zuiga*, who was then his Embassadour at *Rome*; and to the two Cardinals, *Gravelle* and *Pacecco*, to treat of the League, and to conclude it; it being thought fit, for obtaining the delays and difficulties, which the far distance of Countries might occasion, in a businesse of such concernment, that the whole Treaty should be reduced to the City of *Rome*. The Venetian Senate had sent orders to their Embassadour, *Sigismonde de Cavalli*, their Embassadour at the Catholick Court, to be aiding to *Torres* in his negotiations; the King affirming, that when he should know the Pope's proposals, finding him very well inclined to the common good, he would willingly accept of his counsells and exhortations, and would readily do, whatsoever should be resolved of in *Rome*, and established by the Pope's authority, and by the consent of the Princes. That he very well knew, what the present mischief was, and what the eminent dangers of Christendome. That he would not be wanting in any thing, which might remedy them; and not onely to sustain the dignity and state of the Common-wealth, but the reputation of the name of Christian. These endeavours wisely performed by *Cavalli*, prevailed very much, in bringing the King to put on this resolution; and being severall times efficaciously reiterated by *Lunardo Donato*, who at this time succeeded

ded Cavalli; they did help very much, to keep the King in this good minde, and to overcome many difficulties which were importunately promoted by many of his Counsellors, and State Officers; *Donato* having purchas'd much favour and reputation in the Court, by his worth and grave Eloquence.

Torres having thus dispatcht his Commission in Spain, that he might fully compleat the Pope's orders, pass suddenly into *Portugall*, having first got Letters of recommendation for what he was to treat upon, from *Jane* the Kings Mother, who was then at *Madrid*. *Sebastian* the first, was at this time King of *Portugall*, a youth of some seventeen years old, religiously educated under *Don Luigi Gonzabell*, a Jesuit, one well esteemed for his integrity, and of great Authority with the King: wherefore the Pope promised himself all the assistance that could be expected from him, for the service of Christendom. He therefore desired, that the ten Gallies, which were continually kept arm'd in that Kingdom, might passe along into these Seas, together with those of the Catholick King, and joyn with the Venetian Gallies. But the King, shewing great obsequy and reverence towards the Apostolick Sea, and much desire to satisfie the Popes request in this so pious and profitable enterprise, excused himself, that his actions could not correspond with his inclinations; for that his Gallies were for the most part disarm'd, by reason of the Plague which had been the year before in *Lisbon*; and that it was not possible for him to arm them so soon, as that they might be fit for service that year; so as *Torres* his journey into *Portugall*, as to that point proved to no purpose. But he began an other businesse with that King, which was, to procure the consummation of his Marriage with *Margaret*, sister to the King of France, which had long before been treated of, but to no effect, by the Catholick King. But it hapned very unseasonably at this time, that the Pope's power was not great with the Emperour, by reason of his being offended with him, for having granted a new title of great Duke of *Tuscany*, to *Cosmo de Medici*, Duke of *Florence*, which being done not onely without *Cesar's* knowledge, but (as he said) contrary to his will, expressly signified by his Embassadour, then resident at *Rome*, he thought his honour much concern'd therein, and the Authority of the Empire; so as being much scandalized thereat, he in his Court declared this act of the Popes to be invalid, and had already sent his Embassadours to *Rome*, to protest the invalidity thereof unto the Pope. Therefore the Pope minded the Venetians, that they might do well to work the Emperour to be a friend herein, which when he should declare himself so to be, he the Pope would not be wanting to make him the more servent therein by his exhortations, and expresse Nuncio's.

At the same time therefore, when the Treaty concerning this Confederacy was promoted at the Catholick Court, *Jovan Michiele*, the Venetian Embassadour, an able man, and very dexterous at the management of important affairs, had given a beginning to the same at *Cesar's* Court: He told the Emperour, that now the occasion was given of doing that which he himselfe had often wisht for before; and whereby he might

might safely assault the Turkish Territories on that side, whilst they being busied at Sea, would not have opportunity to relieve them: That he was not therefore to wait, till this War being ended, and their Empire secured by their Sea-Forces, the Turks might turn all their Forces to prejudice him: from which danger, how little safe he was by the League with the Turks, and their plighted faith, he might easily perceive by Selino's having broken peace with the Venetians, and by his having violated his Oath, for no other cause, but that he would govern the whole world. To which Caesar seeming to assent, he readily answered; He would not be wanting to his own good, and to the good of Christendom, but exhorted the Venetians to accept of, and to prosecute this War, with a constant and unanimous resolution; saying, that their noble daring would make all other Christian Princes the more willing to assist and back them, which they would never fail to do, if the Venetians were not faulty to themselves. For his own part, they might promise themselves a ready resolution; that he knew, the Arch-Dukes, his Brothers, would be of the same mind with him; and did hope that the King of Poland, and the Duke of Muscovy, would follow his example: but that it was necessary to see first what the other Princes would do, and particularly the King of Spain, whose pleasure in that point he had desired to know speedily and assuredly, by a messenger which he had purposely sent unto him.

The Pope did often solicit Charles the ninth, King of France, by his Nuncio, to side with the League, endeavouring to persuade him, that though perhaps he could not lend so speedy assistance to the League as was requisite, by reason of the troubles his Kingdom had been in for many years of late by domestick affairs; yet ought he to favour it as much as he could, and add unto the Reputation, if not unto the Forces thereof, by his name, and by his authority; which request the King not thinking himselfe able to satisfie, and yet being unwilling to seem to undervalue the Pope's exhortations, and authority; he interposed severall delays, saying, That he would see, what others would do, who were then more powerfull then he, and freer from impediments: But the Queen-Mother, on whom the weight of that Government did then very much rest, excusing her selfe more directly, said, that her Son's condition differed from that of other Princes, because the point in hand with them was, of continuing War against an Enemy; but with France, it was of breaking amity with a potent Prince, their ancient friend; that therefore it was a business of great weight, and which ought to be well considered. But both the King and Queen, were very civill in their speeches towards the Common-wealth, in so much, as to boot with their offers made to the Venetian Ambassador, then resident in the Court of France, and many that they made their Ambassador make, who were then resident at Venice: The King sent a Gentleman of his expressly to offer unto the Signory, all that it was possible for the Kingdom of France to do at the present, being molested with so grievous accidents; to wit, That he would use his Authority to divert this War, and to accommodate their affairs with the Turkish Emperour, making use of that friendship which

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he had never contracted, but found it commen'd by his Grandfather, King Francis, and by Henry his Father; and that he would think the should now make good use thereof, if he could thereby do any service to his ancient good friends the Venetians. But neither did time nor occasion permit any use to be made of these things; preparations for War being already too far advanced on both sides; nor was it thought a good course to slake either other Princes, or themselves, all of them being now hotly set upon War, and bent to defend their own Dominions. The Italian Princes appeared well inclined to the League; the Duke of Arbin offered both himselfe, and his State readily, and the Duke of Savoy did the like, but to better advantage, by reason of his Gallies, whereof good use might be made, as did after the Confederates. The Duke of Florence was the more forward herein, promising to be govern'd in all things by the Pope, as being oblig'd to him for his new access of honour; and to win his favour the more, he seemed not onely willing to favour the League, but being then in Rome, he encouraged the Pope to what he saw him already zealously bent. But the Duke of Ferrara had incens'd the Pope against him, by reason of the old difference of the Salt, and of certain Navigation upon the Poë, as he constantly affirm'd, that he would by no means bear with the disobedience of a vassall of the Church: nor that his own Authority should be so lessened, threatening to go against him with his temporall arms, unlesse he altered his mind: And on the other side, the Duke said, that if he were necessitated to do so, to preserve the jurisdiction of those Dominions, which being gotten by his Ancestors fell to him by right of Inheritance, he would leave nothing unattempted; nay, that he would call in the French Huguenots to his assistance; which the Venetian Senate thinking to be too unseasonable at this time, and that it might not onely disturb the League which was now on Treaty, but otherwise necessitate and endanger the Commonwealth; they sent *Jovan Formento*, Secretary of the Councell of Ten, a man well experienced in such Negotiations, to Ferrara, to mediate with the Duke, that considering the present state of affairs, and the due obsequy which he ought to pay unto the Apostolick See, he would both for the common good, and for his own particular interest, lay aside all thoughts which might put him upon the triall of his Forces, and that he might hope to receive better, and more certain advantage by Treaty. Thus by the interposition of the Senates Authority, first with the Duke, and then with the Pope; this other fire was extinguished which was a kindling, to the prejudice of Christendom.

It was also resolved, to solicit *Tamas* king of Persia, to take up Arms, and to revenge the ancient and new injuries which his Kingdom had received by the Ottoman Princes. *Vienza d' Alessandri*, was chosen for this employment, a Citizen of Venice, as one, who having lived long at Constantinople, was vers'd in severall Languages, and had had some converse with these barbarous Nations. This man, the passages being block'd up, by reason of the Wars, in the lower parts towards the Sea, took his journey throug Germany, Poland,

land, and *Walacchia*, and coming to the banks of the *Mare Majore*, took Shipping at *Moulastra*, which is the ancient *Hermopolis*, and went from thence to *Lynope*, a City famous, for having been the Country of *Mithredates*; and from thence he went to *Tamas*, whither being come, and understanding that *Tamas* was then at *Casim*, one of the Residences of the Kings of *Perfia*, which lies more inward into the Country, which was anciently called *Arfaia*, he went to that City. Here, being brought in by some Armenian Merchants, (who had had commerce formerly at *Venice*) by night, according to the custome of that Nation, before *Sultan Gaidar* *Murice*, the Kings third Son, &c. who was then his Lieutenant, he had several long discourses with him, touching his journeys, and the occasion thereof; *Tamas* acquainted him with *Selino's* having taken up Arms against the Venetians, and with the great preparations for War, which was made by almost all the Princes of Christendome, to assault the Turkish Empire; by their Armies, and by their Fleets, exhorting him in the names of his Lords and Masters, to make use of this occasion, and to make War with the Turks on that side: now that their *Asian* Territories being exhausted of all their Souldiers, who were to be employ'd in the enterprise of *Cyprus*, were left a prey to whosoever would assault them. All which things *Gaidar* seemed willing to hear, and by many questions inform'd himself of every particular, but promis'd nothing, save that he would be a means that he might be admitted to audience by his father. *Ahsanari* perceiving this unreasonable delay, began to treat with the Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom, being advis'd so to do, and assisted therein by *Coza Ali*, a Merchant of *Tunis*, to whom, he going at the same time from *Venice*, the business was recommended; the Chancellor, after some discourse had thereupon, said that his King was a wise Prince, and that he was to proceed maturely in a business of such Importance, and would a while expect the success of the League, upon which he might afterwards ground his resolution the better. Thus *Ahsanari* not being admitted into the Kings presence, departed without any other answer: For it was clearly seen that *Tamas*, being now very old, and addicted to peace, shou'd giving occasion to the Turk of any suspicion, that he would conspire against him, together with the Christian Princes. This business was likewise much impeded by accidents which hapned at that time, wherein (according to the usuall course of the *Ottoman* family) the *Perfian* forces were employ'd in appeasing certain Insurrections, raised by a Nephew of *Homat*, formerly King of *Giland*, a noble and rich Country of *Media*, now in the possession of the Kings of *Perfia*: whereupon *Mustapha* *Murise*, the Kings eldest Son, was gone with 10000 Horse into that Province, to suppress the Author of those Commotions. Thus whilst the Christians were in trouble, the *Perfians* enjoy'd their quiet, nourishing thereby a long and heavy War unto themselves, which was made against them some few years after by *Amurata*, Son to *Selino*, who posselt himselfe at unawares of severall places in *Media*, in the Country which is now called *Sercan*, whilst the *Perfians* did in vain desire to see the

the Christians take up Arms against the common enemies, as the Christians did now in vain desire the help and favour of their forces. These were the Venetians preparations, these their counsells, and treaties with other Princes at this time, that they might joyntly wage war with the common enemy.

But the Turks beginning this mean while to commit many hostile acts, had detained severall subjects of the Common-wealth, together with their goods, who traffickt in *Narenta*, and in other parts of *Albania*, within the Turkish Dominions; and had likewise unloaded two Venetian ships which were at *Constantinople*, and not suffered them to depart from those Havens, though upon other pretences: Which when the Venetians heard of, they thought it became them, to treat the Turkish subjects which were in their City accordingly; to the end, that their persons and goods might serve, to ransom our men, and their merchandise. A guard was likewise put upon a Chiaus, named *Mamutbei*, who being parted from the Court to go for *France*, was come some daies before to *Venice*, and layed there, to negotiate a certain business of some particular Merchants, with the Venetian Signories, to whom he brought credentiall Letters; as also to be advis'd therein by Monsieur *Duferier*, the French Embassadour, then resident at *Venice*, who thinking, that it had been fit to have known his Kings intention, which peradventure might have been altered, by the various accidents of the times, and to procure a safe conduct for *Mamutbei's* passage through the State of *Millan*, had kept him from pursuing his journey into *France*, out of these respects. *Duferier* did modestly resent the detention of this man, as of one who was sent to his Prince, and had been advis'd to carry there by him; wherefore he endeavour'd his liberty. But the King, when he knew the Venetians just reasons, and that *Mamutbei* had not any important business to treat of, but that he was come either to be a spy over the Venetians, under other pretences, or else sent out of some idle occasion by the French Embassadour, then resident at *Constantinople*, without his knowledge or consent, he was soon pacified. *Mamutbei* was therefore sent to *Verona*, and kept prisoner in *St. Felice's* Castle, till the end of the war. Whilst the Venetians were thus employed, the Turks were not idle at *Constantinople*, but were alike diligent in providing all things, that they might put to Sea as soon, and as strong, as was possible. *Selino* being returned to *Constantinople* in December, he was so diligent in making men work in the *Arsenall*, in causing new Gallies be built, in caulking old ones, in casting Artillery, and in all other necessities, as he himself went thither sometimes to hasten the work. A great number of Pioners were list'd in *Grecia*, great quantities of Biskets was made in *Morea*. Gallies were sent to *Constantinople* from many Provinces, to make up the Fleets; and twenty five Gallies were prepared in all haste, to be speedily sent into *Allisandria*, to bring away much provisions, which were made ready there for the Armies: For they did very much fear, that the Venetians would be speedily, in sending a great Squadron of Gallies into the *Levant*, whereby their Navigation

might be block'd up and hindred, much to their prejudice. They were likewise very solicitous in finishing a Fort, which was begun a little before at *Braxo di Mafina*, that they might have a fitting and safe receptacle for a good Squadron of Gallies, which they purpos'd to send early out, to hinder the succour which might be sent by the Venetians to *Cyprus*. And *Selino* continuing his resolution, to go himself in person in the Army, an infinite number of Camells were prepared, and great solemnity was used in getting all things ready, according to the custom of that Nation, when their Emperour goes into the field. The Bashawes discoursed oft, how the war was to be managed, wherein their opinions were very different; some were minded, that before any thing else were done, men were to be poured into *Cyprus*, by a great Fleet of all sorts of Vessells, which being landed, and the flat-bottom'd Boats, and small Pinaces being left there, together with a Squadron of Gallies, for their better security, the rest of the Fleet should make for our Gulph, to terrifie the Venetians, and to confuse them the more, and to keep the Christian Fleets play in these seas. And that if it should be too long, ere the whole Fleet could be united, the first hundred Gallies which should be ready, should be presently sent towards *Cyprus*, to get footing there, and to secure the landing of the rest of the Army, by building a Fort there. Others would, that *Piali*, without any further losse of time, should instantly put to Sea with 100 Gallies, and enter our Gulph, and that the rest of the Fleet should be sent to *Cyprus*. And others thinking it neither safe, nor of any use, to advance so soon, propos'd, that *Piali* should go with the said hundred Gallies, to the Haven of *Suda*, and possesse themselves thereof, and pillaging the Island of *Candia*, should wait there for the rest of the Fleet, and to do then as they should see cause, by the movings of our Fleets. The different respects of *Mustafa* and *Piali*, nourished the variety of these opinions the longer; for the former, to whom the enterprize of *Cyprus* was commended, desired, for the better successe, that the whole Fleet should be employed onely therein: And the latter, who had the supream authority over the Fleet, endeavour'd, that the Fleet might go somewhere else, whereby he might have occasion of doing some gallant action, which might redound to his particular praise.

The Consul got notice of all these preparations and counsells, who being very desirous that they might be known at *Venice*; to which purpose, as he was very diligent in writing to the Senate, so feared he, that all his Letters might be intercepted, as he knew some of them had been. Wherefore knowing, that *Mehemet* was against this enterprize, he sought how to work this his intent by him: He cunningly invit'd him, to propound somewhat to him, which if he should have mov'd to *Mehemet*, he knew would not be granted; to wit, that some of his servants might be sent to *Venice*, which was the onely means, whereby he might fully and safely acquaint the Senate, with all that past at *Constantinople*. He therefore first by *Ibrahim's* means, and then himself by word of mouth, did let the Bashaw know, how ill it became the power and generosity

sity of so mighty a Prince, to assault those at unawares, who thought themselves safe under his plighted faith and oath; as if he were not able, when time & occasion should require, to use his forces against them, to get what he thought he had just pretence unto: that first he was to use the way of justice, then of violence; and to try what might be done by Treaty, before he laid his hand upon his sword. Which *Mehemet* thinking to be reasonable, he perswaded *Selino* to demand the Kingdom of *Cyprus* from the Venetians, by a man of his, who should be sent to *Venice* of purpose, before he should forceably assault it. *Cubat Chiaus* was chosen to do this, who had been at *Venice* some two years before; about other business. Whereupon the Consul took occasion, under pretence of securing the *Chiaus* in the Venetian Dominions, and of putting a greater reputation upon the business, to send his Secretary, *Luigi Buonriccio*, who being very well informed of all things, was very fit to be employed herein: And he got leave, by the Bashaw's means, to send his young son *Luigi* to *Venice*; who he feared might run some danger, by being at this time amongst the Barbarians. Another no small advantage was also hereby got; for the Turks suspended their Arms till the *Chiaus* should return; and our men had more conveniency given them, to garrison their Forts, and to provide for their subjects safety, who were every where already sorely infested by the Turks; for the *St. Jaks of Clissa* and *Bossina* being up in Arms, upon occasion of this war, and every one striving, who should first prey upon the neighbouring places, they ran every day through the Territories, and came even to the gates of the Venetian Cities, carrying away corn, cattle, and all things else, from the Country people, and taking many of them prisoners; insomuch as *Bernardo Mallepiero*, Commissary of Horle in *Dalmatia*, going one day out of *Zara* with 80 Stradiotti, to secure the men of the Country, he met with a greater number of Turks, and advancing too forwards, transported by his courage and desire of praise, he was so sorely wounded, as he fell down dead off his horseback, and *Fabio de Canale* was chosen in his place. And not long after, *Julio Savorgnano* was likewise sent to *Zara*, to be Generall of the Militia of *Dalmatia*. The coming of the *Cubat Chiaus* with the Secretary, signified to *Venice*, as soon as he was come to *Ragusi*, made severall impressions in mens minds: Some were solicitously desirous, to know the reason of this unexpected Embassy; others imagined it to be what they desired, and were glad, that a way was opened to a treaty of Peace; & others were sorry, thinking that he was come to hinder their preparations for war, and to interrupt the great hopes which they had already in vain fancied unto themselves. But understanding by the Letters which the Consul sent them from *Ragusi*, the true occasion of his coming, and the copy of the very Letters, which the *Chiaus* brought them in the name of the grand Signior, and of the Bashaw, wherein the voluntary surrender of *Cyprus* was demanded, which if they would not do, he then denounced War against them: The Senators began suddenly to think, what answer they were to make, thinking it a thing which

much became the honour of the Common-wealth, to give a speedy answer to this Embassage; as also, that it suited not with the condition of those times, and to the putting a good end to the Treaties, which they had already begun with other Princes; wherein many considerations were to be had, which tended notwithstanding all to the same end, so as each strove to confirm other, in the generally received opinion; which was, to dismiss the Chiaus suddenly, without any other answer, but that they would accept of the war which was intimated to them, and prepare for their defence. These considered, *That no good could be done by the way of Treaty to keep off the war, which was already resolved on by Selino; and that since they were henceforward to undergo the hazard, it would become the Common-wealth better to be generous, in taking up Arms speedily in their own defence, not shewing any the least signe of fear, which might seem to make them distrust the honesty of the cause which they were to defend. They said, they were deceived, who thought, that Selino's last desires, which, caused by a greedy desire of Government, tended to insinuations, and was not to be appaid by the Empire of the whole world, could be satisfied with beginning to grant something to his unjust demands. So as it was not onely not to be hoped for, that this his desire should terminate, in some new Tribute imposed upon the Kingdom of Cyprus, or in any thing else that should be voluntarily yielded unto him, as some would seem to say; but that esteeming the acquisition of that Kingdom but a small matter, he would quickly begin to aspire after the rest of their Dominions, even to their total destruction. Nor that they ought to be terrified by the example made use of by some, of the great dangers which the Common-wealth underwent in the last wars by Terra Ferma, since it was apparent, that it was rather the rash resolutions of their Captains, which had thrust them upon those difficulties, then the Senate's mature advices; and that these might now be in a great part avoided, since that the war which was now to be made, was by Sea, and by their own Citizens, who for their own honour, and for their great concernment therein, would handle it with no lesse fortitude, but with more wisdom and fidelity, then peradventure their Land Armies had been managed by forrainers. That likewise such was the condition of times, the nature and intentions of the present Princes such, as they might more safely rely upon hopes from them; then they had reason to do formerly. That now all men knew, the common cause was in question, and were all therefore bound, to joine in the maintaining thereof. That in the mean time they should not, by setting new business on foot, make them grow cool and jealous, so as they might with reason refuse to asse in them, whom they should see so afraid at the very fame of dangers and troubles, after such preparations for war, should so easily give way to thoughts of peace. They added moreover, that the condition of the common-wealth was to be considered, the state of affairs being reduced to that passe, as she was continually in many grievous dangers, which were not lessened by time, but made greater daily. That therefore they ought not to give these that should succeed them, occasion to complain as much of them, as they did now of their predecessors; for having suffered the Ottoman family to grow so powerfull. And that such a fault would be now more heinous, as that they knowing the danger better, then peradventure their forefathers did, and being more necessitated to procure for their own safety,*

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would not do it; preferring the conveniences of a short and uncertain peace, before the honourable troubles of war, whereby, the Forces of Christendom joyned together, they might hope to procure greater safety to themselves, and posterity.

The hearts of all men not being onely confirm'd by these reasons, but even inflamed on War, it was by a generall consent of the whole Colledge, propounded to the Senate, and the advice of dispatching the Chiaus away quickly, with few and resolute words, accepting the War which he was to denounce against them, was approved of. But that which was wont to be said is true, the too great desire of things, doth often make the obtaining thereof more difficult; and the truth not being suffered to be seen, things are brought to an end, differing from what too ardent a desire had framed unto it selfe: Surely the doubt propounded, that the Princes might grow suspicious, that they would treat of some Agreement with the Turks, if they should return a slower and lesse positive answer to this Embassy, was more prevalent than any other Reasons; which made it be apprehended, that the treaty of League, which the Venetians did so much desire, and which was hopefully begun, might be interrupted: and it is most certain, that when news of the Chiaus coming was brought to Rome, those who treated of the League for the Catholick King, began to be more jealous in the business; and it was afterwards more clearly known, that these jealousies, and these suspicions, did more then any other reason, remove many difficulties which arose in this Agreement. But the answer being resolved upon, and Cabat being already come to the City shore, where he was made to tarry in the same Gally which had brought him from Ragusi, and all commerce was forbidden him: order was given, that he, unaccompanied by any, save Secretary Buonizzo, and two Dragomani, should be privately brought into the Colledge, without any such honours, as are wont to be given to such as come from that Court upon any publick business; yet he had the usuall place allotted him, which is the right side of the Princes Chair: being thus brought to audience, he kist'd the Princes Garment, and sitting down after he had made many reverences, he drew forth a Purse embroydered with Gold, wherein, according to the custome of that Nation, Selino's Letter was; and said, *This most Illustrious Prince, is a Letter from my Lord and Master, when his demands therein shall be known, I will expect an answer: Which the Prince saying, he should have, he was somewhat troubled that no more was said unto him, and added, Gentlemen, Mehemet, the first Bassaw-hath willed me to tel you, that he is very sorry, that occasion is hapned of breaking that peace, which he hath alwayes endeavoured to preserve: But the so many complaints made at Courts from so many places of the unfriendly behaviour of the Officers of this State, and chiefly of the harbour, and favour given in Cyprus to the western Pirats, by whom the Musselmans have been much indamaged this very year, have made such impression in the grand Signor, and so incensed him against this State, finding that his indeavours often used with the Consulls, hath done no good, as he can no longer forbear intimating of war unto you; and knowing that you will not*

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be able long to resist the power of so puissant a Prince, he as a friend advieth you, rather to chuse any other means to free your selves from so many and so great dangers: And to this end, he hath procured me to be sent to this City, and offers to interpose himselfe in all he can, to keep you from falling into this great misfortune, and to preserve you in the ancient friendship of the Grand Signeur. This being said, he gave them a Letter from the same Basha, which contained all that he had said. To all which, the Prince answered; That the Senate had resolved upon an answer, the which that he might be the better able to understand, and to relate again, the very words should be read unto him, which was done by Antonio Milledonne, one of the Secretaries of the Council of Ten: the answer was this. That the Senate did very much wonder, why his Master, being unprovoked by any injury, should violate the Oath, wherewith he had but a little before confirm'd the peace; and that he might pick a quarrel to make war with them, should demand the surrender of a Kingdom, which had been for so many years, lawfully, and peacefully possessed by the Common-wealth, which he might be sure they would by no means part with. But that since he was pleased to proceed in this manner, the Venetian Senate would never be wanting in defending what was theirs; hoping to be the better able to do it, for that the goodness of their cause, would procure them the assistance both of God and Man. He was afterwards told, that when his Masters Letters were translated, they should be read, and an answer should be sent him. And thus without any further discourse, the Chiaus was dismiss'd. The Letter began with many complaints against the Venetians; for their having disturbed the ancient confines of Dalmatia, which were prescribed to each of their Dominions, in the Agreement made by their Predecessors, that contrary to the ancient and new Articles, they had taken away the life from many Muselman Pirats; after they had been taken alive in fight. But particularly, that refuge was continually given in the Island of Cyprus, to the western Pirats, who infested his adjoining parts, and hindered the Navigation of his Subjects upon those Seas: wherefore he demanded in the latter part, That if the Venetians, would continue their ancient friendships, they should yield up the Kingdom of Cyprus, so to take away the chiefe occasion which nourisheth these discords; and that otherwise, they were to prepare to sustain a fore War both by Sea and Land; for he would send his Fleet with powerfull Forces, to take that Kingdom, and would assault their Dominions in all other places; and he did trust in God, the Patron of all Victories, and in his blessed Prophet, Mahomet, who had blessed the Ottaman Family with so large an Empire, to prove victorious in this enterprize, as his Predecessors had alwaies done in all their attempts. To these Letters, the Senate returned this answer. That the Venetians had always observed peace with the Ottaman Emperours inviolably, despising all other respects, and refusing all occasions, which they might have made use of to their advantage. For they thought it became Princes, above all things else, diligently to keep their word, and their plighted faith; that being desirous to avoid any suspicion in this point, they had pass'd by some injuries, that they might not be the first disturbers of the Peace: but that since they perceived that War was pronounced against them now, when they did least suspect it, they would not refuse it, to defend themselves, and to preserve the Kingdom of Cyprus; which as their Fathers had possesst

possest for the space of severall ages, under a just title, so they did trust in divine justice, to be able to defend it against whosoever should go about to rob them of it unjustly.

War being thus intimated to the Venetians, and by them accepted, drew all mens eyes upon it, every one expecting how the Potentates of Christendom would resent this great commotion; and believing that strange revolutions would be seen in the greatest Empires of the world, according as the fortune of War should favour, or throw upon the severall designs of Princes. And as men do alwaies differ in opinion, this resolution was diversely understood and interpreted. Some thought, that it might have better become the wisdom of the Senate, and the manner wherewith the Common-wealth had wont to proceed, to have given honourable reception to Cubat Chiaus, and by endeavouring to sift out whether he had any secret Commission or no, from the Grand Signeur, or from Mehemet, to assay their skill and cunning to bring the business to a Treaty, which when it should be begun, time would be got, which would make much for the advantage of the offended. These recalled to memory the passages of the former Age, and how late our Fathers did repent their not having taken this course, when War was denounced against the Common-wealth, by almost all the Princes of Christendom in the League at Cambrai, from which, and from the so many miseries thereby occasioned, they might perchance have freed themselves, if they had betane themselves betimes, rather to Treaty than to Arms. That the present business was no lesse perillous, than that which had preceded; but the greater, for that then the first bruits being sustain'd, they might expect much benefit by the protraction of time, since these Forces were likely soon to sunder, and grow weak, by reason of the differing designs of the associate Princes: but that now having to doe but with one onely Prince, who was very powerfull, they underwent the same dangers and difficulties, whether they should hazard themselves upon the fortune of Batiel, or spin out the war in length, nor was all waies to Treaties hard up, since Selino was not provoked by an injury, to assault the Common-wealth, nor by any jealousy of State, whereby he might plead necessity of selfe-safety for what he did; but by a certain slight appetite of his own; or desire of Glory, which he having but small reason to do, it might in time cool of it selfe, and by the chief Bashaw's mediation. Nor would this be any baseness, but true morall wisdom, by which a wise man aiming at the common good, and setting aside all other vain respects, knows how to suit his actions to time and occasion; Nay, the Common-wealth might gain more honour, if treating of peace with their sword in hand, they might come to Agreement with so proud and haughty an enemy, by the bare fame of their Forces; and if these Negotiations should not be able to reconcile the Enemy, it might advantage the League which was in treaty with their friends.

But others on the contrary, whose number was much the greater, exalting the constant generosity of the Senate even to the skies, fancied extravagant things unto themselves, and what they might more truly have excus'd by necessity, or have praised for wisdom, in having without loss of courage, accommodated their resolves unto the time; they did celebrate it, as sprung out of meere election, and out of a magnanimous and noble purpose, to abate the power of the common Enemy, exciting other Princes to do the like, by

by their leading the way, and making war upon the Turks in their own confines, both by sea and land. That the power and greatness of that Nation, was not peradventure so much dreaded before, because it was far off, and unknown; that now it was grown so near, and so well known, and esteemed by all Princes, as there would not be any one of them, who would not for their own safety, favour the enterprises; & that so much the rather, for that nothing was more manifest, then that if the Venetians should be worsted, the Turkish Fleets might much the more easily, run victoriously over all the Seas.

The zeal and charity towards their Country, encreasing the more in some, out of these respects; in others, the obsequie towards their Prince; and in some, the desire of military honour; many of the Venetian Nobility, especially those who held any Ecclesiastical dignities, and many Gentry of the *Terra ferma*; nay, many of the Commonalty, and also many chief personages, not onely of other parts of *Italy*, but forrainers came in apace, and offered the Common-wealth, in so just and pious a war, either money, or souldiers, or their own persons, or other things fitting for the Fleet; and all this with strange and miraculous alacrity: So as vying in a noble emulation, it is not easie to determine who did exceed in their offers, liberality, piety, and fidelity. This did very much comfort the Senators, it being a manifest testimony, of the pleasing and moderate government of that Common-wealth, and of the esteem she was in with forrainers. So as their Citizens and Subjects uncommanded, and moved onely out of a singular affection towards the State, did of their own free-will employ their persons and faculties, for the preservation thereof. And other Nations, esteeming its defence as the common cause, sought to maintain its greatness, and encrease its glory. Therefore proceeding with all respect, as far as the present necessity would permit, in taxing the City of *Venice*, and the other Cities belonging to the State, they resolved to alienate divers publick goods, to make use of much monies deposited in the Exchequer, to the great advantage of such as brought gold or silver thither. To this purpose, the number of the Procurators of *St. Mark* was encreased; this honour, which is next that of the Doge, being conferred upon as many, as did lend above 20000 Duckets to the Publick, in reward for their good-will towards their Country, and for their having assisted her at such a need. Leave was also given to all young men, as were nobly born, upon depositing a certain sum of money in the Exchequer, to enter into the *Consiglio maggiore*, before the time allowed by the Law, and to be capable of chusing Magistrates, and of exercising some places of Magistracy themselves.

There was at this time a cessation of Arms, *Cabat's* return being expected, and the issue of his employment; but the newes which he brought being divulged, when he came to *Ragusi*, the souldiers of those confines not waiting for any orders, assembled themselves together in great numbers, and did not onely pillage the Venetian's subjects that were in *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, but encamped themselves before the Cities of *Doligno* and *Antivari*; wherein finding that there were good Garrisons, and many of the Country, and

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wanting Artillery to storm them, they were forced for the present to retreat. But when the Chiaus was come to *Constantinople*, and that the Senate's answer was known; every one was struck with wonder; for the Turks knowing, that the Venetians had formerly studied very much to preserve their friendship, thought they would do any thing, rather then take up Arms against them. *Selino* was not onely amazed, but was very angry, at the neglect which he thought was done to him, in their not having treated *Cabat* with the wonted demonstrations of honour, and for that they had not sent their resolution in a business of such importance; by an expresse messenger of their own, but contrary to their promise, detained Secretary *Buonrizzo* at *Venice*. Wherefore contrary to custom, and *Mehemet* also desiring it; he would have *Cabat* brought into his presence, and receive from his own mouth what the Venetians said; and did unto him, and how they were prepared for war, things which are commonly brought to the grand Signior's ear by the chief Bashaw. So as these things bearing with them the greater force, being related by the messenger himself, *Selino* was sometimes much amazed at the forces of the Common-wealth, and did almost repent what he had done; sometimes he was the more incensed, being incited thereunto by his own haughtinesse, and by his servants flatteries. He therefore set a guard upon the Consul's house, not suffering him to come forth, nor to negotiate with any ones, and gave orders to the Bashawes of *Cairo* and *Aleppo*, to do the same to the Consuls of *Alessandria* and *Soria*, being Venetian Magistrates; kept in those parts for matter of Merchandises who were all of them at first kept under the same restraint, but were soon after set at liberty, upon the giving in of security not to depart themselves, nor to send any of their goods out of the Turkish Dominions. But *Selino* did chiefly sollicit the departure of the Fleet, there being not as then above twenty five Gallies gone forth, under *Amurate Rais*; destined to hinder the relief which might be brought to *Cyprus*, which being encountered by the two ships, wherein *Martiniago's* souldiers were; they fought them, and valiantly repulst them, with losse to the enemy. But soon after, seventy Gallies were committed to *Piali's* charge; and ordered to put to Sea, which going first towards *Rhodes*, stayed there, expecting *Mustafa* with the rest of the Fleet, that they might then do as they should see occasion, and according as they should hear newes of the Christian Fleets, they not daring to divide themselves, nor go joyntly to *Cyprus*; nor to put on any certain resolution, in what they had at first designed, by reason of the great opinion, which *Cabat's* relation had raised, of the forces and preparations of the Venetian and Spanish Fleets. Wherefore their fear and confusion did encrease so much, that no newes being heard of the Fleet for some daies after it was put to Sea, and fearing lest the Christian Fleet might be past by, and gone towards *Constantinople*, they sent to view; and to put Garrisons into the Forts of the *Dardenelli*, so to provide against any suddain accident.

At this time the Doge, *Pietro Loredano* dyed, on the fifth of May,

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May, having possess'd that supream dignity for about three years space, but had not been therein very fortunate; for many sad accidents of fire, famine, and war, falling out at the same time, though without any fault of his, who was a Prince of much innocency and integrity, made the memory of his Government but meanly acceptable to the people. *Luigi Mocenico* was chosen four daies after to succeed him, in whose election, the memory of his ancestors concurr'd, (who had been famous and well-deserving men) as also the favour of his kindred, and his own worth, which prevailed the more with men; for that these times of danger required, to have a man of mature wisdom for their Head, and one very well vers'd in the management of affairs, both at home and abroad, and such a one was *Mocenico* held to be. And to the end that mens minds might be busied about nothing but war, though it was provided by the Lawes and ancient Customes, that a Magistrate should be chosen in the vacancy of the Dukedom, whose office was, to correct the disorders of the Judges of the Palace; and another Magistrate, whose particular care it was, to enquire into the actions of the dead Prince; yet the former was at that time quite forborn, and the choise of the other deferred, till after the election of the new Prince. And now the Venetians having sent word to all Princes Courts, of the coming of the Chiaus, and also acquainted them with the answer wherewith he was suddainly dismiss'd, they continued the treaty of the League. Therefore to the end, that the business might be carried on at *Cesar's* Court, with the greater reputation and authority, they resolv'd to send a particular Embassadour thither, and *Jacomo Soranzo* was chosen for this employment, a man of great esteem and authority, and who had been long vers'd in the Courts of Princes, on the Common-wealth's behalf; for the Senate thought it was very fit, to quicken *Maximilian*, by a particular Embassie, and by more pressing endeavours; since they knew, that his resolution would be of very great concernment, for the establishment of the hopes of this union of Christendom, both in his own respect, and for that other Princes would be willing to follow his example: Who when it was thought, he would have been more fervent in his first intention, by the dismissal of the Chiaus, and by the wars being resolv'd upon, began to grow cool, and to move many difficulties, saying, That it would be necessary to finde out some means, to be sure, that none of the Colleagues might not withdraw themselves, upon the approach of any danger, and leave the rest engaged, seeming to believe but a little in the German assistance. And men did the more apprehend these his doubts, because it was said, that he prepared at the same time to send the Tribute to *Constantinople*, which is paid to the Turkish Emperours for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. Wherefore the Senate used all the means they could, by their Legier Embassadour, that the Tribute might be kept unpaid, till this Treaty were at an end; which if it should be sent before, the Treaty would be almost ruin'd, before it was well begun, and much prejudice would be done to the common cause of Christendom. But notwithstanding the Emperour desired, were it either by

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way of excuse, or that he did really wish it, that the Common-wealth would send an Embassadour to be assistant to this purpose, at the Dyet which was to be held at *Spire*, by whose presence a business of that concernment might be therein treated of, and concluded with more honour and safety, wherein the contributions of the Princes, and Hans-Towns of *Germany* was requisite, without which *Cesar* could not resolve for certain to enter into the League, nor expect any good thereby. But no speech being had at the Court, of *Spain*, of the Confederacy, which the King was contented should be treated of at *Rome*, and had to that effect sent sufficient commission to his Embassadour *Jovan di Lumiga* to *Antonio* Cardinall *Gravel-la*, and *Francisco* Cardinall *Pacetto*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Venetian Embassadour, press that *Doria*, as soon as he should have got the Gallies of those Seas together, which he had received orders to do, might be commanded to joyn with the Venetian Fleet, wherein the Kings Counsellors propounded severall doubts; sometime alledging, that it was not fit that he who commanded the Kings Gallies, should obey the Venetian Generall, and that by the inferiority of his Forces, he and his Fleet should be totally at anothers disposal: sometimes seeming to believe, that the Venetians would make use of this semblance, and of the name of these Forces, to treat with the Turks upon the better terms: wherefore they affirmed, that the Treaty, and conclusion of the League, was chiefly and primarily necessary. But in *Rome*, where the scene of the business lay, the Pope, knowing that to treat of every particular Article, would draw to a necessary and very prejudiciall length, propos'd, that since the King of *Spain*, and the Venetians, were already resolv'd to make this union, the League should be publish'd without any more delay, as done in the same manner as was observed in the year 37, That the mean time, those Forces which were in being should joyn, to give more reputation to the common cause, to invite the other Princes to declare themselves the sooner Companions and Confederates, and to cause more fear in the Enemy, and that the particulars of the agreement might commodiously be difficult afterwards.

Whilst these things were a ripening thus, the Generall *Zanne* was gone from *Venice* in the beginning of *April*, and was come to *Zara*, where the Rendezvous of the whole Fleet of the people and provisions for War was to be; that when all things should be ready prepared, they might passe on into the *Levant*. But the coming of some Gallies being delay'd, as also Arms for the Souldiers, and severall other instruments of War, great store whereof were taken order for, for Land enterprises; and the design of using those Forces, whereon great hopes were grounded by the conjunction of the Spanish Gallies, being altered, the Fleet was forced to tarry longer in that place then was thought for. So as this long time of leisure, which was for about two moneths, began to be very prejudiciall to the Fleet; for so many people being assembled together, must needs suffer many inconveniencies, which occasioned many

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maladies; for that mens evil humours were not warded by exercise, which made many fall dayly very sick; so as all the Gallies were but in ill order as concerning Souldiers and Marriners: some desired, for the encouraging of the Souldier, whom they found to be miserably lost by idleness, that they should make some attempt upon the neighbouring parts; but this was gain-said by many things: for the Towns which the Turks are masters of upon those Confines, are far from the shore, so as there seemed to be much danger in attempting any thing with the foot alone, and those most Italians, most whereof were new men, and unexperienced, especially being unback'd by Horse: the Enemies Country being full of Horsemen, ready to go whithersoever there should be any occasion. Moreover, the places were such, as there was no hopes of doing any good upon them by the sword; and it was almost impossible to bring Artillery thither, as well by reason of the mountainous wayes, as for the want of Cattle. It was likewise considered, that to attempt any thing in the Gulph, was not much to the purpose; lest they might thereby draw either a great number of their Land men into those parts, or perhaps their whole Fleet; so as they must with more danger make War at home, and excluding the Gallies which were in *Candia*, and others at *Corfu*, and likewise those of the Pope, and of the Catholick King, they must wastle for the main businesse with but a part of their Forces. Moreover, it was not thought convenient for their businesse, nor answerable to the opinion which the world had conceived of so great a strength, to betake themselves to any slight imployment, wherein if they should effect their desire, the acquisition would not be a sufficient recompence for so great a preparation; and if it should happen otherwise, the reputation of the Fleet would be much lessened, and the hopes of greater things. But it being known from *Rome*, by the Popes own words, that *Doria* had orders from the King, to joyn with the Venetian Fleet; the Senate gave present command to their Generall, that leaving four Gallies in the Gulph, under one of the Governours, he should go immediately with the rest of the Fleet to *Corfu*, and there to expect news from the Spanish Gallies, that he might go together with them to *Alfina*; and that when the Fleets should be joyn'd, he should fall upon such enterprises as he should judge would make most for the Common-wealths advantage, and whereunto God should open an occasion, aiming chiefly at the beating of the Enemies Fleet, but to be well advised in what he did, and to proceed with maturity. Wherefore *Lanne* going from *Zara* on the twelfth of July, he went towards *Lefessa*, where he met with six great Gallies, and some Ships which joyned with the Fleet. From *Lefessa*, he went to the mouth of *Catharo*, and from thence straight to *Corfu*, without making any attempt upon *Castel Nuovo*, or *Durazzo*, for the fore-alladged reason. But before any news was heard at *Venice*, of the Fleets being come to *Corfu*, news came to *Rome*, contrary to the former touching the joyning of the Fleets; for *Doria* said, that the orders he had received from the King were not such, as that

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he was thereby to be gone with his Fleet, and to joyn with the Venetians; and though the Pope made his complaints thereof to the Kings Ministers of State, and wrote himselfe to *Doria* very officiously, yet they making many excuses, spun out the time, and *Doria*, seeming to be of himselfe very willing to obey the Pope, secretly, that he must have his Orders more fully renewed: those which he had received, not being sufficient to that purpose. The Venetians were the more troubled at this, for that they did not at all expect it, and because this variety of Counsell did withdraw from the hopes of concluding the League, since such tediousness and difficulties were interposed in granting those Forces which were already in order, which occasioned no further charges; and which might be so advantageous; and since they proceeded in so reserved and irresolute a manner. The Senate seeing themselves in these straits, and that they had lost so much time to no purpose, sent new orders to their Generall, that without expecting *Doria's* Gallies, he should go with his Fleet into any part of the Turkish Dominions, which he should think fittest, and should do what the good of the Common-wealth, and occasion should counsel him unto. At the same time, the Popes Gallies were armed at *Antona*, to go joyn with the Venetian Fleet at *Corfu*: for after many consultations had by the Pope, and Colledge of Cardinalls, touching what assistance they should give to the Common-wealth in this War: they resolved to arm twelve Gallies with the Churches monies, which the Venetians were to finde, and furnish with Oars, Tackling, and Artillery. *Adark Antonio Colonna*, Duke of *Paliano*, was by the Pope made Governour of them, with title of the Churches Captain-Generall against the Infidels. The Venetians were very well satisfied with this choice; though upon former treaty, upon whom this charge should be confer'd, they had press'd very much, that according as had been done formerly, a Venetian Prelate might be chosen for this imployment, thinking that such a one, (as a Venetian) would be faithfull to the Common-wealth; and (as a Prelate) would depend upon the Church and Pope, and consequently, give satisfaction to all parties.

Colonna, as soon as he was sure of this Imployment, writ thereof to the Senate, and shew'd by very affectionate words to ascertain them, that he was very willing to serve the Common-wealth, whereunto he said he was very much obliged for their favours, shew'd at all times to his House, and particularly to his Father, nay unto himselfe in this very occasion, for having put such confidence in him, and made him capable of serving the Apostolick Sea, as also the Common-wealth which maintained the honour of Italy, yet in a businesse wherein the good and exaltation of Christendome was concern'd.

Thus having solemnly received the Standard from the Popes hand in *St. Peters* Church, he took *Venice* in his way, as he went to *Antona*, to take order for arming the Gallies; where affirming by word of mouth, what he had said in his Letters, he gave a generall, and truly, a very miraculous satisfaction touching himselfe; every one think-

thinking that they might promise all things unto themselves for the service of the Common-wealth, from this Captain, and from the pontiffiall Forces which were recommended to his charge, and returning suddenly to *Ancona*, where all the bodies of the Gallies were already come; he was diligent in seeing them man'd, that he might go with them into the *Levanti*, to find out the Venetian Generall.

Whilst the Fleet was thus preparing, *Sebastiano Veniero*, who, as hath been said, was Commissary-Generall in the Island of *Corsu*; a man of great age, but of as great worth, whose age had not at all abated the edge of his youth: he not being able to lye long idle, resolv'd to employ those few Forces which he had with him, in some Enterprises. Thus, by the advice of *Emanuele Mormori da Napoli di Romagna*, a valiant man, and well-experienced in those Countries, he went to the taking of *Sopotta*, a Fort belonging to the Turks, standing on *Terra Ferma*, just over against *Corsu*, w^h if it should fall into our mens hands, would open the way to greater actions in *Albania*. *Veniero* being gone from *Corsu*, with twelve well armed Gallies, commanded by *Jacomo Celsi*, Commissary by Sea, when he was past the Channel, landed his Men, and his Artillery, whereof *Natale da Crema*, then Governour of all the Militia of that Island, was Captain; and to make their work sure, they resolv'd first of all, to seize on certain Passes, in the neighbouring mountains, whereby they feared the Enemy might bring reliefe; and this was committed to *Mormori's* charge, as to the first Author of this resolution. They began then to play furiously upon the Castle both by Sea and Land, so as breaches were soon made for our men to assault it; and the Turks who were within, despairing to be able to maintain it any longer, provided for their safety by secretly running away. Whereupon our Commanders entred with all their men, and without any withstanding, set up the Common-wealth's Standard; by which the Venetians beginning to get reputation in those parts, some that were near *Cimera*, did willingly submit to the Government of the Common-wealth: and the like disposition was found in many others, if they had been fomented and defended by convenient forces, and had had weapons, and Chief-tains to rise withall.

But on the other side, the Turks ceased not to molest *Dalmatia*: and after the Fleets departure from *Zara*, having got together many Horse and Foot, they took the Castle of *Xemunco*, eight miles distant from *Zara*, wherein they used more fraud then force, for having bribed *Jerolimo Contarini*, a base Bastard, who had the custody thereof, in the name of certain Venetian Gentlemen, of the Family of the *Veniero*, to whom the jurisdiction of that place did particularly belong; they did not onely prevail with him, to deliver up the Castle, but as one perfidious both to God and Man, they drew him to be a Mahometan. After this, the Turks attempted *Castello de Notigradi*, but with differing successe; for having begirt it with many Horse and Foot, and plaid upon it for three days in vain with certain

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certain small pieces of Artillery; they were forced, little to their honour, to quit the enterprise. Our men ran more danger, and were more endamag'd in the Gulph of *Catharo* for the Carbarians having man'd forth two Gallies, to relieve their neighbours and friends of *Lusica*, who were much molested by the Turks, they were at unawares set upon by a great number of the enemies Vessells, and were all of them either slain or made prisoners. Wherefore fearing lest the Turks, encouraged thereby, might betake themselves to greater attempts, they began quickly to munite *Catharo*, putting four hundred souldiers into it, and sending three Gallies thither from *Venice*, with good provision of all things necessary.

In the interim, the Generall was come to *Corsu*, with 70 small Gallies, the Ships and greater Gallies being carried on the way be hind; wherefore they began to consult upon what was to be done: (in all resolutions, by order from the Senate, besides the Generall, who had a double voice, the two Commissaries of the Fleet, and *Sforza Pallavescino*, were admitted) all desired, that the Fleet might forthwith advance. But many things made against this, for neither had they as yet any certain newes of the *Candia*-Gallies, which were twenty in number, commanded by *Marco Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph; nor did they assuredly know, what course the Turkish Fleet did steer: So as it was judged to be a rash counsell, to hazard the main business with half their forces, since by a little patience, they might receive much safety and accommodation. The mortality which continued still to be very violent in the Fleet, was a great hinderance to this resolution; for some Gallies were totally unman'd: and the malady grew so contagious, as they who lay with the sick, fell ill of the same disease; and some were so strangely taken, as growing mad, they threw themselves into the Sea. And the violence of the sickness was the greater, for that the number of the sick, and the want of many necessaries, would not permit such care to be taken, nor such remedies to be used, as was needful. So as there died of this pestilent disease 20000 men of the Venetian Fleet, amongst which, many Venetian Gentlemen, who commanded Gallies, and other personages of honourable condition. Therefore to advance any further, without a new recruit of Mariners and Souldiers, was not onely thought dangerous, but almost impossible. The Commanders by common consent, did therefore betake themselves to provide more men, to supply the place of those that were dead; to which purpose the Governours of *Zante* and of *Cephalonia* were with'd, diligently to prepare as many men as possibly they could. But they thought it fit the mean while, to keep the Souldiers exercised in some military service, who did already begin to grow insolent and disorderly, through too much idleness. They resolv'd therefore to fall upon the Castle of *Malgariti*, a mean thing of it self, but by its situation, fit for other enterprises, and proper for what was now intended, it being an easie enterprise, and which would require no long time: For the uncertainty of the Turkish Fleet, and the hopes of the coming of the Pope's Gallies, and those of the King of Spain, by whose assistance they might employ them selves,

selves in greater matters, dissuaded them from undertaking any thing of length or difficulty. The charge hereof was given to *Sforza Palevisino*, who being Generall of the Venetian Militia, had the particular care of managing, what was to be done by Land. For this, there were forty eight Gallies destined to be commanded by Commissary *Celsi*, with 5000 Foot, and four great Guns; with which Forces, our men being gone from *Corfu* to the Haven of *Nisla*, which lies just over against it; and being come thither, upon the Sun-rising, *Palevisino* landed his men immediately, hoping to assault the enemy advantageously at unawares, and to begin and end the business that very day: He sent some Harchebugiers towards certain places which lay open between the Mountains, to possess those passes, by which he feared the enemy might be succoured; and dividing the rest of his men into two squadrons, he ordered one of them to march with the Artillery, to the foot of the Mountain, and to wait there for new directions, and kept the other with himself, following the former somewhat slowly; and resolving to advance himself in person, accompanied by Commissary *Veniero*, to discover the situation and form of the Castle the better; which it being long ere they could come within sight of, they perceived the way to be further, and more difficult, then had been told them by those, who said they knew the places, so as they found the Artillery could not be brought thither, without much difficulty, and some expence of time: Besides, the Castle was seated upon an high Mountain, and well flank'd, so as it would be able to defend itself for a while; the which was the more likely, for that those that had the custody of the Castle, would boldly hold it out as long as they could, hoping to be relieved by the neighbouring *Sangiacchi*. *Palevisino* weighing these difficulties, and thinking it did by no means behoove him, to hazard those men in a petty business, which were destined for far better hopes, resolved suddenly to be gone, not making any attempt; though Commissary *Veniero* sought to persuade him to the contrary, alledging, that if they should be so sudden & resolute in doing so, they could not avoid that blemish which they lay under, of having in vain taken in hand an unseasonable and difficult business; or else, that it not being so, they had through too much fear, too soon given it over. He therefore proposed, that they might keep their men in the field, at least the next night, and expect whether the enemy, when they should see them resolute, would not by their flight, open them way to an easie victory; which if they should not do, they should at least shew, that their retreat was not occasioned by any disorder or fear, but by reason, and necessity; which just excuses would not be admitted of, by their so great haste. But *Palevisino* not allowing of these reasons, began to make his men that were with him retreat, and sent at the same time to those that were with the Artillery, to re-embark speedily, though they were in order at the foot of the Mountain, waiting till he should come. Thus both the squadrons being met, they marched back to the place where they had that morning landed, a good part of the night being over before they got thither: Then, missing their

Part II.

Written by Paulo Paruta.

their Harchebugiers, whom they had sent to possess the Passes; they were forced to keep all on land till the next day, when they sent a good band of souldiers speedily away, commanded by Count *Cesare Bentivoglio*, to be a convoy to as many as could retreat with safety; which they could not do, without some opposition and danger, for there appeared already divers squadrons of the enemies, both Horse and Foot: But though the souldiers got safe to the Gallies without much prejudice, they were but coolly welcomed to the rest of the Fleet; for it was thought, this so suddain retreat might much lessen the reputation of those forces, which were to serve against the enemy, and was an ill Omen to their more important proceedings. Yet after divers consultations, it was resolved, to depart with their Gallies from *Nisla*, and to return and joyne with the rest of the Fleet at *Corfu*. And every least action being at this time observed by all men, who were desirous to see, what the event of so great a preparation for war as this, would prove; *Palevisino* had much ado, to justify this action to many: But he, by the testimony of severall, constantly averred, that he had sent certain Grecians, to wish the souldiers, who were sent to guard the Passes, to retreat; who being overtaken by some of the enemies Horse, went elsewhere for fear, and by their great cowardinesse, occasioned another error in some of the same Nation; who being acquainted with those parts, had perswaded them, as he said, to come thither, by their false informations; which they must believe, if they would effect that enterprise: for to send as few to discover the situation, was to hazard them to too manifest danger; and by sending many, they should give notice to the enemy, and make the difficulties the greater. But to shun the like error another time, when it was proposed to attempt the Castle of *Prevesa*, or of *Santa Maura*, *Palevisino* would go thither himself, and took with him *Paolo Orsino*, *Harcole de Pii*, and Commissary *Celsi*; who at their return to the Fleet, brought back word, That those enterprises would prove difficult, and would require time; for the enemy fearing an assault, had fired their suburbs, and were very vigilant; so as it would require much forces, and length of time, to storm them, which made them think, they were not at that time to be attempted.

At this time came *Marco Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph, to them, with the *Candia*-Gallies, who had been long detained in the Haven of *Candia*, as well by occasion of contrary winds, as also in expectation, that the Turkish Fleet, which he heard was to go for the Island of *Cyprus*, might be past those Seas; for he had but a few Gallies, and those but lately man'd, and the reform unfit to contend with the enemy, or with the sea; which did to moderate his usual daring, as it was overborn by mature advice: For his experience in sea-affairs was commended by all men, his vigilancy, and his being ready to undergo all labour and danger; and some did sometimes desire, that he would have been more temperate in his actions. Being at last got from *Candia*, and being desirous to redeem the time he had lost, when he was come to the *Quaglie*, he bethought himself of expugning the Fort of *Brazzo di Maina*, which (as hath

been said) had been lately built by the Turks; he considered, the Haven *della Oga lie*, might be a commodious receptacle for Christian ships, being placed in the utmost angle of *la Marea*, on the outside towards the sea, made as it were by nature, to receive those which sailed from the *Levant* westward, by the *Ionick* sea; which conveniencie was taken away by this Fort, which overlooked the whole Haven, and commanded it almost on all sides. This place was anciently called *Leutro*, famous for a great victory, which the Lacedemonians had there of the Thebans, who had long had the principality of that Region. *Quirini's* intention was chiefly, to assault the enemy at unawares, being not desirous to delay his journey upon any occasion. Comming therefore within ken of *la Maina*, on the 29th of *June*, by break of day, he presently landed some Harchebugiers, who possesse'd themselves of the little hill before the Castle, and he, the mean while, drew near it with his Gallies; so as the enemy was at one and the same time assaulted both by sea and land, and were soon kept from defending themselves on that side, by shot from the Gallies; and they were much endamaged on the other side by the Harchebugiers, who being upon a higher place, played upon those that defended the walls; so as despairing to be any longer able to defend themselves, the defendants withdrew into a Towre which was within, and left the way free and open, for *Quirini's* men to enter the Fort, wherein very few men were left: So as playing upon the Towre with the enemies own Artillery, whereof they found 24 Pieces, they forc'd them that were within to yield, with safety to their lives. But the Fort, because it was hard to be kept, was in a few hours undermined, and thrown down. This prosperous successe, and the arrivall of these twelve Gallies, which came all safe within twelve daies after to *Corfu*, did somewhat encourage the other Commanders, who were much disheartned by the former misfortunes; and they were the more cheered, because *Quirini* told them, That if the whole Fleet would withdraw to the Isle of *Candia*, they might easily furnish themselves with Mariners, souldiers, and all other necessities. Which made them all desirous to advance, and so to order their affairs, as that they might hazard the fortune of war. But the first thing they thought fit to do, was, That *Quirini* should with twenty Gallies, over-run the Islands of the *Archipelagus*, that he might give the enemy a feeling of their forces, and to get from thence some men for the Ore; which he readily did, and went to the Island of *Andro*, one of the *Cyclades*, as they were formerly called by the Antients, where landing his souldiers, he carried away above three hundred men; but he was not able to refrain the insolency of the Souldier, who being in an Enemies Country, though of Christians, committed many other out-rages, which made him hasten his return: but Generall *Zanne*, was this mean while gone from *Corfu*, having received new orders from the Senate, to go with those forces which he had, more towards the *Levant*, and to endeavour to raise the siege of *Cyprus*, either by diversion, falling upon some of the Enemies places, or else by carrying sufficient recruits,

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making his ways through the midst of the Enemies Fleet, and fighting them: Wherefore *Quirini*, in his return, found the Venetian Fleet upon *Modone*, which joyning with these her other Gallies, arrived two days after, upon the 4th of *August*, at the Island of *Candia*, and went altogether into the Gulph *Anfialeo*, called now by the Marriners, the Haven of *Suda*; which is a great Creek of the Sea, lying under the Promontory *Drepano*, called *Gapo Meleca*, which thrusting it selfe out, makes it the larger, and more capacious. Here Generall *Zanne* was very solicitous in providing all things necessary for the Fleet, wherein he found much difficulty, especially in finding men enough to supply the number of the dead. Wherefore sending some Gallies to the *Archipelagus*, again to that purpose, he went with forty of the best Gallies to the City of *Candia*, as to the fittest place to make all his provision in. The two Commissaries, and *Palaeufine*, staid at the Haven of *Suda*; the Generall at his departure, having left them the same Authority, which they were very industrious in making use of, to furnish their Gallies with men, wherein they made good use of *Luca Michiele*, Commisary of *Cania*, who by the Authority which he held there, and much more by the love which he had wonne amongst those people, proved an excellent instrument to propagate that business. But the other difficulties being at last overcome, and the Fleet being sufficiently provided of Souldiers, and Mariners, they were notwithstanding forced to keep within the Havens, and lose the best time for action at Sea, expecting daily the Churches Gallies, and those of *Spain*, which by new advertisements from *Venice* they understood, were to joyn together by directions given to *Doria*, and to *Colonna*, and meet the rest as soon as might be at *Candia*. Wherefore the Senate added this to their former orders given to their Generall, that his chiefest indeavour should be to finde out, and to fight the Enemies Fleet. At last, about the end of *August*, *Mark Antonio Colonna*, the Churches Generall, and *Andrea Doria*, Generall to the Catholick King arrived, which caused much joy in the Venetian Fleet, all of them being infinitely ambitious to fall upon some honorable Enterprife. The Venetian Generall had Orders from the Senate, to use all manner of honour and respect to these Commanders, and to give them the precedence, in regard of the Princes whom they did represent; but that in any enterprife they should undertake, they were onely to advise. *Zanne*, when he heard of their comming, went with his whole Fleet out of the Haven of *Suda*, to receive them with all demonstrations of honour, having to this purpose sent the Captain of the Gulph, with a squadron of Gallies out before him. The Fleet stood expecting them, divided into two parts, as into two great wings, saluting them as they came with all their great Guns, and Harchebuges, and when they were all met, they entred into the Haven, where after a short stay, by common consent the whole Fleet went to *Seythia*, to resolve there what course they should steer, and to raise the siege of *Cyprus*.

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Whilst the Christian Fleet through severall impediments, had spent much time in preparation, and in getting together the Turks having with more resolution disposed of all their Forces, were gone forth very strong to Sea, and without any obstacle prosecuted their design prosperously; which they did the sooner, for that *Selino*, after having long said that he would go himselfe in person to the coasts of *Caramania*, resolved not to part from *Constantinople*, his former ardor being allay'd by the advice of *Mehemet*, and *Mustafa*, wherein all the other *Bashaws* joyn'd with them; but their ends were herein differing; for *Mehemet* thought it not safe to leave the States of *Europe* unguarded, by his going into parts so far off, since according to the custome, and to the honour due to so great a Prince, he was to be attended by all the best Warriors; so as *Bosnia*, *Albania*, and *Greece*, would be left exposed to the assaults of the Enemy. He likewise knew *Selino's* nature, and customes to be such, as if they should be known by the Army, it might lessen his reputation, and occasion some disorder. To these, his own particular interest were added, fearing lest upon any sinister accident, he might be thought to have been negligent, in not having made timely provisions for such things as were necessary for so great an Army: But *Mustafa's* reason was, for fear lest by the presence of his Master, his glory would be diminished, and his merit upon any happy success made the lesse, since it was done under the grand Signors Conduct, *Selino* therefore by their counsell altered his resolution, but notwithstanding the Souldiers complaint, who were for the most part well minded to this voyage. They accused *Selino* of cowardize, and *Mehemet* of covetousnesse, who to shun giving the donative, which belongs by priviledge to them, when the grand Signor goes forth in person with the Army, had perswaded him to this dishonourable resolution. Thus *Selino* gave the whole charge, and honour of this War to *Mustafa*, making him Captain-Generall of all Enterprises by land; but *Piali*, the second *Bashaw*, was to command in chiefe at Sea, who was by birth an *Hungarian*, little vers'd in Navall affairs, but who by the good success, had some years before against the Spanish Fleet at *Gerbi*, had won some honour and reputation: Yet the particular charge of the Mariners, and of ordering the voyage, remained in *Ali*, who supply'd the place of chiefe Admirall. This *Ali*, was Aga of the *Janisaries*, (so is their Captain called) and was made Captain at Sea, chiefly by the means of *Mehemet*, who telling the grand Signor, that it was dangerous to have one and the same man to be both *Bashaw della Paria*, and Captain at Sea, had made his Enemy *Piali*, a disturber of the Peace, be removed the year before, Yet *Ali*, having occasion the first year that he went forth with the Fleet, to go to *Cyprus*, and being perswaded, as it was conceived, by the calennes, which he thought he should finde in that Enterprise, and eg'd on therunto out of a desire of glory, forgoing his peacefull thoughts, when he returned to *Constantinople*, and forgetting his obligations to *Mehemet*, sided with *Mustapha*, and *Piali*, the Authors of the War, and

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Mehemet's Enemies, because (as hath been said) he had endeavour'd to bereave the former of his life, and the other of his honour. So after *Piali's* departure, *Mustafa* went forth with other 55 Gallies; *Selino*, in token of extraordinary favour, having granted him the Imperiall Gally, a stately Vessell, and richly furnish'd, which, out of a certain *Grandezza*, and high point of honour, is wont to be employ'd in any Sea-enterprise made by the *Ottoman* Emperours, without having any Chief, when the grand Signor himselfe doth not go, onely with men sufficient to guide her. These being joyn'd together, went to be calkt and rig'd in *Nigroponte*, and from thence went to *Rhodes*, where having intelligence, that the Venetian Fleet was at *Zara*, and not able to get out of those Havens, by reason of grievous sickness, and other necessities, and that there was no news heard of the Spanish Gallies; they thought they needed not apprehend the joyning of those Fleets, nor that they would dare to advance, though they should joyn; wherefore they resolved to go with the whole Fleet to the Island of *Cyprus*. But as they past from *Nigraponte* to *Rhodes*, *Piali* would attempt the Fort of *Tine*, and endeavour to get that Island, lying at the end of the *Archipelagus*, between *Micone* and *Andro*, which was then in the possession of the Common-wealth; being thereunto perswaded, either by the convenience of the place, it being as it were, the key of the *Archipelagus*, and by which all Ships past, which went towards *Constantinople*, or from thence; or else, as it was said, corrupted by the gifts and promises of *Joseffo di Nasi*, an *Hebrew*; commonly called *Gio Miches*, one who was of great power with *Selino*, and hoped to get this Island to be given him, as he had gotten those of *Paria*, and *Nixia*, a little before; the which was the rather believed, for that some provisions, Souldiers, and Ammunition, which were sent from *Candia* to *Tine*, were detained by the Governour of the two aforesaid Islands, who was placed there by *Nasi*. *Jerolimo Paruta*, a Noble Venetian, was at this time Governour of *Tine*, who by reason of the being abroad of the Enemies Fleet, and of the detaining of the aforesaid provisions, was well prepared for whatsoever might happen. He had been carefull in repairing the walls, in Jewelling such Houses as hindred the defence, in placing the men of the Country upon the Guards, in providing Arms, and in firly ordering of all things, as if he had foreseen, that he was to be the first that must withstand the Turks assaults. He was much encouraged to hold out, by the love which those Inhabitants bore to the Common-wealth, and by the situation of the place, which is naturally very strong. For the Fort had but one front to defend, which lay towards the South East, which by reason of its height, was safe enough, and was surrounded every where else by an unaccessable Rock. *Piali* being gone from *Castel Rosso*, which is seated upon the head of *Nigraponte*, after Sun-set, came early the next morning before the Island of *Tine*, where landing about 8000 foot, he made them presently march towards the Town, which was five miles from the shore, hoping to take it by assault. But the Governour, who was

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alwaies vigilant, discrediting the Fleet before it came to the Island, and endeavouring at one and the same time, the safety of the Islanders, and of the Fort, gave the Islanders timely notice of the Enemies approach by shooting off of Guns, so as they might get time enow to get within the Town, and by them he might the better resist the assault, which was made that very day; and wherein the Enemy were repuls'd, and much gallied by the Artillery as they retreated, in so much as they were forced to keep aloof off, and quarter that night in the plain called *St. Nicholas*. The next day, landing some great Guns, they intended to batter the Fort; but finding by the situation of the Place, that that design would prove vain; they incampt about it, hoping that many men being gotten into the Town, they might take it by siege. Wherein having spent 12 days, and solicited the Governour in vain by Letters, containing both threats and great-rewards, to surrender the Town; and finding him still more resolute to defend himselfe, they resolved to be gone, having first ranfackt the whole Country, fired the farm Houses, ruin'd the Churches, and killd all the cattle.

This action purchas'd great praise to the Governour, who was not at all daunted at the sight of such forces, had valiantly sustain'd the assault; and in so great commotions of War, preserved that Island which lay in the very jaws of the Enemy, and rendred this their first design vain. The Turks leaving the Island of *Tina*, went to *Rhodes*, where having staid a while, and designed what they would do, they came to *Fenica*. Hither were all the Souldiers brought, which were to come aboard the Fleet, which being altogether, made above 200 Sayl, whereof there was 150 Gallies, and of the bigger sort, some vessels for burthen, one Galliyonne, six Ships, and a great number of lesser Vessels for carriage, called by the Turks, *Caramusolini*, and about fifty *Palandarie*, which are made like small Gallies, but somewhat larger in the Poop, and higher on the sides, and much covered, containing about a hundred Horse a peece. The Turks parted with these forces from *Fenica*, and steer'd their course towards *Cyprus*: but because the actions of greatest importance in this War, hapned in this Island, the possession whereof was the cause of the War: it will be worth the while, to acquaint you with the State and most remarkable proprieties of this Country, before we proceed to the Narration, of what was there done.

The Island of *Cyprus* lies towards the Levant, in the furthermost part of the *Mediterranean*; which, according to the severall Provinces which lye upon it, hath severall names given it. The Island looks on the East towards *Soria*, with which, if we will credit the testimony of the Ancients, she did at first joyn in a *Terra Ferma*. On the west, lies *Panfilia*, which is now called *Sarmania*: On the South, *Aegypt*, and *Caramania* on the North, which is the ancient *Cilicia*, on which side this Island lies nearest the continent: It is seven hundred miles in compass, extending it selfe about 200 miles in length, East North-East, towards the Levant; but in the largest part, it is not above seventy miles over. It is of a very good Air, being placed

placed in the beginning of the fourth Climate, under the ninth Parallel, so as it produceth almost all things belonging to humane life, in great abundance and perfection: And though hardly the fifth part thereof be cultivated, the half thereof lies every other year fallow; yet is it so fruitfull, as it hath not onely wherewithall to supply the necessity of the Inhabitants, but to serve Forraimers: Besides Corn, it yields much Sugar, Cotton, Saffron, and many other things, which are transported into forraim parts. It abounds in Salt-pits, which though they be now reduced to the third part of their former number, yet as much pure white salt may be taken from thence every year, as will load one hundred great ships. It abounds also in severall sorts of Creatures, excellently good; nor doth it want Mines of the most precious Mettalls. By reason of this great plenty of all things, it was anciently called *Macaria*, as if Blessed, which made the Poets sayn, that the goddesse *Venus* was born here, and did delight to live here, as in her proper nest: Wherefore the Cyprians erected a famous Temple to her, in the City of *Paphos*. It was celebrated by antiquity, as the seat of nine Kings, having within it thirty Cities, which though according to the custom of modern daies, they be greater in number then reality, yet there remains many worthy memorialls, of their priſtine grandetia and prosperity. And there are yet seen the ruines of severall Cities, as well Maritime as Inland, which are wholly destroyed. But at this time, her chieft Towns are *Nicosia*, *Famagosta*, *Baffo*, *Cerines*, and *Limilo*; which latter two were onely reduced into any strength, there not being any other place in the whole Island able to resist the Turks power, though *Cerines* hath held out long formerly against lesser forces. The Inhabitants of this country were so highly esteemed for worth in war, and for experience at sea, as *Alexander the great*, forbore to molest them with his Arms. And we read in modern Histories, that they did many memorable acts in the businesse of the Holy Land, and in *Soria*, against the Infidells. This Island was Tributary to the greatest Empires of the world; for following the fortune of other Eastern people, it became obedient to the Kings of *Aegypt*, and to those of *Perſia*, and lastly to the Romans. When the Roman Empire began to decline, it was possess'd by the *Saracins*, which the Turks make use of at this time, to shew, they have some just pretence to this Island; affirming, that they found in their Histories, that their fifth Captain of the Mahometan Religion, after *Mahomet*, had acquired and possess'd it; and that there were the Sepulchers of many Musselmans, which they could not suffer to remain in the power of those, of another Religion. But it was recovered from the *Saracins* by the Christians, in the year 1122. and joyned to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, when they went to the taking of the Holy Land. And after severall accidents, being separated from thence, it was governed for many years by Lords of its own, under the protection of the Emperours of *Constantinople*, till such time as *Richard King of England* sold the Signiory thereof to the Knights Templars, by whom it was quickly sold to *Guido Lusignano*, who being driven by *Sultan Saladin* out of *Jerusalem*, withdrew himself to live in *Cyprus*, and was the first Latine Lord, whose son succeeding his father in the Dominion, got it by the Pope's authority to be made a Kingdom, the first Grecian Lords having used the title of Dukes. The peaceable and quiet condition of this whole Kingdom, continued under the Government of twelve Kings, excepte the City of *Famagosta*, which was possess'd by the *Genoveses*. After which, the

the Kingdom falling into the hands of Lewis, son to Amideo the 7th. Duke of Savoy, by the right of inheritance of Charlotta, daughter to King John Lusignan, it was taken by the aid of the Mamalucchy, by James son to the same King, illegitimate, a man of much valour, and of aspiring thoughts, who also recovered Famagosta from the Genueses; and that he might be the better confirmed in the possession of the Kingdom, procured the friendship and protection of the Venetians, by marrying Catharina Cornaro, adopted daughter of the Common-wealth, who was made heir of that Kingdom by the last Will and Testament of her husband. And by her it was freely given to her Country, as you have heard before. By which it may be known, what reason the Common-wealth had to make any attempt, and expose her self to all danger and trouble, for the preservation of so rich and noble a Kingdom, which was so lawfully possess'd by her.

But to return to our narration. The Turkish Fleet was discried to be about *Baffo*, upon the Western Cape of the Island, on the first day of July, which falling lower towards the South, scoured the River which is between *Lamisso*, and the Promontory, which is called by many *Capo de Gatti*, taking many prisoners, and sacking and pillaging severall country houses. But making no long stay there, they steered the same course, and came the next day to *Saline*, a place which lies upon the same shore, somewhat more towards the East; where not meeting with any to withstand them, they landed their Artillery, and their souldiers, and secured their quarters by strong Rampiers, from whence they issued out, to plunder the neighbouring parts, endeavouring to inform themselves by the Prisoners, of the affairs of the Island. And advancing as far as *Leucata*, a Town nine leagues from *Saline*, they easily reduced those country people to their obedience, to whom *Mustafa Basbaw* gave many gifts, and promis'd them much more, thereby to invite others to submit to his devotion, especially the Mountainers, whom he could not so soon reduce by force. This mean while, the Turks sent forth 80 Gallies, and many Bottoms of *Barthine*, some to *Tripoli*, some to the Rivers of *Cavamanis*, to raise more Souldiers, and Horle; so as their whole forces being soon after brought together, there were found (as most men affirm) in the Turkish Army 30000 Foot, 3000 Pioniers, 2500 Horle for war, besides as many or more for burthen, 30 pieces of Artillery, some bearing bullets of 50l. weight, some of a 100l. and 50 Falconets. But there were not Garrisons in the Island of Cyprus, sufficient to resist such forces; for there was not above 2000 Italian Foot in the usuall Garrisons, nor were there any more sent afterwards, save 3000 of the common people *di Terra Ferma*, and the 2000 of *Martiningo's* men, which by suffering at sea, were reduced to a much lesser number. So as the greatest hope in defending the Cities, lay in the new Militia, which was mustered of the Islanders themselves, from whom, as was affirmed by many Captains and Governours, excellent service might upon all occasions be expected. Nor were there any Horle in the Kingdom for action; save 500 *Stradiotti*, which were still kept in pay, nor was it easie to get more; for though many of the Nobles, who enjoyed severall things

things from the *Camera reale*, some through ancient, some through new privileges, were bound to finde by thofe their Farms three or four horses a piece, for the Princes service, and that these amounted to about 700 Horle; yet were there not many more than 100 of them, that were serviceable at this time: Nay, the breed of Horles was very much decayed throughout the whole Island, by reason of the greater conveniency which the Inhabitants found, in riding upon Mules, whereof this country produceth great abundance, and those very large. Things were therefore in a very bad posture, since there wanted sufficient forces to withstand so powerfull an enemy, who were masters of the field; nor could they long maintain two Forts, whereof *Nicosia* being one, by reason of the largeness thereof, required a great many souldiers to defend it; and the other, which was *Famagosta*, though it was lesser, was so weak and imperfect, as it likewise required many men, and those valiant ones too, to make good the defects of the Fort. And though these forces were but small, yet were they of lesser use, for want of experienced Commanders: for there was not any one in the whole Island of quality or condition, save *Affore Baglione*, who was Generall of that Militia, *Martiningo* being dead at sea, as hath been said. Nor was there any Commissary Generall of the Island, nor any Venetian Magistrate, as is usually had in all places, in times of danger; for *Lorenzo Bembo*, who held that place, was dead but a little before, in whose place, though the Senate soon chose *Sebastian Veniero* Commissary of *Corfu*, yet could he not come so soon to Cyprus, to execute his office. The chief commands of War were therefore conferred upon divers Cyprian Gentlemen, who were of great wealth and nobility, and very well affected towards the Common-wealth; but of very little, or no experience at all, in the Militia, and therefore the lesse fit for such employment. Count *Rocas* was made *Baglione's* Lieutenant, who, after *Bembo's* death, held supreme authority in all things belonging to the Militia. *Jacomo di Nores*, Count of *Tripoli*, was Master of the Artillery; *Jovanni Singliuico*, Captain of all the Horle of the Kingdom; *Jovanni Sofomino*, Captain of the Pioners; *Sapione Carassa*, and *Pietro Paolo Singliuico*, Captains of the Country people, who were to be placed in strong situations upon the Mountains; and so other offices and employments were disposed of to others. And the received opinion being, that the Turks would first assault *Famagosta*, *Baglione* would go to the custody thereof himself, that he might use his endeavours, where there should be most need. Things being thus ordered, after many consultations, it was concluded, That the first thing they would do should be, by all possible means to hinder the enemy from landing; or at least to infect them, keeping along the shoar whither they should seem to come, so as they should be enforced to separate, and change their station, by that means prolonging the business, since they could not tarry long upon those downs without danger, where there was no harbour for their Fleet. According to which advice, as soon as they heard newes of the enemies approach, Count *Rocas* parted from *Nicosia*, with three hundred

Horse, which was all that in so great haste could be got together, and with one hundred Dragoons, commanded by *Antonio dal Berrino*, and *Lazaro Cuopani*; and marched towards the place, which was designed for mustering all the Horse, which was a fitting place for that purpose, not far from the shoars of the *Saline*, where it was thought, the enemies Fleet would land their men, because there was the best Anchoring, and for that it was nearest the two chiefest Cities, *Nicosia* and *Famagosta*. *Baglioue* went also from *Famagosta*, with 300 Dragoons, and 150 *Stradiotti*. *Pietro Roncadi*, who was Governor of the *Albanese* Militia, going at the same time from *Raffo*, with the rest of Cavalry, which being all met, they resolved not to advance any further, nor to attempt anything, but to return all from whence they came; were it either, for that they considered their forces better, or for the necessity of the danger, being much troubled at the suddain newes, that above 300 sail (for so it was reported) were already upon the shoar; or for that they thought, it was too late, and would be to no purpose to do what they formerly had resolved, the enemy being already arrived, and having begun to land their men. So as all things were left free, and late to the Turks, to their no little wonder; for they began at first to suspect, that this easie entrance into the enemies country, did not proceed from any weaknesse, negligence, or cowardice of the defendants, but that it might be done out of some designe, or military stratagem, to draw them at unawares into some snare. They therefore knew not at first what to do, and proceeded with much caution: but having over-run many parts, and done much prejudice, not meeting with any resistance, they grew more bold: They did not only advance with their whole Camp, but roved up and down every where, whither soever their desire of pillage, or any other thing drew them, without any Order or Colours.

But the Commanders, that they might lose no more time in vain, began to think upon drawing near one of the two chiefest Forts of the Kingdom; *Pala* was for expugning *Famagosta* first, hoping to get it within a few daies, which being lost, he said, that *Nicosia* must likewise necessarily fall soon into their hands; for that being full of unnecessary people, far from the sea-shore, and in midst of a Campaign, possessed by so many enemies, it would not be able to be relieved, without which, it could not long hold out. That *Famagosta* was a little and a weak Fort, and so defective, as it would not be able to withstand the first Battery; nor were the defendants so many, or so valiant, as that they durst expect the assault of so valiant an Army, whose reputation would be so much encreased by that victory, as all things would become easie, which might as yet peradventure be thought difficult. Nay, this sole example insufling terror into all the Inhabitants, would be sufficient to put them soon, and with little trouble, in possession of the whole Kingdom. But *Mustafa* affirmed on the contrary, that the reputation of so great forces ought not to be lessened, by failing upon petty enterprises, whereby to encourage the enemy, and to dishearten their own men. That *Famagosta* was possessed by the *Genueses*, for the space of 90 years, and yet the *Lusignian* Kings were Masters of the Island at the same time. So as it might be conceived, the taking of that City would

would not make much towards the getting of the whole Kingdom: whereas the whole Nobility were with-drawn into *Nicosia*, and most of the People, Wealth, and Ammunition of the Islands, so as one labour might do the whole business. That the alterations which are often seen to fall out in a short time, when great actions are in hand, are not to be foreseen; nor was it certain, that *Famagosta* would be so soon taken, but that they should rather be necessitated to employ those Forces elsewhere, according as the Christian Fleet should direct them: so as if they should depart from the Island, and leave the Enemy Masters of almost all the whole Kingdom, they should get but little good by such an enterprise. He further added, that the Air about *Famagosta* was very bad, the Town being seated low, amongst marshy grounds, and that therefore it would be unsupportable to those that were not long accustomed thereto; that therefore they were not to carry their Souldiers where they were likely to perish of sickness, but where they might give proof of their valour: that to die without praise or merit was common; that no worthy valiant man could fear the greatest dangers of War, or of the Enemies Forces, when they were accompanied with the hopes of glory. Moreover, that they had learnt by such Prisoners as they had taken, that the men of chiefest Authority, and best experienced Souldiers, were with-drawn into *Famagosta*, wherein the true defence of Cities lay; not in walls nor Bulwarks, when every mans valour is to be tried in assaults; the skill and worth of his Souldiers being much better, as was known by experience, in taking in of strong holds, then was the art or industry of Christians in erecting, or in defending them. That their great train of Artillery, the infinite number of their Pioneers, and their experience in such things, would facilitate their throwing down the walls of *Nicosia*, and the bringing of their valiant Souldiers to an assault; wherein being to meet with but little resistance, by reason of the paucity and pusillanimity of the defendants; it was not to be doubted, but that the victory would fall into their hands, with as much, nay peradventure with more easinesse, then they could hope for of *Famagosta*, but certainly with much greater rewards, and more worth their labour and hazard.

For these reasons, and out of the respect born to *Mustafa's* authority, they resolved to attempt *Nicosia* first, towards which the whole Camp moved the 22d. of July, having sent five hundred Horse towards *Famagosta*, to hinder commerce between those two Cities. All this while the Cavalry lay idle in *Nicosia*, leaving the whole Country open and free to be pillaged by the Enemy, though Cavalier *Roncadi*, and some other Gentlemen of the City, did often earnestly desire, that they might go out, and shew themselves to the enemy, to keep them from growing the bolder, by reason of these the *Nicosians* too timorous, & peradventure too cowardly counsellors. But those who had the Government of affairs, not thinking it fit to hazard those men, who were intended for the defence of the City, would by no means be brought to give way thereunto. Yet being more moved by the offences of their own men, then by those of the Enemy, when they heard of the Rebellion of *Lescara's* family, which had not only suddenly come in to *Mustafa*, but committing other outrages to the prejudice of those of the Ci-

ty, had sent some of their men to persuade other Citizens, who had retired themselves to certain narrow passages amidst the mountains, and were free from being injur'd by the Turks, that following their example, they should descend into the plains, and submit willingly unto the Turks; it was resolv'd one night to send out 100 Horse, and 400 Foot to fire that Hamlet, whereof almost all the inhabitants, to the number of above 400 were put to the sword. Thus their treachery was severely punish'd, and by the terror thereof, the desire of Novelty was curb'd in many of the Inhabitants, by reason of the slavery wherein they were, for the aforesaid causes; so as it was clearly seen, that hoping by change of Government, to change their fortune, they were not onely not likely to oppose the Enemy, but rather to afford them all conveniency: which inclination of theirs, *Mustafa* sought by all possible means to nourish, making many presents, and greater promises to such as should come in unto him: But the Turks pursuing their way, without any obstacle, drew near the walls of *Nicosia*; and as soon as the Army was discovered, by those that were within the Town, they were all posselt with infinite fear. *Nicolo Dandolo*, was then Governour of that City, being made Lieutenant thereof by the Common-wealth, a man of weak judgement to manage so weighty a business, but who had that preferment put upon him, out of an opinion conceived, that though he was not very quick witted, yet he was good at action, by reason of the experience which he was believed to have gotten in severall employments at Sea: He having either lost his understanding through the extraordinary apprehension of danger, or not knowing through his want of reason, and understanding, how to provide against so great an exigency, increased the difficulties and danger: for when the Enemies Fleet was arriv'd, he had not got the Ditches to be fully emptied, nor ordered the Militia; nor those of the Country, nor provided for sufficient victualls for the City. To amend which disorders, he was forced to commit greater; a publick Edict was made, that it should be lawfull for every one to take Corn wheresoever they could finde it, which being brought into the City, should be understood to be their own; which being too late a remedy, could not work the effect which was expected, a good part thereof being left abroad in the Country houses, with a double inconvenience to the Country-men, by reason of the advantage the Enemy made thereof. Moreover, having with very little regard to the eminency of the danger, dismiss'd the meaner sort, he in great haste, and confusion, sent for them back, before they were got to their own homes, and did at the same time list new Souldiers in the Country, as the occasion and necessity did best dictate; whilst our men oppress'd thus by many mischiefs, spent their time in ordering their affairs, and in advising how they might hinder or disturb the Enemies proceedings; all resolutions being the longer in taking, for want of any Chief-raine, who might decide the diversity of opinions: the Turks had leisure and opportunity given them, to set up their Pavillions, plant their Artillery, and fortifie their

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Part II. Written by Paulo Paruta.

Quarters, not meeting with any disturbance, save by shot from the Town. For though the *Stradiotti* did often rally out with some companies of Harchebugiers to skirmish; yet not daring by reason of their small numbers, to go further from the walls, then they were shelter'd by shot from the Town, nor the enemy approaching so near, as that they might be thereby prejudiced, nothing of moment ensued. And *Andrea Cortese*, Captain of the *Stradiotti*, a bold and adventurous man, being one day advanc'd a good way before his own men, he was inviron'd by a great many of the Enemy, and after having valiantly defended himself for a long while, was slain. The Turkish Army incamp't themselves from *San'a Marina*, to *Aglangia*, possessing the whole space of ground which was opposite to four Bulworks: and on the other side of the Fort, whither the Campe reached not, each Bashaw sent out 100 Horse, and as many Foot, so as the City being inviron'd on all sides, could neither receive in, nor send out any men.

Nicosia stands in the midst of the Island, almost equally distant from the Northern and Southern shore, and from the two utmost parts of the Island, *Basso*, and *Carpasso*: It abounds in fresh water, is of an indifferent wholsome air, being breath'd on by the pleasant South-west wind, which invivens and refresheth the Inhabitants when they are wearied, and twiter'd with the immoderate heat of that Climate, wherefore it was more inhabited then any other City of the Kingdom; and this was the cause why the Island being to be secured by a Fort, the *Cyprians*, not valuing any other scituation, concurr'd all of them readily and liberally in contributing towards this, so as this City was reduced into a Fort-Royall, by the means of *Francesco Barbato*, Commissary of the Island, and of *Julio Surognano* the Governour, to whom the Senate had committed the particular care thereof. The Fort was of a circular form, with eleven Bulworks, whose Front was 75 paces, and their shoulders thirty; so as each of them was capable of 2000 foot, and of four pieces of Cannon, and they were so built, as there being out-lets on every side, the Souldiers might go shelter'd on all sides, to the Counterscarpe; but they were chiefly secured to the Plat-forms, which were above 30 paces broad, so as it was held by such as were professors of military discipline, one of the strictest and best Fortifications that was in the world, for as much as could be contributed by Art. But as there was plenty of these things, so was there scarcity of defendants: for when *Affore Baglione*, went from thence, *Colonel Roncone* remained there, with charge of the Communnalty of the Island, and of all the Italian Militia, and some other Captains, who though they had some experience in War, and were ambitious of honour, yet having but small Authority, their advice profited but a little: for they were either not listned to, through the indiscretion of such as stood at the helm of Government; or else accepted of with much dispute and difficulty, and therefore but slowly, and badly executed. It was therefore resolv'd, to send to *Famagosta*, to desire *Baglione*, that he himselfe would come

come to *Nicosia*, and bring some Souldiers along with him: but the Magistrates of that City thinking that they had not men enough to defend it, and not being certain but that the Enemy might alter their minds, so as they might have occasion to use them themselves, they positively refused to part either with their men, or with their Captain *and Baglione* making use of their Authority, desired to be excused for that time: adding, that *Martino's* Souldiers, having lost their Commander, said absolutely, that they would render obedience to none but to him: so as his coming away might cause some great disorder in that City. There were then in *Nicosia* 10000 foot for her defence, whereof 1500 were *Italians*, and all the rest Inhabitants of the Island, to wit, 3000 of the common sort, 2500 of the City, 2000 newly lifted into the Militia, taken out of the Country houses, and paid partly out of the Exchequer, partly out of private mens Purles, and 1000 *Nicosian* Gentlemen: These were almost all new men unexperienced, and not over-well armed, in so much as many wanting Pikes and Muskets, were forced to use Bills and Halberts. But the City was very well provided of Artillery, nor were there wanting such as knew how to manage them; They had likewise great store of Pioners, to make use of upon any occasion: for, to boot with 4000 lifted under *Jovan Soffemeno*, they had taken in above 4000 more fit for such employments. Yet amidst so many men, and so much ground, the Commanders not agreeing in the manner how to order their inworks, this so necessary provision was left imperfect. By these disorders these Forces were weakened, which were certainly too few to resist so puissant an Army of the Enemies, wherein, on the contrary, great observancy, and reverence was given to the Commanders, and all military actions, being severely ordered, were with strange readinesse observed. *Mustafa's* authority, who was a bold and warlike personage, as also his reputation by the fame which he had won by fighting in *Selino's* Army before he was Emperour, against his brother *Achomet*; the unhop'd for victory which was then gotten, being attributed to his forward valours The Souldiers, who were accustomed to the duties of War, to labour and hardships, grew much more hardy, by the opinion they had of their Captains worth, and by the hopes of great reward which was promised them upon getting the victory. There were, as hath been said, a great number of men in the Army, the chiefe foundation whereof consisted in 6000 *Jamisaries*, and 4000 *Spacchi*, (these are Souldiers who are kept in continuall pay, to serve on Horse-back, and upon occasion, do serve with others on foot) valiant ment, and brought up in War. Therefore the more humane foresight had been wanting to provide against such Forces, the more did they apply themselves to beg assistance from God. Solemn processions were daily made throughout the City, which were done the more frequently, and with the more devotion, by the example and exhortation of *Francisco Contarini*, Bishop of *Baffo*, in whom Episcopall dignity became more honourable and reverend by the ancient Nobility, and by the riches of

of his family, and by his own goodnesse and worth. He being the prime ecclesiastick person, (for *Philippo Morcino*, Arch-Bishop of *Nicosia*, was then at *Venice*) was not wanting in performing such duties to those people, which they could have expected from their own Pastour. The chief of the City being one day assembled in the Church of *Santa Sophia*, where were also many men of all conditions, he spake thus unto them.

If I shall look upon the greatnesse of the present dangers, I cannot but much apprehend the common safety; and as doubting the issue, and with a submisle minde, yield to adverse fortune. And if on the other side, I think upon your worth, magnanimity, fortitude, and constancy, I finde a certain warmth arise within me, which encourage me to hope for better things. But if I raise myself from these more lofty cogitations, to the consideration of divine providence and goodnesse, my first fear is not onely allayed, but is changed into an assured hope: For when I observe the truth better, I know, that hard and difficult things become easie, to such as are valiant; and even impossibilities to faithfull Christians, are made facile. Therefore if you be not wanting in your ancient and known worth, and if you continue constant and stedfast in that faith, which, together with your own safeties, you have undertaken to defend, I am assured you will find these troubles at the last, not ordained for your ruine, but for your praise and eternall glory. We know by infinite examples of all ages, how many sieges have been withstood and rendered vain, by a few, though the besiegers were very numerous. Constant worth, and a noble resolution of undaunted mind, being sufficient to save off greatest dangers. But as for such, whom God hath taken into his particular custody, no powers of man hath been able to prejudice them; nay, Natures self, the very Heavens and Elements have been subservient to them. The waters stood still, and made a safe passage to the Jewes, through the midle of the sea; the most scorched grounds afforded them fountains of clear water, to refresh them withall; and the Heavens gave them Manna, a miraculous food, to nourish them. We are to hope for these, or the like assistances, from the hand of God; for *Selino* Ottoman is a no lesse wicked and cruell persecutor of the faithfull, then was that ancient Pharaoh. Nor are we Christians, who are bought with the blood of his Son, lesse dear to God, or lesse beloved by him, then any others have formerly been, of which future miracle, we have an evident late example, which may persuade us to believe we shall share of. Do you not know in what condition the Island of Malta was, this time five year; begirt by so long and so sore a siege, oppugned by so many souldiers, defended by so few, void of all hopes of help, and in all sorts of want and necessities: Yet the defendants, no whit lessning their valour nor loyalty, for whatsoever adverse fortune, the Barbarians power was rendered vain and uselesse, and they were laugh'd at, for their over-daring attempt. And that the power of divine providence might the more appear, the Fort, when reduced to the last extremity, was freed from the siege by the enemy, before it was relieved by friends. You are to imitate the stout and valiant men, by exposing your selves willingly to all the labours and dangers of war; nay, you must exceed them: for these Knights, being sojourners, of severall Nations, fought for religion, and glory; you do not onely defend these, but also your wives, children, and estates; so as all things, both human and divine, invite you to shew invincible

ble valour; and that the more readily and boldly, as that you being free men, and generous, are to fight against slaves, base and unarmed people, wont to overcome more by their numbers, then their valour. Which advantage, they at the present want, this City being defended by strong walls, and by so many great guns, as this alone will be sufficient to repulse the enemy, who if they shall dare to assault us, you are sure of the victory, if you can but withstand their first brunt. For it cannot be long ere the succour come, which you have heard our common-wealth is sending us, with a powerfull Fleet, which will never refuse to expose all her forces readily, for the preservation of this Kingdom, which she esteems, as a noble member of her State, and loves so well. These humane provisions being of themselves sufficient to deliver us, will, through your prayers, faith, and firm resolution to forego your sins, make you invincible; when your sins being punished more by fear then pain, you shall have time and reason, to honour and praise the All-glorious God, who shewing you onely the face of his anger, in the fury of this barbarous Ottoman, will have provided for your souls health, and for your achieving of heavenly blessings, together with the preservation of your lives, country, and estates; to the end that you may use all these hereafter, to his glory, who is the true and liberall Lord, and the free giver of all grace.

The whole Auditory seemed much affected with these words, so as they cheerfully comforted one another; and preparing courageously to defend themselves, they betook themselves solicitously to all military actions, to secure their Parapets, to bestow their Companies in places of greatest danger, and to guard their Bulwarks carefully. The danger increased daily, as the enemy drew nearer; for the Turks wanting neither for diligence nor industry, were come with their Trenches very near the Ditch, and by frequent Musquet shot, playing upon those that were upon the walls, kept them from appearing upon the Parapets. Moreover, they planted divers great Pieces towards the City, on St. Marina's side, whereby they did much prejudice to the houses, not without great fear unto the people. But that which gave the Commanders justest cause of fear, was, their stupendous earth-works, which being made with great art and expedition, severall Forts were seen within a few daies, to be raised to such a height, as the enemies standing thereupon, might fight securely, and upon great advantage; and make use, not onely of their Artillery against our men, but of their Arrows, and artificiall fire-works, which being thrown over the walls, and fastning upon wool-sacks, whereof the Traverses were made, destroyed those works, depriving those within of those defences. The difficulty grew the greater to the defendants, for that being but a few, they could hardly supply the duties, which the defence of so many places required; so as they were forced to keep from sending people abroad to molest the enemy, lest they might add to their own difficulties. Their chief hope lay in their Artillery, which being well managed, did disturb the enemies works; Antonio dal Berensino, a witty man, and a well experienced Canonier, did much good thereby to those of the Town: But the City soon lost him, and many others, who were well versed in that affair; for being shot by the ene-

enemies, whereunto they were continually exposed, most of them were slain: So as the Turks brought on their Trenches so far, as they came to the Counter-scarfe, wherein making some breaches, they at last entred the Ditch; and having thereby made rampiers of earth, whereby to defend themselves from the enemies shot, they began to undermine the Bulworks with their Mat-hooks, so as they soon made stairs, whereby they might the more easily mount the Bulworks; and climbing up thereby, they began to make some little assaults upon the Bulworks, Costanzo and Padacataro, (which were so called, from the families of such Gentlemen, as had had a particular care in building the Fort) to see, how they that were within would behave themselves. And it so fell out, as those who were upon the defence of Costanzo, being surpris'd at unawares, suffered themselves to be so charged, as many of the Turks advancing very boldly, got beyond the Parapets; but Paolo dal Guasto, and Andrea da Spelle, falling upon them with their Companies, the enemies were repuls'd, much to their prejudice; but not without the losse of many of our men, particularly of Andrea, who fighting valiantly amongst the foremost, was slain. This unexpected assault did so terrifie the defendants, as many thought, that if the Turks had seconded the first assailants with greater forces, the City would have been lost. But the elchewing of this danger gave them no better hopes, for they could find no way to disturb the Turks works, who labouring continually in the making of, as it were, severall Cawleys of earth, twenty five foot broad, which reached from their Trenches to the Breaches, which (as hath been said) was made in the Counter-scarfe; and sheltering those waies on the sides, with faggots, and baskets fill'd with earth, they prepared for greater, and more secure assaults; which if they were not timely opposed, there was no way of safety left. So as though it was a hard and dubious thing, to expose the best of their few good souldiers, to so great dangers yet no better exigency appearing, they resolved upon that course at last, which had been severall times before refused. Cesare Piovine, an Italian, Count Rocas his Lievtenant, sallied therefore out of the Town, with part of the Italian Foot, and with the Horse, intending to fight the enemies Trenches, and their Forts, to clog their Artillery, and to destroy, or at least to do what mischief he could to their works, which resolution was very welcome to the souldiers, who were impatient to see themselves daily wasted, and the utmost of dangers to draw nigh, without making any triall of themselves, or taking revenge upon the enemy. But this generous action, being perhaps too lately attempted, and then too precipitously pursued, wrought not the good effect which was hoped for, nor which the happy beginning promised; wherein Piovine boldly advancing, took two of the enemies Forts, and slew almost all that were within them; who being sweltered with the extreame heat, (for it was at full noon when our men assaulted them) and being free from any apprehension, had laid aside their Arms, and were fallen asleep. But Piovine's souldiers, according to the abusive custom of our Militia, gave over pursuing the victory, and fell to pillage; which disorder became afterwards the greater, because

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the Grecians and Albanefes; having too early advanced with their Horfe, to assault the enemies Trenches; were it eicher, for that wying with the Italians for valour, they would be the first that should appear in that action; or that they were not well pleased to be commanded by *Piovine*; they, by this their unseasonable haste, made those of the Camp too soon acquainted with their coming, so as many Turks hastning thither, they easily made our men run, who were divided, and busied about plunder. But *Piovine*, together with Count *Alberto*, and *Jovan Baim Stade Fano*, carrying with some few of their men, to defend the Fort which they had taken, after a long and stout withstanding, the enemies coming still in, in great numbers, were cut in pieces. These valiant men were encouraged to make this defence, out of hopes of being soon assisted by those from within, the usual signe of succour being already given between them. But because the Turks, who upon the notice of our mens coming out, were assembled together in great numbers, and making use of this occasion, prepared to assault the Bulwark *Coslanzo*, as they did afterwards: Count *Tripoli*, who had the keeping thereof, was forced to stay Captain *Gregorio Panico*, who was appointed to go forth with the relief, that he might make use of him, and of his men, against the enemies unexpected assault; who not being able, after a long dispute, to mount the Parapets, were forced to retreat. Thus the Turks continued many daies to annoy those within, by severall waies, and to attempt the taking of the City, though but with triviall assaults. Wherefore by reason of the paucity of the defendants, our forces were much lessened, which could not well discharge all the duties which were to be done, both by day and night, in severall parts of the City. The Parapets of the Bulwarks were already very much weakened, and in some places wholly cast down, by the enemies continuall shot; so as great diligence was used, to fill up those Parapets with earth, and to finish the in-works, where they were imperfect, and to erect some Cavalliers for more security, upon the Bulwarks. But these works proceeded on but slowly; for the Pioners, wearied with watching, and other hardships, grew not able to perform their work; and because the enemies Artillery, which were levelled by day, shot also by night, and did much harm. Yet the souldiers, especially the Italians, and the Gentry of the City, continued stedfast in their resolution, to defend themselves to the very last, being a little comforted, with hopes, that the Venetian Fleet would soon come and raise the Siege. No answer was therefore given to divers Letters, which were conveyed by the Turks into the City, by Arrows, wherein the Bashaw *Mustafa* writing, sometimes to the Governours, sometimes to certain of the chief Nobility of the City, and sometimes to the people in generall, exhorted them to yield, promising, in case they would do so, to use great liberality and humanity towards them; and denouncing severe punishment, if they should doe otherwise. But finding that they could not learn any thing of the people, nor of the Governour's intention by this means, they made signe of parley to those of the Bulwark of *Coslanzo*, and having

having free liberty given them to do so, they in the name of the Bashaw *Mustafa*, said, That he wondered very much that he had received no answer to any of his Letters, as if his Forces were despised, which were notwithstanding such, as he might have ended the war much sooner by them, had he not had regard to their safeties, which they themselves seemed to slight so much. That therefore he had thought good to admonish them, that duly weighing the state of their affairs, which was now reduced to the utmost of danger, by the death of so many defendants, and for that there was no hope of relief left them; for he had had certain intelligence, that the Venetian Fleet being oppressed with much sickness, and other difficulties, could not stir out of their Havens: it might suddenly so fall out, that they might in vain intreat those fair conditions which they now refused; for he could no longer moderate the souldiers rage, who had made frequent demands, that they might be permitted to plunder the City, in reward of the labours and dangers which they had undergone: So as if they should delay surrendering the Town, the ruine thereof would be attributed rather to their foolish obstinacy, than to the cruelty of the Enemy. Having quickly resolved to give an answer to these words, for the Truce was to last but for two hours, they put an end to the parley, telling them onely, That the souldiers and Citizens were firmly resolved to defend the City with all their might, to the very last minute, and to keep loyal to their Prince; so that whatsoever the event should be, nothing could be more desired of them, but better fortune, which they hoped they should not fail of, since they would not be failing to themselves, to their honour, nor to their religion, which, together with their safety, they had undertaken to defend.

Thus having placed all their hopes in their Arms, the Governours thought good to feed the souldiers and people with hopes of Succour, which did chiefly increase in them their resolution, and courage to defend themselves. Wherefore they made it be divulged by a Renegado who was fled from the Enemies Camp to the City; that he had brought Letters from *Famagosta*, which brought certain news of the arrivall of the Christian Fleet; which that it might be the more credibly believed, the Captains which were upon the Mountains with the Islanders, were ordered to give the sign of ten fires, which every one knew was to give notice to the City, that the Christian Navy was arrived. This wrought such impression in some, as imagining that to be true which they did so much desire, they affirmed, they saw the Turks begin to remove their Artillery, and their Pavillions. But the Enemy who feared nothing lesse, continued their batteries, whereof nothing of remarkable ensued for some daies, save onely that *Jacobo di Noret*, Count of *Trepoli*, one of the chief Barons of the Kingdom, who had won the name of being vigilant and valiant, was slain in an assault which was given to the Bulwark *Coslanzo*, and his Brother *Francisco Maria* was in his place made Governour of that Bulwark.

Thus did the Turks waste those within by little and little, with frequent skirmishes: but they durst not enter upon the Bulwarks, for fear of Mines; whereof they were the more cautious, by reason of the loss which they received at the expugning of *Zigot*. More-

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over, *Musafsa* thought he had too few men to make a great Effort; for the *Janisaries* were not very forward to be the first that should fall on; wherefore he spun out the time, till such time as having more certain news of the Enemies Fleet, he might, (as he did afterwards) safely increase his Army by those that remained in the Gallies: Who as soon as they were come to the Camp, all fear of the Fleet being over, and the Cawseys being now perfected, and rendered secure, which led from the Trenches to the four Bulworks of *Podacataro*, *Cosanzo*, *Davila*, and *Tripoli*: he began to place all the Commanders and Souldiers in their proper employments, and gave an orderly assault at one and the same time with his whole Forces to all the four Bulworks, which the besieged interpreted to be done by the Enemy as their last essay, with intention of departing suddenly, if they should not succeed therein. So great an impression had the news of the arrivall of the Venetian Fleet made in them, which being held by all to be true, they encouraged one another, affirming confidently, that the Victory, the end of their labours, and their safety from all danger lay in withstanding the fury of that assault. Wherefore worthily out-doing themselves, and the opinion which was held of their Forces; they repuls'd the Turks that day every where, and slew very many of them: Whereat *Musafsa* being much incens'd, and beginning almost to despair of getting the City, as he thought he might easily have done, he ceased not continually to sollicit the Souldiers, that they would once more be brought to give another assault; sometimes reproaching them of cowardise, sometimes promising largely to reward their valour. And what is it, said he, that can infuse courage into you, if that now that you do so far exceed the Enemy, both for number and military discipline, who are but a few, and those fresh souldiers, and unexperienced in Arms, you cannot so much as abide their looks, whom you have suffered to baffle you so ignominiously, being stricken rather with a panick fear, then with any danger: If the hopes of prey provided for you, by the plunder of so opulent a City, if the desire of glory, in having by your valour won so noble a Kingdom to the Ottoman Empire, be not able to excite in you that fortitude and generosity which is alwaies wont to accompany those who fight under the prosperous Ensigns of the Ottoman Empire; you must never think hereafter of any military action: for no Commander will dare to confide the honour of the Grand, and alwaies invincible Signor, under his guidance, that grand Signor, whose perpetuall felicity ordain'd to him by heaven, you seem not to know, by believing that any Nation is able long to resist his Forces. Be sure, unless you will resist your selves, the Enemy must soon yield unto your Prowess, and to your Princes fortune, who having a just regard to gallant actions, doth largely impart rewards unto his Souldiers; so as there is no degree of honour, to which each of you may not by his own worth be brought; to whom alone all the wealth and honour of the Ottoman Empire is reserved, which are disposed of in other Dominions, more according to favour, oft-times purchast without any merit, or according to the vain name of Nobility, then by true and regular worth: whereas there is not any one of you, who may not hope for the highest honours of the *Atliits*, to which

the way lies alwayes open, and wherunto you are particularly by this occasion invited. Which words the Bashaw being willing to confirm by more expresse promises, he made it be proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that the first three who should mount the walls of the City, should be made *St. Jacchi*; and in case any Bashaw should dye, he who should first enter the City, should succeed in that dignitie. The Souldiers being thus encouraged, order was given for an assault the next morning, wherein the Turks, before sunrise, approached quietly to those very Bulworks, which they had before attempted, hoping the more unexpectedly they should fall upon the Enemy, the more easily they should get the victory; and so it fell out. For finding those who were upon the guard of the Bulwork *Cosanzo*, fast asleep, they overcame the greatest difficulties without any dispute, and getting upon the Parapets, did not afford them time to defend themselves; nay being amazed between sleep and fear, they could not get, time enough, into their inward works. The opinion of the coming of the expected succour, had wrought so much with our men, as they thought the noise which was made the preceding night by the Turks, standing to their Arms, was an assured token of the raising of the siege; so as in that respect, and because they were almost quite spent with watching and labour, they had the more securely betaken themselves to their rest: The Turks entering promiscuously in this confusion, with our men into the inner-most works, it caused such noise and terrour, as many began to run away. Count *Rocas* was lodged a little way distant from the Bulwork, who learning what had happened, more by the noise and tumult, than by any certain information, put on his Arms, wherein he spent some time; and coming to the place of Conflict, found all things in such disorder, as, though he kept his own men from running, yet could he not bring safety to what was already almost in despair, for being shot with a Musket in the head, all the rest, who through hopes in him, had with much difficulty, and upon great disadvantage, disputed the businesse as yet, quitted the defence of the walls, and ranne every one to their own houses, hoping to provide for their wives safety. So as though *Pietro Pisani*, a Counsellor, and *Bernardino Polani* came quickly thither, they in vain used their Authority and example to stay the people, who were already in disorder and much confusion; amongst which, whilst *Polani* mixt himselfe, and did by force stay some of them, he together with them was cut in pieces. But *Pisani* retreated with the rest to *Piazza*, whither people ranne from all parts to save themselves, and were not as yet pursued by the Turks; for minding onely the making of themselves Masters of the Walls, after they had driven the first from the Bulwork *Cosanzo*, they went presently to the other Bulworks, where the Enemy were valiantly fought with, but especially with the Italian foot. But in fine, finding their in-works lost, and that they were at the same time fought with, both before and behind, not being able to make any longer resistance; they quit the Walls, and betook themselves all to make good the

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Piazza, which they did for a while against the assailants, till the *Bashaw of Aleppo* came in, who entering the Town by the Bulwork *Tripoli*, halted first about the Walls, killing many that were tarried behind; though throwing down their arms, they in vain implored pardon. And having routed some armed Companies upon the Bulwork *Barbaro*, who had been got together by *Jovanni Faliero*, a noble Venetian, and one that being but a private Merchant in the City, had upon severall occasions given good testimony of his valour; and meeting with nothing to withstand him any where else, he came to the *Piazza*, where finding so many in arms, as they made stout resistance: he presently made three pieces of Artillery be brought from off the Walls, wherewith he disordered, and forcibly indamaged those squadrons which defended the *Piazza*, and forced them to forsake it, many of them withdrawing themselves into the Courts of the Palace, whither the Lieutenant, the Bishop *Contarini*, and divers others of the chiefe of the City, were first come. And those that could not get in, being scattered up & down, and not having any defence, were either slain, or taken Prisoners: but soon after, he made sign of parley to those that were within the Court, and sent to the Lieutenant a certain Cyprian Fryer, to Treat with him, who having yielded a little before, was received upon his Parole. This man having in the *Bashaw's* name, promis'd life unto them all, was immediately sent back with *Turio Costanza*, who in the Lieutenant's name, said, they would surrender. By whose order they having all forthwith laid down their Arms, it fell miserably out, that at the opening of the Gates, the Turks, who were thronging round about, entered violently into the Court, and cruelly put all those unarmed people to the sword: wherein the Lieutenant, the Bishop, and all the other eminent personages, ranne the same fortune as did the Souldiers, and the meanest men. After which, the Turks ran without any order or discipline all over the City, plundering the Houses, destroying the Churches, dishonouring Matrons, violating Virgins, and putting all to the Sword, without any distinction either of sex, age, or condition. So as the Turks slew that day above 20000 persons; and those whose lives were spared by the cruell Enemy, rather for their greater punishment, then out of any charity, were tyed in chains, drag'd over the dead carcases of their parents and friends, and carried away Prisoners. Thus that City, which for many years had lived in great pomp and splendour, and in great abundance of all things, did in one day undergo all the extreams of calamity; affording by this so horrible spectacle, a new example of variety of humane affairs. This sacking, hapned on the ninth of *September*, the fourth day after the Turkish Army was incamp'd before the City. The booty which was exported by the Enemy, and sent to *Constantinople*, to be presented to the grand Signor, and to the *Bashaws*, was very great and rich; yet did they not go away wholly triumphant, for a ship which was loaded with many of the most precious things, and with the better sort of Prisoners, was not got far from the Island, when the Ammunition falling

ling on fire, it utterly perished, with all that was within it.

Nicosia being taken and sack'd, *Mustafa* leaving 4000 Foot to guard it, march'd with his Army towards *Famagosta*; for after the taking of *Nicosia*, the Turks found no obstacle, but easily made themselves Masters of all the rest of the Island: All the other Towns being neither strong, nor having people to defend them, yielded suddenly to the enemy, as did also *Chenes*, though *Jovanni Maria Mudazzo*, who had the custody of the Castle, and Captain *Alfonzo Palazzo*, in order to the advice and exhortations of those of *Famagosta*, had some few daies before signified, that they would defend themselves as long as they could. Those of the Mountains did the like; *Scipio Carassa*, *Paolo Singirlico*, and others of the Nobility, accompanied with many Grecian Priests, and by a great crowd of country people, continuing in suddenly to *Mustafa*, and swearing fealty unto him; so as now, nothing in the whole Island but *Famagosta*, held for the Venetians. *Mustafa* therefore led his Army thitherward, and pitcht his Camp at the *Pomadano*, three miles distant from the City, making many Turks ride daily to & fro within sight of those of the Town, with the heads of divers chief persons, who were slain at *Nicosia*, upon their Launces, to terrifie the souldiers, and to make them desist from their resolution, of standing out the siege. He afterwards drew a little neerer the City, making his Trenches, with baskets full of sand, for that that soyl was not proper for such works. But those of the Town sallying out to skirmish with the enemy, drove them twice from their Trenches; and by their Artillery from the Fort, destroyed three Forts, which the Turks had with much expedition raised, at *St. Giorgio*, at *Prepole*, and at *la Torre del Ocha*, whereby the besieged got no great good, as it fell out afterwards; for in a few daies, they had consumed in this businesse onely, more then 50000 weight of powder. But because the winter came already on, which was not seasonable for the siege, which was likely to prove a long and hard businesse; and because some of the men were to be employed in re-inforcing the Gallies; by reason of the advertisement, that the Christian Fleets were joyned; *Mustafa*, being desirous not to try his fortune again, whereby he might lessen the glory which he had gotten, in taking *Nicosia*, had severall treaties with the besieged to come to an agreement. Wherefore suffering *Jovanni Sofomano*, whom he had taken prisoner, to go into the Town, under pretence of getting monies for his ransom, he made many motions, tending to surrendering the Town; that he should tell the Governours, and Commanders, That if they would not of themselves resolve to surrender the City, they might, whilst they had time to do so, write to their Masters at *Venice*, to acquaint them with the condition they were in, with how hard it was to hold out against so great an Army; and to exhort them to make use of this occasion, of accommodating their affairs with the grand Signor, and consequently of securing their Dominions, by yielding up that, which they could by no means keep. *Mustafa* made severall Letters of the same tenure be written, and ordered it so, as they might seem to be written by the Governours of *Famagosta*.

gosta, and come to the hands of the Consul at Constantinople. But the Governours and people of Famagosta were resolved, to hold it out to the last; therefore they did not onely not listen to any such discourse; but in stead of writing to the Senate for leave to surrender, they resolved to write very effectually for reliefe. And to the end, that the condition of affairs, and their own particular needs, might be the better understood, they sent Nicolo Donato to Venice, who was then with two Gallies in the Haven at Famagosta; with whom came also Jerolimo Rogozzoni, Bishop of that City, very well instructed with all things, and fit for such an employment.

But it is now time, that we return to acquaint you, with the proceedings of the Christian Fleet, which parting (as hath been said) jointly together, from the Haven at Syda, came to Sybilia, where the Commanders began to give their severall opinions, how those fortres were to be made use of, to the best advantage, some were for assailing some of the Ottoman Towns, and for the endangering them as much as possibly they could, upon their own confines, whereby they might make them forego Cyprus, and come with their Fleet, and the greatest part of their forces, to relieve themselves, where their affairs should be endangered; which if it should not so succeed, yet it would stand with their first purpose, to counterpoise the losse which they might suffer, in losing any of the Towns of Cyprus, which peradventure might be more easily recovered by that means, then by defending it now. Wherefore they affirmed this to be the safer, and more advantageous course to be taken, than to go for Cyprus, whereby in many cases, they might rather reap losse then profit; for it would not be in their power, to force the Turkish Fleet to fight, which riding in good order, being flankt on both sides by great Vessells, full of Artillery, might keep upon those shores, as in a safe haven, and either not be brought to fight, or if they should, it would be a sure token that they knew, they might do it upon great advantage. Nor could they hope for more safety, when they should be arriv'd at Cyprus; for the good they could expect by landing their men, to assist Nicollia, could not be answerable to the danger they might incur, the enemy being so strong, and Masters of the field; and to besiege the besiegers, would be almost impossible, since there was such store of vittuals in the Island. And then again, to keep long at sea, especially in that season, and amidst the Rivers of the enemies Country, was a thing which might be subject to severall accidents; and if any misfortune should befall, they could not avoid the imputation of rashness. But on the contrary, others, and chiefly General Zanne, were no lesse fervent for going for Cyprus, alledging, That that Fleet was principally design'd for the defence of Cyprus, which, by reason of their so long delay, could not be freed from danger, by any diversion. That the onely remedy, and not without very great hopes, lay, in going to finde out the enemy's Fleet, and in fighting them. For at the newes of their arrivall, the Turks would be forced to withdraw unto their Fleet, and would abandon the siege of Cyprus to defend themselves. And if they should busie themselves any longer about it, what could they desire more for certainty of victory, than to finde the enemy dispers'd up and down the Country, and the Gallies abandoned, and expos'd to secure prey? But that it was much more like, that the Turks, when they should have notice of the Venetian forces, and of their Gallies, being joynd

ed with those of the Church, and of Spain, they would depart with their Fleet from Cyprus, not to fight, but to return to Constantinople. And that therefore, meeting the Enemy upon the way, they might fight them upon great advantage. But howsoever, they might promise unto themselves as far as the uncertainty of war would permit, prosperous success from this their forwardnesse; for though they were inferior to the enemy, in the numbers of shipping and men, yet did they undoubtedly exceed them in the goodness of their vessells, and valour of their souldiers. Moreover, they being fresh and entire, now that they were sufficiently recruited with marriners and souldiers, they might upon great advantage fight the enemy, who must be wasted and wearied by much of action, wherein it was to be believed, they might have lost the flower of their men; and that certainly, if they should get no other good thereby, they should gain much honour, by approaching so near, and by so much urging the enemy's Fleet. Whereas on the contrary, to fall upon any other undertaking, would argue fear, as if they should encounter the enemy, whereby they would be much enheartned, and our men discouraged, especially those that defended Cyprus. Nor would it be wisely done, to lose what was ones own, to get what was an other's; and that so much the lesse, for that it would be the harder for a weaker Principality, such as was their Common-wealth, either to maintain what they should get, or recover what they should lose, from the Turkish Empire, amidst their own territories, so full of souldiers. These reasons being of themselves very strong, drew all to be governed by them, especially, because they were conformable to the orders and desires of the Senate; to wit, That setting aside all lesser affairs, they should minde the main business. They therefore all jointly resolved to go for Cyprus; and those who were formerly of another opinion, shewed no lesse forwardnesse to do what was resolved upon. Thus parting from Candia on the 18 of September, they steered their course towards Cyprus. The whole Fleet consisted of 181 Gallies, 124 of the Venetians, 12 man'd out by the Pope, and 45 of the King of Spain's. And to boot with these, 12 great Gallies, and 14 Ships man'd by the Venetians, together with a great number of Vessells of burthen, fraught with ammunition. There were in this Fleet about 15000 Foot, to boot with a great number of Volunteers, who were come from all parts, most of them Gentlemen, and people of good quality. And though many of the first Venetian souldiers, that were on board, were wanting; yet the first number, which was 10000 Foot, was almost made up by new men, taken from the Islands. And in the Pope's Gallies, there was above 1000, and about 4000 in those of Spanis. These were all commanded by men of great esteem and experience, so as they went boldly on to find out the enemy. Thus they sailed with favourable winds towards Cyprus, though that they might keep company, they used onely the Trinchet; and having gone above 300 miles in three daies, they came to the Castle Ruzzo, which is a Fort lying over against the Sette Cani in Caramania, and not above 150 miles from Cyprus. The night, and foul weather coming on, our men were fain to put into the Havens of Pashi and Calenitzi, and here they met with the unfortunate newes of the losse of Nicollia, whereat they were all much abash'd. Wherefore calling

a Councell the next day, wherein they would have the advice of all those that bore Lant-horns. Those, who whilst in *Scythia*, were against this enterprise, did now more expressly protest against it: Yet the rest promised, that they would not obviat, what had been formerly resolved upon, neither by their votes, nor by their counsells, provided that the whole forces should joyn therein. But *Doria* soon declared openly, that he would by all means return back; saying, That they went from *Candia*, with a resolution to relieve *Nicolasia*; which being now lost, they had not the same reason to expose themselves to the hazard of a Battle, which was by this newes become much more great and considerable: For the enemies having nothing to do on land, and being grown bold and insolent by this victory, would be all of them got aboard the Fleet, not only ready to withstand us, but to advance and meet us, who should assault them. To this, the season of the year may be added, winter being at hand; the long voyage which they were to make, before they could get into their Harbours; and the particular care he had to preserve that Fleet, which was committed to his trust by the King his Master. He was to positive herein, as neither Generall *Zane*, nor Commissary *Veniero*, who being gone aboard, seemed very desirous to make for Cyprus, could by any means perswade him, to run the same fortune with them, and to try the fortune of war, now that he was come so far along with them in company; since they could not excuse themselves of the imputation, which would be laid upon them by all men, of having consumed so many men, and spent so much time in doing nothing. But all was to no purpose. Nay, his actions witnessed this his will no lesse, then did his words; for it was observed, that *Doria* keeping his Gallies from mingling with the rest, by the way as they went, kept still to the lee-ward, to the end, that he might do (as it was suspected) whatever he listed; and that the night that he was at *Castle Rozzo*, lying more outwards towards the Sea, then the rest, though a brisk winde that blew, might have advised him, to have withdrawn to more safety, made it also be suspected, that he intended, if the winde should grow stronger, to ileave quietly away, and seem as if he had been necessitated to do so. Whereupon those others, who were not for advancing any further, taking occasion from *Doria's* words and proceedings, were for returning back. Thus *Doria's* assured resolution appearing, and the others dubiousnesse, Generall *Zane* was forced to think of returning, though much against his will, seeing that he could not obey the Senate's orders, and must leave the enemy free and at liberty, to return home in triumph, after having done such injuries, and made such prey. But assuredly, if we shall reflect upon what ensued, this advice did not deserve blame, being accommodated to the time, and an occasion of avoiding greater dangers: For in returning, the Fleet met with great storms, which suffered it not to get wholly safe into the Havens; for some of the Pope's and of Venetians Gallies being driven on land, by boisterous winds, split in sunder. And the Turks (as was understood afterwards) being informed by *Ciaieleby*, who had been sent towards *Candia*, to discover the proceedings of the Christian Fleets, that they were joyned, and ready to set forwards, &c

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Part II.

Written by Paulo Paruta.

to fight them, laying aside whatsoever might be a hinderance to them, & all unuseful people, had man'd all their Gallies with choise and fresh souldiers, & stood expecting our men, who were wearied with so long a voyage, & so many sufferings. The Christian Fleet being thus parted from *Castel Rozzo*, came joyntly together to *Scarpanto*, and entered into *Tristano* Haven, where *Doria* taking his leave, went presently with his Gallies towards *Puglia*, and from thence to *Sicily*, seeming to mind nothing, save how to get quickly home: So as *Colonna* and *Zanne's* indeavours proved all vain, who were desirous to keep those Forces united, and to fall upon some other enterprise. For *Doria* refused to fall upon any petty businesse, as not worthy for his Kings Fleet, to run any hazard in; and as for any long or difficult affair, he said, the season was not fitting. Thus the Popes and the Venetian Fleets, being weakened by *Doria's* going away, and hearing that *Piali* was parted from Cyprus with a great number of Gallies in pursuit of them, they steered their course towards *Candia*, not without danger of being set upon by the Turkish Fleet, which being advertis'd of our departure, made such speed as it arrived at the Island of *Stampalia*. *Piali* thinking (as it was believed) to find some assured prey of some scatter'd Gallies, which might be sayling upon the shore of *Candia*, void of any such feare, which he could not do, by reason of the great winds which blew from the North, to which the best Havens of *Candia*, which look towards the *Archipelagus*, are directly exposed. And this was credibly believed, as *Quirini*, who was in the City of *Candia*, with certain Gallies, came suddenly to joyn with the rest of the Fleet, at *Suda*; which not long after went for the same reason all away together in a body to *Candia*, to get into a place of more safety. But *Piali*, who peradventure intended no such thing, or were it that by reason of the times he altered his design, turning backward, penetrated further into the *Archipelagus*, intending as he seemed, to winter in the Haven *Calegiero*, which to that purpose he made be cleared of some shelves, though changing his mind again, he left some guards abroad, and went with the Fleet to *Constantinople*. The Venetian Generall indeavouring to dive into these designs of the Enemy, had sent two Gallies towards the *Archipelagus*; which fighting iniquares upon five of the Turkish Gallions upon the Island of *Paros*, either of choice, or out of necessity took severall wayes, and ranne severall fortunes. For the one of them, which was commanded by *Vicenzo Maria de Priuli*, came to a fight, and after a long and valiant contest, had her Masters Mate, and all that were in her cut in pieces, and fell into the hands of the Enemy: the other, commanded by *Angelo Suriano*, taking advantage of the time, and giving way apace, escaped the danger and got safe away. At the same time, five Gallies of *St. John of Jerusalem*, which were sayling towards *Candia*, and commanded by *Pietro Justiniano*, Prior of *Molina*, a noble Venetian, who had given sufficient testimony of his valour some years before in the siege of *Maha*, and was therefore made Generall of that religious order at Sea, being assaulted by a great

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squadron of Turkish Gallies, were all of them but hardly dealt with; two of them being taken by the Enemy, the other three, whereof the Admirall *Iustiniano* was one, got with much ado into the Haven at *Suda*. Thus so great Venetian Forces, put to Sea at so vast expence, and with such incredible speed (all humane accidents, those of War especially, being subject to various chance,) produced not the least good to their affairs; nay, it may be said, they were rather cause of prejudice to them, for they hoped to much in the good which they expected by their Fleet, against the enemy, and they were wholly so busied in the business of the *Levanti*, as they did not much mind lesser affairs, which might have brought them certain, and no small advantage.

The Turkish subjects in *Albania*, had made an insurrection in severall parts; and being desirous to shake off the yoke of slavery which they lived in under the *Ottoman* Empire, they desired assistance of men and arms from the Magistrates of the Venetian Towns, which lay upon those confines; saying, that as soon as they should see a Venetian Standard, they would readily give obedience to the Common-wealth, and would give up their Sons as hostages of their Loyalty, in which their requests, although they could not receive satisfaction according to their necessities, and desires, yet great store of the inhabitants of *Monte Negro* came in unto them, and from about *Roiano*, which is now called the Country of *Drino*, and from other parts of the *Murcovicchi*, to put themselves under the Venetians Government; so as above a hundred Towns were received into the obedience of the Common-wealth, by the Governours of *Ani-viri*, *Dulcigno*, and *Budua*; by which tilings, and by reason of the small Garrisons which were then in the neighbouring Turkish Towns, it was thought they might make good this their action, though sufficient forces had been ready to assault them. The Venetian Magistrates of that Province, ceased not notwithstanding, to do all that they were able, to nourish and increase the good affection of those people towards the Common-wealth, and to make way for better successes. Amongst these Magistrates, *Alessandro*, *Dorato*, chief Magistrate of *Ani-viri*; the Arch-bishop of the City, interposing himselfe therein by the means of some of his friends, held secret intelligence with *Mustafa*, who was Governour of *Scutari*, to deliver up that Town into our mens hands, upon promise of very great rewards; for which enterprize, whilst foot were assembling out of the neighbouring Garrisons, and whilst *Ferrara's* Horse were expected, together with two *Brigandines*, which were to come for that purpose from *Zara*, the opportunity was lost; for were it either that many Souldiers were come into the Fort of *Scutari*, from *Val-lona*, which hindred his designs, as *Mustafa* alleadged; or that under pretence of this practice, he plotted some mischief to our men, which he found afterwards by new accidents he could not compass; the business could not be effected, nor had they to great forces, as they might hope thereby to force the Town, which was allready Garrisonized with new men. The like success, and our the

the same reasons, had the business of of *Alessio*; attempted not long after, by those of *Dulcigno*. For having taken the Suburbs of the Town, with those few men which they could put together, and chased the St. *Jacco* of *Ducagini*, who was come with some Horse to relieve the Town: they could not keep long before the Castle, nor so soon effect the enterprize by a few men, but that it was impeded by the *Belgerby* of *Greece*. But our men made War upon the confines of *Zara*, rather to keep the Enemy from doing injuries, and to secure that Country which was mightily infested by the Turks, than out of any other hopes; for the enemy were mightily increased in Horse thereabouts, so as our light Horse, which kept for the most part within the City of *Zara*, went out as occasion required to hinder Pillage, and many other mischiefs which were done by the Enemy; wherein *Brandolino Brandolini*, Count di *Val-di Marino*, and *Jerollimo dal Nero Vicentino*, did behave themselves gallantly with their *Ferrara* Horse; wherewith appearing often in the field, and valiantly assaulting the Enemy, who came to do mischief, they revenged themselves upon them before they suffered them to depart. But no remarkable action hapned in these Countries: Pillage, rather then Battel, being the effect of this first years actions.

At the same time that these things hapned, whilst the Fleets were gone prepared for hostile actions, the business of the League which was agitated (as hath been said) by common consent in *Rome*, was no lesse solicitously attended; where as soon as sufficient Commissions were come from the King of Spain, and from the Signory of *Venice*, to their Agents, inabling them to conclude it, the Pope sending for them to come before him, in a grave and affectionate manner, spoke unto them thus.

As soon as there was any news heard of War resolved upon by *Selino* *Ottoman*, against the State of *Venice*, we, fearing lest this might be the beginning of much mischief to Christendom, a million of our enormous sins having provoked Gods anger against us; we I say, presently betook our selves to our prayers, and devotions, which if they might not impetrate pardon for us, might at least mitigate the punishment, wherein we have intermitted nothing, neither by our internall peculiar affection, nor by our admonitions, nor by our example, which belonged unto our office, as the true Pastor and Custos of the Flock, committed unto us by God. And now we begin to rejoyce, thinking that our humble Petitions have not been poured forth in vain, since the Catholick King, moved by the divine spirit, hath so easily and so quickly been persuaded to concur in this holy League, and to this purpose hath made choice of pious and wise men, that so important a business may the more easily be brought to a good end. And the like good disposition of minde is seen in the Venetian Senate, all whose votes have concurred to the undertaking of this War; Those Senators being resolute and constant, not so dispence with any cost or pains, wherein their own safety may be concern'd, and the common good of Christendom, which was certainly very much threatened by the Turks. Which, as it is well known to you Gentlemen, who are so wise, so ought you with all your study and endeavours, to intend this union, wherein the purchasing of perpetuall peace and quiet to your

your Princes Dominions, and immortal glory to their names, is negotiated. Mens Governments and Empires, are not secured from ruine, by the farre distance of others mens Countreies; but those ruines are retarded, that they may fall the heavier. Constantinople, Cairo, and Jerusalem, how far are they distant from the Caspian Gates, from whence these Barbarians had their first beginnings? and yet these Seates of noblest Empires, are enslaved by a forraign people, neither known nor feared by them before. And at this time, when these men, extending the bounds of their Dominions on all sides, are become neighbours to almost all Princes; now, that over-running the Sea with their shipping, and having so many Harbours in their hands, they have made the way more easie for them into the most remote Regions; Shal it be said, that Spain, or any other Province, is free, or safe from the power of such an Empire, which being wholly ordered for War, will never meet with any Boundures, but making one War arise from an other, aspires at the universall Monarchy? But say, that the Venetians were solely concern'd in the damage and danger of this war, it ought assuredly be common to all Christian Princes, since it is made by Infidels against the faithfull; nay against that Common-wealth wherein the true Christian Religion hath alwaies been profess'd and nourish'd, and which hath so often defended and maintained the dignity of this holy Sea, the head of Christianity; and which imports not a little, since the fights in defence of the Kingdom of Cyprus, the preservation whereof ought to be highly esteemed and defended by every Christian Prince, lest that Island which lyes so opportunely for the enterprise of the Holy Lands, fall into the hands of Infidels. To which enterprise, now that the Empire of Constantinople is lost, that passage will be shut up, whereby Christians have formerly past happily thither. Nor will we despair, and think that our servent, desires shall alwaies prove vain, but that we may yet see a Croisado, wherein all Christian Princes and people may so zealously concur, as a new Kingdom of Jerusalem may be founded, and the Trophy of the Cross be replaced there; so as that blessed Land be no more the receptacle of impious and wicked men. The Hermit Peter was able to persuade so many Princes, and join together so many Armies, almost of every Nation, for so glorious and pious an enterprise, in the time of Pope Urbane; who knows, but that God may be as gracious to us? And that the time is now come, we have some signs thereof, since God hath so long preserved so famous and powerfull a Common-wealth, from so many dangers; and that he hath been pleased by so many wayes, to increase the power and dignity of the House of Austria, wherein he hath now given us so powerfull and pious a Prince, that he may quell the pride of the Enemies of the Holy Faith, and parallel the worth and glory of Charlemain, whose fame is made so illustrious, by the memory of so many things done by him, for the increase of Christian religion. This so great and honourable work, and the hope of such happy success, is recommended to your diligence and trust, so as you ought not onely be diligent and effectually, in executing your Princes desires, but labour by all possible means to confirm them in this their good intention; nay sollicite and provoke them, endeavouring that as their interests cannot be separated in respect of Religion, nor State; so neither may their Forces, nor minds be divided, but united together by the firm bonds of charity, and common safety; so as they may become a terrour to those enemies,

emies, whom rather our own discords, than any worth in them, hath made to undervalue us. But let us overcome our selves, and our affections, and we shall easily overcome others. The Forces of these three Potestates being firmly united, will be such, and so many, as we may promise thereby unto our selves, noble and assured victories. Besides, we do not doubt, but that our example will incite the Emperour, and all other Christian Princes, to partake with us, not onely in our labours and expence, but also in glory. We will use our authority with them, will pray, admonish, and sollicite them, to enter into this holy League, and not to be wanting to their common safety, honour and duty, to the end, that howsoever our conscience may tell us, we have not failed in any thing, in the discharge of that place, whereunto God hath called us. And if it shall be thought, that our presence may further the business, and that our authority and example may move others, the imperfections of old age shall not detain us, from willingly exposing our life to all danger and labour, to whom nothing can be more welcome, then to die for the glory of Christ, and for the good of Christendome.

The Embassadors, and the two Cardinals, seeming to be much affected with these words, humbly thanked his Holiness, and promised to lend all their assistance, with sincerity and diligence, in so important and pious a business, and which was so much desired by their Princes, as well for their own particular interests, as for the common good of Christendome. But all these words, though much magnified by all parties, produced not answerable effects; for every one minding their own ends, as those differ'd, so differ'd they in their opinions: and the conclusion of the business was spun out to an unreasonable length, wherein many months were spent in vain. The Pope deputed five of the chiefest Cardinals of the Court, to intervene in the Treaty, in the name of the Apostolick See; Alexander, the Popes nephew, Morone, Cisi, Grassi, and Aldobrandino; with whom, when the two Spanish Cardinals, and the Spanish and Venetian Embassadors, begun to treat, they presently met with many difficulties. The Signory of Venice, because all her Territories by Sea, are first exposed to the violence of the Turks; and because the League lessened not the expence of so many Garrisons, in their so many Cities, and Maritime places, and did not secure their affairs, but that they were to be at greater expence and danger, being desirous to reap some advantage, which might be answerable to so many inconveniences, propounded things, which tended to the abating of the Turkish power, and to the destroying of their Fleet, and to the bereaving them of some of their Dominions, that for the future, they might not fear their forces. Which things, though they might also bring advantage to the King of Spain, yet was not the event so certain, nor the profit so apparent, and at hand. Therefore the King's Commissioners thinking, that, if their King's Dominions were not more safe, were yet further from danger, proposed temporising, and rather to wait for the advantage of time, then to expose any thing to fortune. They therefore endeavoured the making of a perpetuall League, and upon such terms, as tended more to defend themselves, then to offend the enemy; by which League, the Catholick King would have reaped much good; for by being, as he

lie alwaies was, at open wars with the Turks, he made use of the credit and forces of his friends, without drawing a new enemy upon himself; and by encreasing his power much at sea, and carrying the war far off, he freed his Dominions from the expence of Garrisons, and from being molested by the Turkish Fleets; which things did not onely not put him to greater expence, but (which is but seldom seen) war brought safety and advantage to him: For to boot with the lessening of his ordinary expence, in maintaining souldiers in so many maritime parts, he reaped so much profit by the immunities granted him by the Pope, which were now the greater, by the new concession of the Croysado in the *Indies*, as did largely supply the charge he was at in his Fleet; for during the League, the revenues of the Crown of *Spain* were encreased to about two thousand millions of gold. These were the Kings thoughts, which were nourished and fomented by divers of his State-Ministers, chiefly by some of those, with whom the Treaty of the League at *Rome* was entrusted; for it was generally thought, that their opinions corrupted the Kings good intentions, and was the occasion of depriving Christendom of the good, which men thought might have been expected upon this occasion, had it not been for them: And yet they themselves, that were the raisers of so many difficulties, propounded contrarieties. And as if they had thought it nothing to abase the Turks power, and to save themselves from the present danger, began to propound other things, whereby utterly to destroy the whole Mahometan Sect, and all their Empires; constantly affirming, that this League was to be declared, to be not onely against the Turks, but generally against all Infidells, intending thereby also to extirpate the Moors; and the Ottoman Empire being overcome, to proceed on to the King of *Persia*, to the end, that Christendom might be forever secured, from these barbarous Infidells. The vanity of which proposition appearing too plainly, they bounded that Article afterwards within narrower precincts, and would have *ill Sirisso*, or King of *Barbary*, and the Moors, and others depending upon the Turks, to be named as enemies to the League. But notwithstanding, when any thing of action was propounded, they appeared to be very backward; they would not consent to what the Venetians desired, to wit, That the forces of the League should be intended to continue, for at least two or three years, and that they should be such, as might be employed in the greatest enterprises of the *Levants*, for the common advantage of the Colleagues. Against which, it was objected, That Princes could make no certain resolution in things, which depended upon the variety of severall accidents; that therefore they were to inform themselves of the Turks preparations and designs; and resolve accordingly upon the Leagues forces, and what they should do every year, in *Rome*: Which being but a semblance of satisfaction, was thought, would really hinder or retard all good successe, the chiefest time for action being thereby to be spent in disputes. This intention of the King's Agents, aiming too much at their own accommodation, and at the prejudice of the common cause, appeared yet

yet more plainly in other things, more especially in their constant opinion, that the enterprises of *Barbary*, should be particularly named, in all the Articles of the War; alledging, that without this hope, the King could not get that sum of monies out of *Spain*, which was requisite, for the expence he should be at, in the League. But the Pope, who proceeded with great sincerity in all things, and aimed onely at the universall good of Christendom, sought sometimes to temper the Spaniards immoderate nesse, by reason, sometimes by seeming angry, protesting, that unless they came to a speedy resolution, he would withdraw all those acts of favour, and all those immunities, which he had granted their King, for the raising of monies to this end. Nor was he wanting, in using his endeavours with the Venetians; he exhorted them, to accommodate themselves even to such resolutions, as might not be over advantageous, encouraged them to hope well, and promised, that he would never abandon their cause, nor be wanting, in favouring and assisting them to his utmost. The Cardinals, deputed to this business, siding sometimes with the one party, sometimes with the other, that they might the more easily bring them together, laboured very much to put an end to the Treaty. *Morone*, a man of much experience, in the management of important businesses, and very well-spoken, adhering often to the proposals made by the Venetian Embassadors, as those that aimed most at the common good, endeavoured to remove the Kings Agents from their peculiar interests, or rather, to make them more capable of truth.

As it not most true, (said he) that by fighting the Turkish forces in the Levant, where they are strongest, the Catholick King will not onely secure the Spanish seas, which he shall hardly do by the African affairs, but will also procure safety to his other Dominions for many years, nay perhaps forever? For when the enemies Fleet shall be ruined, and when he shall be weakened in the very heart of his Kingdom, by the loss of places near to Constantinople, which is the seat of his Empire; who can doubt, but that Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and other Towns that lie further off, will suddenly fall, without either pain or peril, into the Kings power? As on the contrary, there is nothing more certain, then as long as the Turks shall continue strong, and keep their forces entire, it will be a very hard matter to get those Towns, and almost impossible to keep them, of which, we have late and assured experience, since in that respect, the Emperour Charles the 5th, could never get the City of Algiers, though he did very much desire it. For it was judged, it would be rashly done, to attempt any such action in the summer, when the Turkish Fleet would be at her strongest; and if it should be attempted in autumn, it would prove more troublesome, more dangerous, and no good would be got thereby, by reason of the short time, that the Militia could keep in field, and by reason of the hazards at sea, which the Fleet should be exposed unto. But if such things were feasible, certainly greater victories were not to be laid aside for them, upon such an occasion as this, nor were such hopes to be lost. But time and occasion must be waited for, to bring things to maturity; and in the mean time, the preservation of the Kingdom of Cyprus in the power of Christians; and which was the chief cause of this Treaty, should be endeavoured. Wherefore, to make any particular

cular mention of the African parts, in the present Articles of this League, would be nothing, but to wrig it from its true end, and vainly to beget jealousies in the Colleagues. And yet, I pray you, what of it, or what of caution is had, by these expresse words: It is not clear enough, that the League being made against the Turk, and against his Dominions, it is to be understood, that those places which he holds in Barbary, are therein comprehended; against which, the forces of the League shall turn themselves, when reason, and the condition of affairs, shall advise thereunto. To do it at another time would be prejudiciall, and not to be wish'd for by him, who aimed at what was good. Nor was it to be said, that the Colleagues were at liberty, to deferre the enterprise; it was rather to be believed, that they would all concur the more willingly therein; the Venetians, in requitall of the good they had received; and the Pope, seeing that now the greatest dangers of Christendom were over. The King's Agents being convinc'd by these, and by the like reasons, betook themselves to other excuses, saying, That they would write to Spain, to know the Kings pleasure more particularly therein. Hereunto were added other difficulties; for the Spaniards endeavoured, to lay some note of jealousy upon the Venetians, by obliging the Colleagues, under the penalty of Ecclesiasticall Censure, to observe what should be established by the League; every one seeing plainly, whither such a condition tended, and how unequall it was in many respects; chiefly, because the Catholick King was free from any such danger, by his own grandezza. There were often disputes likewise, touching who should command the Fleet in chief, the Spaniards craving the prerogative, not onely of naming the Captain Generall, which was easily condescended unto; but to substitute any other with the like authority, in the absence of him that should be chosen: So as diffidence encreasing by means of these things, the businessse of the League began to cool very much, which was begun with such fervour. At which, the Venetian Senate being the more troubled, because it was far from what they hoped for at first, they resolved to send another Embassadour to Rome, deputed particularly for that Treaty, to shew the Pope, how desirous they were of a conclusion, and their constant resolution to continue the war; and also to put the more reputation upon the businessse, by its being negotiated by two of the Common-wealth's Representatives; and this was the rather thought fitting, because the Embassadour *Suriano*, had given occasion of speech, that he had given way to some of those things, which were yet in dispute; nay, such as had been alwaies gainesaid by the Senate. *Jovanni Soranzo* was chosen for this Embassie, who though he joyned very wisely with *Suriano*, to have the League concluded, yet meeting with the same difficulties, he could do no good. So as to the wonder and grief of all men, the time was unprofitably spent, which should have been rather now employed, in executing things resolved upon, then in resolving upon what should be done.

At the same time, the Treaty of the League was continued at the Imperiall Court, but with no better success; for the Emperour having spent many months under severall pretences herein, being de-

desirous to keep from declaring himselfe as long as he could, said at last, that having made Truce with *Selino* for eight years, whereof onely three were as yet expired; he thought he was bound in honour to observe what he had promised. But that though he should be otherwise perswaded, he neither could nor would do it without the approbation of the Princes and Hauns-Towns of the Empire; as also without the advice of his own particular States; so as it behoved him to take time, and to expect the firm resolution of others, who perhaps might have changed their minds, by reason of what had hapned at *Nicossia*; that he might not resolve upon a thing of so great concernment, without great maturity; and so much the rather, for that he not being the principall in this League, and yet there being a place therein reserved for him, no respect of his did hinder the others from concluding, nor did his delay exclude himselfe: whereby it was evident, that *Cesar* had no mind to interest himselfe in this War. And the like intentions were seen to be in the other German Princes, and Hauns-Towns: for an other Convention being by order from *Cesar* propounded to be called in the Dyet at *Spire*, particularly to treat of things appertaining to the League; they answered, That when, his Majesty should be molested by the Turkish Forces, they would not fail to lend him all their assistance, but that they did not intend to enter into so fore a War unnecessary. Therefore to keep the Embassadour *Soranzo* any longer in that Court, was but little for their honour, and not at all for their advantage. The Senate recalled him back to Venice, and having despatch'd *Austonio Tiepolo*, Embassadour to the King of *Polonia*, for the same purpose, who was already on his way: when they received this answer from the Emperour, they quickly sent for him back, being firmly opinioned, that that Nation, though very warlike, and an Enemy to the Turks, and which had formerly opposed him all that they could, though but unfortunately, would not resolve to meddle in that war, without they were therein accompanied by *Cesars* Forces. But there were many reasons, which made *Cesar* unwilling to declare himselfe in favour of this League; For having but a little before been unfortunate in the tryall of his Arms against the Turks; and added, by the losse of *Zigbet*, to the prejudice and shame which Germany had received some few years before, by that Nation at *Buda*, and at *Essechio*, in his father *Ferdinando's* time; he had resolved not to put himselfe upon the hazard of war again, unless much provoked, or rather forc'd by necessity: and therefore having made Truce with Sultan *Selino*, he studied to continue it. He likewise knew that the Authority and Forces of the Empire were great onely in name and appearance, but that in effect the latter was but weak, and the former but of little esteem. Nor could the Emperours promise themselves any assistance from Germany, as well by the so many discords caused in her, by the diversity of Government and Religion; as also for that their greatness grew troublesome, the Imperiall dignity being become almost hereditary in the House of *Austria*; and the words and exhortations of the King of Spain

were not peradventure such, as that he could ground his hopes thereon: for that King knew, that when the Emperour, who was not able of himselfe to withstand the Turks, should be molested by them in his own Dominions, he must be forced, in respect of his alliance, and for having exhorted him to the Wars, to assist him with monies, and so to draw a burthen upon himselfe, in a time when he was at greater expence elsewhere. To these respects the doubt was added which *Jesur* had, lest the entring into so tedious and difficult a War, might be a cause of diverting him from that which he ought chiefly to aim at, to wit, at the making his eldest Son, *Rodolphus*, be chosen King of the Romans, and at the establishing the Imperial dignity in his off-spring, who had but little else to trust to; and yet, cloaking these his cogitations, as much as he might, he would not make the Venetians dispaire of having him a Confederate in this War, to the end that they might the more willingly embrace it and break off all Treaties of Agreement; whereby his Dominions might be much secured, and he might the better attend his own particular ends, whilst this so formidable enemy being busied elsewhere, suffred him to live quiet. These were the treaties touching League against *Selino*, which were this year begun with much fervency, but ended fruitlesse, as you may have seen: Now let us return unto the Fleets.

The Venetian Generall being return'd (as you have heard) to the Haven of *Canis*, partly because his Enemies were nigh at hand, and his friends far off; partly by reason of the season, which was not fit for actions at Sea, thought it a vain and rash thing to attempt the reliefe of *Famagosta*; whither it was resolved that 1600 Souldiers should be sent in three Ships, and that they should be secured by a convoy of 12 Gallies, by reason that they heard that eight Turkish Gallies remained upon the coast of *Famagosta* to hinder them: but Commissary *Venerio* prest very hard, that that City might have as many more ships, and as many more men sent thither for the better security and longer preservation thereof, where, in all the hope of preserving, or rather of recovering the Kingdom of *Cyprus* lay; which not being able, by reason of many impediments, to be effected, *Venerio* in that respect, and much more of sicknesse which befell him, tarried behind in *Candia*. Marquiss *Rangone Pallaresino*, was destin'd for the Captain of those men; but he absolutely refused to go, allcadging, that being sent to go into *Famagosta*, if *Baglione* were not there, and if he should be there, to go into *Nicosia*; he was now free from any such obligation, because the last was lost, and it was certainly known, that another Commander was in the former: the which being judged not to be a reason fitting to be given by a Souldier, especially at such a time, he incur'd some note of infamy thereby, in the opinion of the Souldiers; whereupon he being oppress'd with grief, dyed not long after, and *Luigi Marinigo* was chosen in his place, to be the Commander of that reliefe, who was then Governour of *Canis*, and who with much alacrity offer'd to undertake that service. These directions being

ing given in *Candia*, the Generall thought fit to be gone from *Candia* as soon as he could, so to ease that Island of the charge it had been at, in feeding so many men, and to free it from the fear of so powerful an Enemy, since *Piali* would not then have any occasion to winter in the Archipelagus: so leaving *Guirini* in *Candia*, with the Gallies of that Kingdom, with some Gally-slaves, and other three great Gallies, he went with the rest of the Fleet to *Corfu*, having escap'd a great storm at Sea in his voyage, and with much ado got into the Haven at *Patice*, where the Generall expected orders from the Senate, either to stay there, or else (as he had advised) to passe on into *Dalmatia*, for the better accompaniating of the Gallies, and for the furnishing of the Fleet, which did already want all things. But *Colonna*, and *Palaresino*, preparing suddenly to be gone, to which purpose they were got to the head of the Island, were forced by reason of contrary winds, to keep a whole moneth in the Haven of *Cassopo*, from whence parting at last, they met with great tempests and dangers, particularly *Colonna*, whose Admirall was set on fire by lightning, and burnt; and he being got into *Francisco Troro's* Convoy, ran almost at once two great hazards. For that Gally was likewise driven on shore, and split by the same Tempest, so as the men that were in her could hardly escape. But having escap'd that storm, *Colonna* came to *Zara*, and having acquainted the Senate with his voyage, and with his actions, he went forthwith to *Ancona*, and from thence to *Rome*, to give an account of all that had hapned, to the Pope: but *Palaresino* fell grievously sick at *Liesena*, so as he was forced to tarry long in that City. Generall *Lane* fell likewise into a fore sicknesse at the same time, occasioned by the many sufferings both of his body and mind, which made him crave leave of the Senate to lay down his charge, and to return home for cure, which was granted him, and *Sebastiano Venerio* was chosen in his place, and orders were presently sent to him into *Candia*, to go forthwith with two of those Gallies to *Corfu*, and to take upon him the Government of the Fleet, which it was already resolv'd upon, should remain all that winter in that Island, and should be there fitted with all things. But for fear lest *Venerio* might have tane his voyage towards *Cyprus*, before he should receive these orders. The Senate resolv'd to chuse a Commissary-Generall at Sea, who in *Venerio's* absence, was to have the same authority as he had; and in his presence, should notwithstanding keep in the Fleet, and have the next place under him: For howsoever, it was thought very fit, that in times of such difficulties, wherein oft-times resolutions touching the totall businesse, was to be taken upon the place; the Commonwealth might be served by the Counsel and Authority of more than one. And to this place was *Agostino Barbarigo*, chosen by generall consent, a man of singular wisdom and integrity, in whole worth the Commonwealth might safely place her hopes. Thus did the first years war end, which was begun with great, but unsuccessful hope.

He who shall first consider the vast maritime Forces, which the Commonwealth of *Venice* was able to raise in so short a time, must con-

confesse that her institutions are excellently good, concerning the Sea-Militia, and that she is no lesse accommodated therein, in times of War, than in times of Peace; but he who shall afterwards reflect upon the whole passages of this year, wherein so great a Fleet, and such preparations for War could effect nothing, either touching their own defence, or the offending of the Enemy, may learn by what hath been already said, that good orders are not alwaies able to preserve Dominions, nor to bring what they take in hand to a good end; but onely when they meet with such as do execute them well, or rather when they are attended on by fortunate Incounters, or by some happy Genius particular to that Province; without all which, we often see the wisest Counsells prove vain, the accidents and disorders to which humane actions are subject, being almost infinite, especially those of war, which are not to be foreseen, nor amended by humane wisdom, as shall more clearly appear in what succeeded afterwards, as we shall pursue to relate.

The End of the First Book.

THE



THE VVARS
OF
CYPRUS.

BOOK II.

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THE Venetians were so troubled at the losse of *Nicissia*, and at the other successes, which fell out almost in all things quite contrary to their first conceived hopes, as they knew not well what to do; for on the one side, their great desire, to recover the reputation of their forces, and to revenge the injuries which they had received, incited them to renew the war, with yet greater forces, and to try their fortune once more. But on the other side, when they considered the power of the enemy, and the uncertainty of being assisted by other Princes, who were all seen to be bent upon their present and particular interests, they were put upon other thoughts, and sometimes bethought themselves of making some fair agreement, which they knew, by advertisement from their Consul, that the Turks were not averle unto. The possession which they yet had of *Famagosta*, the same which was divulged abroad of the League, and of the Colleagues great forces, and the, as yet, uncertain end of the whole war, made them hope, they might the more easily obtain peace, and reduce their affairs into their former tranquillity. And then, the so many difficulties which they met with in concluding the League; the bad Augury conceived, by the first so unfortunate beginning of their forces, & by a certain malign influence of so many adverse chances, made them almost despair of doing any good by war. The Senators were the more perplex with these doubts, not knowing well what to resolve upon; for that they had a fair occasion offered them, of negotiating peace, with their honour, and with some hopes of good; for *Bashaw Mehemet* continued still his first desire, of bringing things to some accord, not being pleased with whatsoever should happen by war; which if it should prove cross, the associate Princes wanted not forces, whereby to trouble and endanger that Empire; and if it should prove prosperous, the honour and authority of his rivall *Mustafa*, would be too much increased. *Mehemet*, moved by these cogitations, had alwaies, in many discourses, kept an endeavour of peace on foot with the Consul, being very desirous to draw out of him, whether he had any Commission to treat thereof, or no; and at last began to promote that of himself, whereunto he found no invitation: He tooke his rise, from the complaints which were daily made at Court by such, whose friends were imprisoned, or had their goods detain'd in *Venice*, after the war was declared. He treated with the Consul, that he would be a means to his Lords and Masters, that the subjects of the *Ottoman* Empire might be set at liberty, and have their goods restored; it being against the justice and dignity of that Nation, that the Venetian Merchants should be free, and enjoy their goods, in all the Turkish Dominions, when those that lived under the wing and protection of so mighty a Prince, should be detained prisoners, and be bereft of their goods. The *Bashaw* shewing, that the grand Signeur was much scandalized hereat, did not onely give leave to the Consul to write to *Venice*, but seemed very desirous, that he

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would send away an expresse messenger, who might treat thereof more lively, and get a speedier resolution therein. And at the same time, he offered occasion of discourse, by means of *Hebraim*, wherein he manifested his intention, of inviting the Venetians, to send an expresse to *Constantinople*, who, together with this business of the Merchants, might motion some treaty of Agreement. He therefore sometimes with'd the Consul to consider, that the Kingdom of *Cyprus* was laid so waste by the war, as that no advantage could be made of it a long time: Sometimes he would exaggerate the good that was got by peace, and the great mischiefs which war would bring with it; if the Venetians would continue therein, against the *Ottoman* family; magnifying his Master's forces, and his new designs, of assaulting the Venetian Dominions with his Fleet, and with his Army, both by sea and land. And offering at the same time, to use his authority, that the ancient friendship between the Common-wealth and the *Ottomans*, might be renewed, wherein, he said, his Masters would finde at last, they might more firmly ground their hopes, of preserving their power and Empire, then in the uncertain assistance of Christian Princes, who, as experience had oft-times shewed, were no great friends to their grandezza. Thus the Consul, by permission from the *Bashaw*, nay, by his expresse order, dispatch'd away the Master of his household from *Constantinople*, and one of the *Dragomani*, with Letters, which were dictated to the Consul by the *Bashaw's* self, touching the business of the Merchants; wherein he afterwards gave a particular account of all that had past between him and the *Bashaw*, and of the *Bashaw's* minde. At the same time, *Grasfinan*, a French Gentleman, who negotiated some business in that Court for the French King, parted from *Constantinople*, who when he came to *Venice*, said, How that the *Bashaw Mehemet*, had had many discourses with him, about the business of peace; nay, that he carried Letters from the grand Signior, and from the *Bashaw*, to his King, whereby he might finde, they would be content, that the King of *France*, as a friend to both parties, should intercede in the treaty of Agreement. Which propoalls, though they were suspected by the Senators, as made rather, to make them slacken their provisions for war, and their joyning in league with other Princes, then out of any intention of laying down Arms, and coming to a good peace; yet the various accidents of the present times, prevailed much with them, to make them listen to these Treaties. For in the conclusion of the League, to boot with other things, a new difficulty arose, touching the time when it should commence; the Spaniards being desirous, that this summer might passe over, and that they might not be ryed to the observancy of the Capitulations therein contained, till the next year, nor that the League should be of force till then; and the Venetians were as fear'd, they should not have forces sufficient, to withstand so powerfull a Fleet, as they understood the Turks were ready to put forth: Wherefore they writ very earnestly to the Pope, that he would use his authority, in overcoming these difficulties; they shewed, How that by his advice, they had

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embraced this war, had sent away the Chians, by whom they might have negotiated their affairs, and neglected other accommodations, which had often been propounded to their Consul. How that, by his advice likewise, they had so long expected the Spanish Gallies, whose assistance proved afterwards more in name than in reality. And that, seeking to out-do their own strength in all things, they had shewed their readinesse to settle such a League, as they conceived should be pleasing to him, and suitable to the necessities of Christendom. But all this produced not such effects, as the time required; for the Pope, who of himself was wholly set upon the generall good, and knew, that the Venetians intents were answerable thereunto, confels'd, that their desires were just and honest; and exhorted them, not to go lesse, notwithstanding their first had successes. That war did alwaies produce various effects; but that at last, worth, and a constant resolution, and the justice of the cause, did prevail. Neither ought they to despair of help from others, nor yet of their own forces; for neither was there so much time spent, nor were the difficulties such, but that they might be overcome, and a Fleet be put together, which would not be onely able to face the enemies Fleets, but to leave it. Yet being a Pope of easie impression, and being perswaded to the contrary by those, who for their own particular interests, did adhere too much to the Spaniards, he either leaned towards those things, which might weaken the League, or retard the conclusion thereof, or else did not vigorously interpose his authority. But that which the Venetians were exceedingly troubled at, was, to see, that the Pope was busied in other affairs, and full of other troubles; for, *Cesar's* Embassadours having protested, that if the Pope would not annull the concession of new titles, which he had made unto the Duke of *Florence*, that Emperour would be forced to use all possible means, for the maintaining of his own dignity, and the honour of the Empire. The Pope being full of jealousie and fear, and yet not being willing to retract, that which he thought he had authority to do, and which he had with reason done, prepared to defend his honour, and the reputation of the Apostolick See, even with temporall Arms: He therefore was diligent in lifting new men, and provided for Amis, Monies, and all things else necessary. He made a generall Proclamation be made, which did redound to the particular prejudice of the Venetians, That no body whosever should have any foundries out of the Ecclesiastick Estate; and this with such severity, as *Pompeo da Castella*, and *Jovan Aklobrandini*, were imprisoned, for having raised some Foot for the Venetians, in the Churches territories. He proceeded likewise very sparingly, and onely in generalities, in his promising assistance for the Turkish war. So as it was daily feared, that there would be some commotion of Arms in Italy, than which nothing could at that time prove more pernicious. The Senate resolved therefore, to send Secretary *Forment* speedily away to Rome, to appease the businesse; but the Secretary's going being a while after stoppt, to shun fomenting such an opinion, the same employment was recommended to their Embassadours at Rome, who wrote to beseech the Pope, to consider well the condition of the present times, the eminent danger that threatened Christendom, and that

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the remedy to so many mischiefs, (if any were to be found) lay onely in him, which should move him to value very little, or not at all any other respect how important soever, which might disturb the hopes of securing Christendom from the power of so dreadful an enemy, to wch he had already opened the way, by declaring himself piously & zealously, to be the head & first Author of the union of the Christian Princes: Whereunto though the Pope did graciously give ear, yet pleading necessity for his excuse, he spun out time, & left the successe of War in a doubtful condition. Out of these respects, the Venetians were the better pleased with their coming, who came from *Constantinople*, and thought it fit to make use of this occasion, and think upon the businesse of Peace: for they saw their hopes grew every day smaller, and more uncertain; and that reason why for some moneths past, they had forbore doing so, was now ceased; to wit, the fear of making men jealous who for their intended agreement: For they found by experience, that their entrance into the War with so firm and constant a resolution, had wrought effects contrary to their hopes, since those who for their own respects, were glad that the Common-wealth should be busied in this war, did rather cool, then grow fervent in her defence; and that haply they would have been more forward therein, if they had seen them lesse resolved not to lay down the Arms which they had taken up against the Turks. The Senators thinking therefore, that to fall upon this treaty of Peace, though no good should come thereon, and that their intentions should either be suspected or discovered, might rather further then retard the establishing of the League; they resolved to betake themselves to the treaty of Peace. The Government and charge thereof was therefore given to *Jacobo Ragazzoni*, as one who by reason of his much traffick, was nearly concern'd in the businesse; and who by reason of his great experience, was thought fittest for this employment. He was sent to *Constantinople*, to treat concerning the restitution of the Merchants persons and goods, which had been detained on either side; to boot wherewith, he had secret instructions given him by the Council of Ten, which he was to carry to the Consull, the sum whereof was, That if any discourse of Peace should be hereafter promoted, he should not appear adverse unto it, but enter further thereto, if he should find the businesse might be undertaken, upon fair conditions, and not detraire from the dignity of the Common-wealth; to wit, either by re-having the Kingdom of Cyprus, upon payment of so great Tribute to the Turks, or by the Common-wealths keeping of *Famagosta*, or by yielding it up, upon the being possess'd of some other State in lieu thereof, elsewhere; and that the Territories of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, should be returned to the same boundures as they were before the war. Power was likewise given to *Ragazzoni* to treat of all these things, and to put on the businesse by the same way; if peradventure the Turks, who seemed desirous to have one sent over expressly to that purpose, would not treat with the Consull, because he was a prisoner, or out of any other respect. Advertisment was forthwith given to all the Princes Courts, of *Ragazzoni's* being gone for *Constantinople*, saying (as it was true) that he

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was sent to negotiate the affairs of particular Merchants, and not to exceed such Commissions as were given him.

But though there was nothing else communicated, every one presently suspected that *Ragazoni* had some other private Commission to negotiate peace; to the which they were the easier perswaded, for that it appeared by what hath been said, that the Venetians had great occasions offered them, to think of securing their affairs by this means; having unfortunately, and in vain, as it now appeared, taken up arms against so powerful an Enemy. The Pope being therefore jealous, and the fear which he had conceived of *Cesars* Forces, beginning through other new accidents, to be asswaged, began to think upon the treaty of League more cordially, to which he was also solicited by the Spaniards. He therefore resolved to send *Mark Antonio Colonna*, to *Venice*, to the end that he himselfe, who was a man of an acute wit and mature judgement, and one whom the Venetians thought very well of, might, by word of mouth, by favour, &c. by granting some things that were formerly denied, hinder the treaty of Peace, and make them assent unto a sudden conclusion of the League, *Colonna* being come to *Venice*, and being severall times admitted into the Colledge, did in the Prince his presence, earnestly and efficaciously perswade to the embracing of the League; labouring to shew, that he was more fervent in this business, that he was not able to bound his affections, nor would he conceal what his reason dictated unto him, because he knew his perswasions tended to a business which would prove very advantageous for the Common-wealth; and that therefore his being able at one and the same time to serve his naturall Prince, the Pope, the King of Spain, to whom he was obliged by service, and also their Lordships, to whom he found himselfe no lesse obliged, for the assistance they seemed to have of him, then to the rest, made him more fervent in this business.

I am not come, Gentlemen, (said he) to perswade you to embrace war, or to incite you to pursue it; because thus your generous resolution is sufficiently known by many of your actions; by your dispatching away the Chiaus, who was sent to set the business of Agreement on foot, by your mustering so many Forces so speedily, by giving so expresse Commission to your Generall to Garrisonize Cyprus, and to expose himselfe to all hazard, rather than to suffer the Enemies Fleet to return safe home; which things, I my self can witness to others: That which I have to do, is, only to shew you how good and firm the foundations are, upon which you may ground your hopes, and how opportune the means are, which God hath put into your hands, to effect that which you have proposed unto your selves, in manfully maintaining war against this barbarous Infidel; by which you are assured to have a glorious victory. The intention of the Pope, and of the Catholick King, is assuredly such, as I may ascertain you, you shall never find your selves deceived in anything that you can promise unto your selves, in this holy and generall service, from them or from their forces; and if you will not credit me, you must believe experience and reason. Hath not the Pope readily granted his assistance, man'd Gallies with his own subjects, made himselfe the Protector of this League? Hath he not been so favourable thereunto, as freely to grant those

those graces towards the establishment of this holy union, which he hath alwayes denied to the Catholick King, for raising of Monies to defend Spain against the Insurrection of the Moores; and of Flanders, against the Rebels both to their God and Prince? And the King of Spain, how willingly did he listen to the proposall of this League? how readily did he give Commission to his Agents to conclude it? how affectionately, without being bound thereunto, hath he granted his Gallies for the defence of your Dominions? what confidence hath he shew'd in you, by trusting them in your Havens? And now we have certain intelligence, that great preparation of Shipping, and of Souldiers, is making in Spain, to send away Don John with all speed into Italy. These things being justly weighed, leave not any the least place for doubt, of the intentions of this so pious, and so truly Catholick King. If therefore it shall be thought, that these Princes have been hard in being brought to any of these things, it must be assuredly believed that it hath happened, partly out of a desire of establishing this union more firmly, and of taking away all impediments at first, that might obstruct it; partly because the very nature of the things propounded, hath in it somewhat of difficulty, or peradventure of impossibility; as that the King should set forth a hundred Gallies this year, when he hath not at the present above fourscore. Yet the Pope and the King labour to overcome this difficulty: Orders are already sent to the Vice-Roy of Naples, for the manning out of 20 Gallies with Letters of Mart in that Kingdom; and those of Savoy, Florence, and of Malta, are indeavoured to be had: nay the Pope hath promised, that the number of 100 shall be made up, and that there shall be Forces enough this year, not only to oppose the proceedings of the Turkish Fleet, but as I hope, to fight them, and to vanquish them. But for Gods sake, what jealousy, what danger, can rise from the League, which will not be found to be much greater, and more certain in making peace, if it were to be had, now that the Enemies forces are intire, and stronger than ever? You are very wise, and your Councils use to be the rule and example of good Government to other States. You may very well know, that the Turks can obtain no greater victory, nor that anything can prove more prejudiciall to us Christians, than that the occasion of so great a union of Christian Princes, vanishing; after so many Treaties, nay after the firm belief of all men, that the League is already established and concluded; the Turks may for certain find, that the Christian Princes shall not be able at any time to raise forces sufficient to prejudice the Ottoman Empire: And that, as not any one of them is able of himselfe to oppose their power, so the discords between themselves, the misfortune of our times, or our sins, secures them from the danger of their joining together, whereby they will grow to disperse the name of Christian the more, and will be the more encouraged to assault them every wheres: but I neither will, nor ought I fear, that this malady should still continue; I rather hope, that when you shall have duly considered these respects, you will readily pitch upon embracing the League which is offered you; and that I shall have the honour and the consolation of having been the instrument of confirming it; and (if it shall so please God) perhaps of producing some good effect thereby.

Colonna his authority and eloquence, wrought much upon the Senators; but the mighty concernment of the business, the experience of the last years passages, the condition of the proposalls being

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but in general, and uncertain, and the hopes, that treaty of peace might produce some good effects, distracted the Senators, and made them dubious in their opinions. They therefore gave him general answers, remembering their actions, which might make the world believe, they were well inclined to the League; and objecting something to what he had said, but neither narrowed nor enlarged the Treaty, standing resolute upon the point, that the business might either be absolutely concluded, or absolutely laid aside. But *Colonna* having received new orders from *Rome*, whereby greater satisfaction was given, in point of the forces, and of the time of using them, and of recruiting the Gallies, as the Venetians had desired, for this first year; and particularly, that the Pope did promise to grant three Tenths yearly to the Common-wealth, for the space of five years, out of the goods of the Clergy of the Common-wealth. The whole business was discuss'd in the Senate, to the end, that knowing on the one side, what was in agitation at *Constantinople*, and the directions which they had given to their Consul, and to *Ragazzoni*, touching the treaty of peace; and on the other side, the Pope's conditions, and what was propounded by the Catholick King, for the conclusion of the League, they might more maturely resolve either upon war or peace, and do, what might be thought, would bring most advantage and safety to the Common-wealth: wherein the Senators differed in their opinions. So as continuing still in the same ambiguity, they did not resolve upon any thing. But such answers were given to *Colonna's* propofalls, as differing more in words, then in sense, they stood still upon generalities, without declaring themselves any waies absolutely, touching the concluding, or laying aside of this Treaty. Whereupon, whilst the business was one day agitated in the Senate, *Paolo Tiepolo*, a Senator of mature judgment, and long vers'd in the government of the Common-wealth, though he was not then of the order of the *Savii*, whose proper and peculiar charge this useth to be, stood up, and said

If what is now before us, the glorious same were onely concern'd, which our Common-wealth hath purchased with all men, by her generous resolution taken the last year, of accepting the war, intimated unto us by the Turks, and of defending our State against their insolency, I might peradventure be silent, and look for what the end of these our irresolute counsells might at last prove; though certainly it is no small loss which befalls a Prince, when his reputation is lost, wherewith States are no lesse governed, then by forces. But since I know, that this our unseasonable delay leads us to ruine, whilst vainly relying upon far distant, and fallacious treaties of peace, we will bereave our selves of the assistance of other mens forces, and of our selves onely, withstand the violence of such insolent enemies, I must oppose what is propounded, and speak my contrary opinion. For I think it very pernicious, to resolve upon nothing, and to spend our time onely in speaking, for by so doing, we shall at last be deprived of those helps, which we have for some months past sought, towards the conclusion of this League, though the Colleagues were not unwilling to assist us. Most illustrious Senators, I find, that our mindes are rather altered by this deliberation, then

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the condition of affairs. Did not we know, that we had to deal with a powerful enemy, when with such zeal and generall consent, we resolved upon this war? When we refused all treaty of agreement, wherunto we were invited, by the coming of the Christians; and readily entertained the confederacy, which the Pope offered us; were we not acquainted with the intricacy of war, and with the usuall difficulties met withall, in the collagating of Princes? For since we saw no trust could secure us, from these barbarous Infidells, whose power and ambition doth daily increase; and that the delaying of war did not free us from danger, but did rather encrease it; for we hoped, that the honesty and justice of our cause, might at last, after severall, both good and bad adventures, prevail, and make us victorious; since we intended, by our dexterity and patience, to purchase the good-will of other Princes, and making them sensible, that their interests were concerned in ours, draw them to a real and firm confederacy, that the common cause might be agitated by joyned forces and advice. It was these reasons, and not chance, that moved our Senate to take up Arms; and to undergo the hazard and expence of war, and to treat upon the speedy conclusion of the League: And shall we now suffer the first unfortunate success in war, the first difficulties arising amongst the confederates, as if all our generousnesse and constancy were past, not onely cool our former fervour, and make us forgoe our former resolves, but so to bereave us of all counsell, as involved in ambiguity, we shall not know what to pitch upon, which whilst we do not, having neither peace nor league, suffer all conditions to be uncertain, every thing suspected, and all businesses to go backward: When if we shall duly consider things, as they are in themselves, unwrapped in our own affections, we shall find it evident what we are to do. For all respects concur in prosecuting, and in stipulating a speedy confederacy: Advantage and Honour advise unto us, our security is great, and great the glory which we may hope for thereby. And if there shall ever be a time to think upon this union, certainly the occasion is now offered us, not onely out of necessity, to oppose the formidable greatness of the Turks; but by reason of the opportunity we have now to do it. Certainly this is the time; since we finde all Princes, not onely willing, but in a posture of power to undertake it. Who finds not an ardent zeal in the Pope, of exalting Christianity? Do not all the King of Spain's actions shew, how great a lover he is of peace; how well content he is with what is his own, and onely desirous to abate the Turkish power, that they may not molest his Dominions, nor disquiet his peace? It cannot be denyed, but that the Emperour is sufficiently desirous of glory, and of recovering the Kingdom of Hungary, whereof he is for the greatest part at this time deprived, by these common enemies; which he hath wish'd, by his late taking up Arms against Soliman: And if these do not readily satisfy our desires, we may be sure, the hindrance proceeds from necessity, and not from want of good-will. The Pope's Exchequer is exhausted, he hath been forced to impose taxes upon the Ecclesiasticks, to provide money for this war; not by the contribution of Monks in our State, wherewith he must proceed more reverently, in granting Penits, and other aids. The King of Spain is so oppress'd, by the burthen of governing so many Dominions, as he must manage his affairs by the hands of severall Ministers, and by the advice of many, which sometimes removes maturity; and is the reason, why his intentions are not so easily made known, nor probable nor conformable effects so soon. The Em-

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perour hath not forces enough of himself, and cannot dispose of the German forces, without the consent of the Princes and Hans-towns; therefore he is slow in resolving upon what, both his words and reason shews, he is willing to do. But certainly, the death of the Transilvanian is luckily hapned at this time, which will necessitate Germany to take up Arms, and to embrace this occasion, unless she will suffer that Province to fall under the obedience of the Turks, and thereby increase her dangers. Those hinderances then, which arise from usuall difficulties, which are inseparable from such businesses, nay, from all weighty affairs, ought not to beget difficulties or jealousies in us, nor alienate us from the friendship of those Princes, in whom we finde no ill towards us, but rather many signes of good-will, towards the welfare of our Common-wealth. Whereunto if we were to be perswaded by no other reason nor arguments, we cannot certainly fail, if we measure the mindes of those Princes, but by their own interests; wherein, how much the neerer they are concerned in this war, and in our behalf, we ought to rest the more assured, that they will not abandon us, and with us, themselves. Does not the Pope see, that the ruine of this Common-wealth, would draw along with it the ruine of all Christendom, and that neither his Court nor he should be secure in Rome? Does not the Catholick King know, that if Candia, Corsu, and the other Islands be lost, Sicily and Calabria will be the frontiers against the Turks? that if the enemy grow stronger by the ruine of others, his danger will be the greater? and that by how much the forces of this Common-wealth are weakened, the withstanding the Turkish Fleets will light the more heavy upon him. The Emperour, can never be sure to have his Dominions safe, whilst he hath so potent a neighbour; and must know, that how much the later other Princes are in lending us their assistance, and how much the lesse they shall be, we shall be the sooner perswaded to accept of any agreement, which will be nothing else, but to afford time and convenience to this Common enemy, to turn his Arms against Hungary, and against the Empire. Wherefore shall we then admit of doubts, without reason, and let slip those things which are in our own power, to rely upon what depends upon the will of others, and chiefly of those, whom we have great reason to suspect, by reason of their accustomed cunning, and of their late deceits? The conclusion of the League is certain, the event of the treaty of peace uncertain. And it may well happen, that the prolonging of our determination, may cause the League prove doubtful, and our peace be never the surer, by which, in my opinion, we shall get but little advantage; since it bears with it, onely the bare name, not the quiet nor security of true peace; nor do I think, that any real peace is at this time to be had, but rather, that these things are proposed to us by Mehmet, to cheat us, not out of any favour to us; to the end, that we being lulld asleep by the pleasing name of peace, as by the Syrens singing, may be lesse carefull in providing for war; and that through these our vain hopes, the confederacy of Christian Princes be dissolved, which the Turks do not a little apprehend; and without which confederacy, they promise unto themselves for certain, the possession of our Dominions. The Turks are by nature haughty, and now grown more insolent by their prosperous success in Cyprus; they are already perfidious; always our enemies: What reason have we to believe, that they desire peace now, and are really in the propounding thereof? And grant, that the first Bashaw may perchance desire peace, to lessen Mustafa's greatness; it is most assured

assured, he dares not mention it to the grand Signior, but upon severe and unjust terms for us, lest he thereby ruine himself. But say, that these things which reason, not fear, dictates unto me, prove false; ought this Senate to part from its antient and laudable custom, of valuing their word, of proceeding still with all sincerity, of not doing any thing, which, in the sight of the world may appear to be not altogether so honest, just, or reasonable? Is it not known to all men (and say it were not, are not we conscious to our selves) how far this treaty of confederacy is proceeded in? Now that all our desires are yielded unto, is not our word engaged? The State of affairs is still the same, we ought not to be changed, what more of ambiguity remains? What excuse can we make for this delay? What reason for abandoning, what hath already been agreed on? Really, that which troubles me most, is, to think, that as the repute of constancy and sincerity in this Senate, hath prevailed much with these Princes, to make them the more readily confederate with us; so in the future, this inconstancy and double dealing of ours, may so alienate us from the friendship of all men, as either out of anger, or mistrust, they will suffer us to run upon our ruine. If peace be treacherous, the League is sincere; the success of the latter most assured, the event of the former most uncertain; the one may bring us long and true security, the other frees us from danger onely in appearance, and but for a while. Let this Senate then now resolve, not to busy it self any longer in such doubts, and not to listen to any thing which shall be proposed, unless to what may terminate, conclude, and put a small happy end to this business.

Tiepolo was attentively listned unto; and many signes were seen of adhering to his opinion. But Andrea Badero, a man who bore great sway in the Senate, and who was one of the Savii Majiori, which party did wholly promote delay, spake thus to the contrary.

The repute of wisdom (said he) which this Senate hath purchased throughout the world, is now so looked upon by all men, as, though so many and so important respects did not concur, a just desire of preserving this honourable reputation, were able to make the result of this business now in hand, weighty, difficult, and dubious. A League, and a Peace, with powerful Princes, are both in hand, at the same time, and to the same end, but by very differing, nay, by full contrary means: The one and the other of them, may make us hope for a speedy conclusion, but neither of them, with such honour and security, as may freely invite us to accept thereof, and may ease us of all trouble. So as if onely one of these were to be difficult, it would not be easie what to resolve; but both of them joyned together, affords almost inexpressible difficulties. Therefore you ought not to wonder (Gentlemen) if in a business of such importance and dubiousness, men be not so clear nor resolute in their proposalls, and if they seek to be more enlightened by time, and by proceedings, so as they may be safely led out of so many difficulties; and the rather, for that we need not fear, that the Spaniards will slacken their provisions, for any such delay of ours; but will be the more diligent in hastening them, to encourage us, to repose the more confidence in the forces of the League; and for that, though they did verily believe, we would lay down Arms, they were to keep in Arms, since the Turkish forces prepared against us, were likely to fall upon them. And truly, I see not why, having begun a treaty of Agreement, we should, without expecting the first ar-

sway, so oblige our selves with others, as it may not be lawfull for us to do, what may be thereby offered, towards the securing of our affairs, since we may be loofe by their means, not by any fault of ours, and peradventure upon better terms. What certainly have we of the event of this war? what hope? what likelihoods, that we should so suddenly (not to say, so precipitously) determine to continue it long, as if we were sure of glory and triumph? Past experience may teach us, what good we may expect from war against the Turks; this Common-wealth hath alwaies been unfortunate, in taking up Arms against them, and hath been forced, not without losse of some Territories, to yield unto their greater forces, and to a certain Genius of their Empire. But if we have forgot things done long ago, how can we forget the passages of the last year, which are yet fresh in our memorie? And if we shall consider, in how short a time we lost so many men, and so much money, not onely getting not any thing thereby, but losing a noble City, nay, we may say, a flourishing Kingdom, how can it be thought a wise advice, which puts us upon the necessity of continuing that war? The mischiefs we may receive thereby, are great and certain; our hopes of repairing our selves, small and uncertain. For, happen what will, war is alwaies accompanied by many miseries; but is more grievous to this our City, then to any other, since it does in a manner block up the sea, by which it receives its wealth, and abundance of all things; and doth deprive her of commerce, whereby Arts do therein flourish, which are one of her chiefest ornaments. For my part, I cannot fancy unto my self those high conceits, as some do, who know not how to measure the present condition of affairs, the fortune which attends the enemy, and our weaknesse and misfortune; who do not consider the strength of those forces, which do depend onely upon one, and the inconstancy of Leagues, by which never any great enterprize was achieved, or which could continue long, by reason of the differing, nay, contrary designs of Princes, by reason of the jealousie of States, and the suspicion which one Prince hath alwaies of another. He who promiseth unto himself a better end of this League; when was that of late years made against Soliman, and who does not believe, that what befell us at Pevela, and the difficulties we met with at Castel nuovo, be to be renued, to our prejudice and ignominy, thinks that the world will alter, and delights to cheat himself with vain hopes. But some may be persuaded to be for this League, not moved thereunto by any hopes, but drawn out of a certain consideration, that this treaty is already far advanced, so as to withdraw from it now, may taste of inconstancy, and appear a fault; so that thereby we shall dabar our selves ever hereafter, of the aid of other Princes: To which purpose, I would I could forget, how other Princes have carried themselves towards us, and how little they have valued our faith or constancy. How can we forget the confederacy, broken by Lewis the 12th, King of France, at the same time that he constantly affirmed, and solemnly swore, he would never foregoe our friendship; whereof having once made use to his own advantage, he did not onely abandon us, who, not to forsake him, had with great expence and danger, taken up arms against the Emperour Maximilian, but did mainly conspire against us, that our ruine might be the reward of our fidelity. I will say nothing of what followed afterwards, the assistance in appearance, but real oppression, plotted against us by Ferdinando King of Spain; the so various counsells of Pope Julio the 2d. and Pope Leo the 10th. sometimes for our good, sometimes for our ruine. So as it behoved us

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in a short time, to change both friends and enemies, because we found all confederacy fraudulent. And at last, our fore-fathers drew our Common-wealth out of so many calamities, and restored her to her pristine greatness, rather by knowing how to accommodate themselves to the times, and by wisdom, then by war. These examples would not, peradventure, be to be praised, if it were not usuall with Princes, to proceed with such ambiguity, nay often, with such contrariety in their counsells, as they must necessarily tread in the same steps, who will preserve their Dominions: So as not being sure, that any respects shall be born to them, they must be pardoned, if they bear but little respect to others. And it is an assured truth, that those respects are not to be had, where the common good is treated of, the preservation of a Common-wealth, or a State, as in private actions. We therefore ought to regard the treaty of League onely so far, as we thinke it may make for our good, holding it for a certain truth, that those will deal just so with us, who now seek to joyne with us in League; whose proceedings, if we will observe, shall we not clearly see, that their own private interest is the rule whereby they walk, in all their designs and actions? And I wish to God, that this were well understood; they would then know, that their welfare is almost inseparably annex'd to ours. For, whatsoever we shall now do, we may both for the present, and for the future, promise just so much to our selves from the assistance of others, as will stand with their own advantage, and according as times shall fall out. But grant, that so great an esteem should be put upon that, have we, I beseech you, after the engagement of our word, after the agreement unto Articles, been faulty in our promises? Have we treated upon advantageous or abusive terms? Much contestation and difficulties have still been found in this businesse; we have no sooner yielded to many things, but that those obstacles being taken out of the way, others have been raised of greater importance, and more difficult. Which way of proceeding is such, as ought rather make as forego such a confederacy, though stipulated, then invite us to observe it now, when we are at liberty, and that the present accidents advise us to prolong the time, without further engaging our selves. Is it not too apparent, that we can make no use of this League, save in show, and by the vain report of great warlike preparations, but never in reality. The hundred Gallies, which the Spaniards were bound by Articles to Man, would now be reduced to fourscore, and the time of their joyning with ours, is spoken of uncertainly; sometimes, the whole month of May is taken for it, sometimes no determin'd time. The delay of these assistances, are better expressed by effects, then by words. The last years orders to Doria, are at first not well understood, afterwards worse observed. The Gallies destin'd for our present aid, are to go to Barcellona, to bring away the Emperours sons, the Bohemian Princes; and we shall hope to find them at Otranto, according to promise, in fitting time for our occasions. A greater doubt then this doth yet occur to me, when I call to minde, the Kings Agents pressing so earnestly, that the businesse of Algiers should be specified in the confederacy, and then meet with these difficulties. For we must with reason doubt, that the Spanish forces will go this first year, for the Rivers of Affrica, for their own particular service, pleading for their excuse, that the League hath not sufficient forces, to send the Fleet into the Levant, against the Enemy; and making use of this occasion to minde that enterprize, whilst they may be free from fear of the Turkish Fleet, by the Turks being

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busied in the action of Cyprus, and by the counterpoise of our forces at sea. These then will be the aids, these the forces, these the hopes, wherewith we are to continue the war, maintain Famagosta, defend Candia, and beat the enemy from the confines of Friuli and Dalmatia, against which, we bear great store of men are raised. But will our neighbours forces defend us, or the strong opposite country secure us? The Archduke Charles, who was so forward in the beginning to defend those passes, does not he now answer our desires, by saying, He can resolve upon nothing, without the advice of his brother the Emperour? And the Emperour, seeming not to believe those rumours, which were first raised by his Agents, doth now so neglect his answer, as I fear, when need shall require, he will neglect his provisions. But it is alleaged, that peace will bring with it but a short and seeming security, since the Turks may violate it the more easily, when they shall have opportunity or a desire to do so, when they shall see, they may make peace when they please, and are sure, their injuries shall not be revenged. I deny it not: But I say, the condition of these things is such, as it is vain to persuade our selves, that we, by any thing we can do, can alter their usuall and naturall ficklenesse. Therefore what is said of the peace which we are now in hand with, with the Turks, may be said, of whatsoever other agreement, made with any other Princes, which is easily broken by severall accidents; nor will there be pretences of injuries wanting, when men are pleased to take them, and they are easily made to do so, by the hope of aggrandizing and accommodating themselves. Wherefore we see, friendship lasts but a while amongst Princes, and the lesser while, by how much they are the more powerfull, and neerer neighbours. But howsoever, you will say, we must not forbear to use Treaties of other then Arms; nor must we refuse a short quiet, because we cannot enjoy a perpetual tranquillity. There is at least that much good in peace, as it secures us from present labours and dangers, and this till in Leagues, as they, upon uncertain hopes, expose us to certain expence, and to great dangers; so as we hasten those evils by these means, which we seek to shun. It hath therefore been the constant purpose of this Senate, for these many years, to do any thing, whereby the friendship of the Turks might be preserved; and yet there was not any one that did doubt, when war was resolved on, that such a confederacy as this which is now proposed, might be had, but all confess'd, that little good was to be hoped for by it, because it was known, that it was dangerous for us to suffer the Turks greatness to encrease so much; this remedy of a League was not thought very fitting for it, and not to be used, but upon great necessity, as was now done, when we despaired to allay Selino's fury, in the height of his anger. What is now to be done, when we see the State of affairs somewhat altered, but to temporise with the enemy, whom we cannot suppress, to make him jealous by this treaty of League, to sweeten him with a treaty of peace, to keep severall waies open, and to follow that, which time and affairs will shew us, shall be most for our good, and as God shall inspire us to do, for the preservation of our Common-wealth.

These words wrought variously upon the Senate, so as they remained still in the same irresolution, but most of them being enclined towards the League; whereunto they were much perswaded, for fear of some scandalls that might be imputed to them, of inconstancy,

flancy, for having so soon altered their minds, as if they were married by the first misfortunes of war. The question was put, and carried by many voices, of sending to their Embassadours which were at Rome, to stipulate the League, which was the sense of the answer which they gave to Colonna, who presently after returned to Rome; where the Pope hearing of this determination, made the Catholick King's Embassadour, and those of the Common-wealth, be publicly brought into the Consistory, and making what they had agreed upon be read by the Datory, he, laying his hand upon his breast, was the first that swore to observe those capitulations: wherein he was followed by Paceco, in the name of the Catholick King, Gravella being gone for Naples; and then the King's Embassadour, and those of the Common-wealth, took the same oath upon a Masse-book; and the next day, though the Venetian Embassadours were against it, saying, That in point of honour, any such declaration should be deferred, till that Cesar might have notice thereof, and his pleasure therein might be more expressly known; the Pope, a solemn Masse being onely said, and a Procession made in St. Peter's Church, would have the League published, whereof these were the particular Articles. That a perpetuall League should be made between Pius the 11th. (who engaged himself for the Apostolick See, and for his Successors, by the consent of the College of Cardinals) and Philip the Catholick King, and the Duke and Senate of Venice; to abate the power of the Turks, who had lately by force of Arms assaulted the Kingdom of Cyprus, which lay very fitting, for the enterprise of the holy Land. That the Colleagues forces should consist of 200 Gallies, 100 Ships, 50000 Foot, Italians, Spanish, and Dutch; 4500 Horse, with a suitable train of Artillery and Ammunition; which were to be employed, as well in defence of the Associate Princes Dominions, as in opposing the Enemy, particularly in the enterprises of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. That these forces should meet at Otranto in May next, or in the beginning of Aprill, so to passe into the Levant, and proceed against the Enemy as time should advise, and as the Commanders should think fit. That notwithstanding, these things might be altered, the provisions of war be increased or diminished, according as the need or conditions of the enterprises should require, which they were intended for, which was every year to be consulted upon, and determined at Rome, in the Autum. And that if it should be resolved, not to undertake any common enterprise that year, it might then be lawfull for any of the Associates, to minde their own particular affairs; chiefly the King of Spain, those of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; in which case, if no great Turkish Fleet should be abroad, the Venetians should be obliged to furnish the King with 50 Gallies, and the King was bound to do as much for the Venetians, if they should attempt any thing against the common enemy within their Gulph: Provided alwaies, that those who would have any such assistance, should first have greater forces in readinesse. That all the confederates should be bound reciprocally, to defend each others Dominions, which should be assaulted by the Turks, and particularly all places belonging to the Church; in which case, they were to give over all enterprises, that were begun against the Turks. That the King was to contribute the full half of all the expences of the war, and that the other half being divided into three parts,

parts, the Venetians should defray two parts, and the Pope the third, who not being able to contribute so much of himself, the other confederates should make good what was wanting of that Proportion, of three parts whereof, the King was to pay two, and the Venetians one; who moreover should be particularly obliged to give the Pope 12 Gallies, furnished with tackling and Artillery, which the Pope was to man for the service of the League; but that generally every confederate should be bound to contribute such things for the common cause, as he should most abound in, and the others want, which should be regulated in the accounts according to the aforesaid proportion; That the exportation of Corne should alwaies be open in all places, with a limited tax for the carrying out; and that they should be extracted from such place or places, as lay fittest for the occasion; their needs being first satisfied who were to give way thereunto, that in all consultations, and deliberations, the Commanders in chief of the three Confederates were to intervene, and what the most should determine, should be firmly concluded: but the execution of what should be resolved on, should remain in him who should be declared Captain-Generall of the League, which should be Don John of Austria, and in his absence, Mark Antonio Colonna, with the like Authority, though he should at the same time retain the name and quality of Generall of the Church. That it might be lawfull for Maximilian of Austria, the Emperour Eleſt, for the King of France, and for the King of Portugal, to joyn in this Confederacy; and that all the Collegues should use their uttermost endeavours to persuade them, and the other Christian Princes to do so. And in case of addition of any other Confederates, it was to be understood, that what proportion of expence they should be at, should go to the augmenting of the Forces of the League. No particular mention was made of dividing such places as should be gotten; but it was referred to what was exprest and declared in the Articles of the League, in the year 37, if any difference should fall out between the Confederates, the Pope should be the Arbitrator and Judge: so as that should be no breach of the Confederacy, nor any impediment in the execution of what was established therein.

These Articles being sworn unto, as hath been said, and afterwards signed and sealed by the Embassadors, were ratified by the same Princes within the appointed four moneths. But because the Confederates were not bound to the obervancy of these things till the next year: there was another writing stipulated apart, wherein these things were particularly contained, which were to be done this year; to wit, That 80 Gallies, and 20 Ships, ought to be at Ottranto by the moneth of May, to joyn with the Venetian Fleet: Those of the Pope, Savoy, nor Malta, not being therein comprehended: And because a difficulty arose, touching the satisfaction to be given to the Venetians, towards the expences pretended unto for having more Gallies, than by the covenant they were bound unto: It was declared in the same writing, that the Pope was to be judge thereof, who was notwithstanding to determine particularly, that their debt being known, it should be made good out of what they ought, or should owe to the King of Spain for Corn, either formerly had, or to be had hereafter, the price whereof should be rated by the Pope; who took upon him likewise, though it was not expressly mentioned in the writing, to determine what satisfaction should be given to the Venetians,

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for their pretences of charge for great numbers of Foot which they maintained in his Sea-Ports, more then the Garrisons of those places; to make use of them either in the Fleet, or otherwise against the enemy as occasion shall serve.

At the same time that these Treaties of League and Peace were discussing in Venice, wherein there was some difference in opinions; they all agreed, and were very diligent in providing for war: It was resolved, that 25 Gallies should be set out, which should have for their Governours Venetian Gentlemen, not onely of the Venetian Nobles, but many of those of the Cities of *Terra Firma*, to the end that in the common cause, all might be partakers as well of honours, as of dangers and troubles, and because their greatest want was of men, by reason of the great mortality, and the apprehension which was had thereof; safe conduct was granted to the Bandits of the Common-wealth, to come and serve in the Gallies, either as Mariners, or Souldiers; and all Gentlemen of the Country, who would come willingly to that service, were exempted from any personall penalties for four years. 2000 to serve in Gallies, were likewise ordered from the Cities of the *Terra Firma*; though this tax was formerly wont to be laid onely upon the Country. Souldiers were also brought from forrain parts, to recruit the Sea Garrisons, and for the service of the Fleet. And that nothing might be wanting to try the fortune of war again, a new Generall being already chosen, as hath been said, they would also change the two Commissaries. *Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph, was chosen in the place of *Elſi*, and *Treno*, Captain of the Ships in *Canale's* place. But he dying at the same time, *Canale* continued in his place, & *Quirini* was succeeded in his place of Captain of the Gulph, by *Treno*, who was then in the Fleet. *Jovanni Vendramini*, & *Jov. Contarini*, were afterwards made purveyors, who were to have particular care of the publick Monies, and of all that was to be delivered out in the Fleet. This mean while, Commissary *Barbato*, having made haste from Venice, was come to *Corſu*, where the Fleet then was, as hath been said; to whom according to the order of the Senate, the Government was assigned over by Generall *Zanne*. But he held it but for a few dayes; for *Veniero* hearing whilst he was in *Candia*, of his election, lest such orders as he thought convenient for the arming of the Gallies of that Island, and suddenly began his journey; and coming to *Corſu* in the beginning of April, took solemnly the place and dignity of Generall upon him. When Generall *Zanne* returned to Venice, there were many faults laid to his charges, and as it often falls out upon such occasions, the cause of the bad successes, occasioned for the most part from bad seasons, and for many almost inseparable accidents, were attributed to his negligence, and want of experience: and whereas a kind of happy Genius had formerly made all his actions be commended and admired, whereby it was thought that the publick affairs recommended to his charge, should have good successe, as he was thought to have been very fortunate in his private condition, by reason of his Honour, wealth, and Children,

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and for that he had twice before been Generall, and so succesfull therein, as all troubles and dangers ceased as it were with his election; so now these so many adversities, were taken from off the publick score, and laid to his private misfortune. Being thus accused of these faults, he dyed two years after, before he could justifie himself, proving the saying trues that, No man can be said to be happy before his end.

The affairs of Cyprus, and preservation of Famagosta, whereupon the hopes of other events did depend, were not at this time forgotten, but as soon as the season would permit, Antonio Quirini, who being taken from the Government of Candia, had this charge committed to him, after Pietro Trono's decease, departed with four Ships to carry the succour formerly ordered for Famagosta. Which that it might the more safely arrive, 12 Gallies were given for a convoy to the ships; for it was heard, that the Turks lay with some Gallies about the Island, to hinder the supply. Marco Quirini, went with his Admirall along with this Convoy, who, to boot with guarding the succour, had the opportunity of doing an honourable action; for as he came to Famagosta, he made the Ships advance within sight of the Enemy, who were in Costanza, and lay with his Gallies concealed near Land: and seeing severall of the Enemies Gallies come forth to assault our Ships, he suddenly came behinde them, to keep them from returning back unto the shore. But the Turks, when they saw our Gallies, instead of endangering us, fought to save themselves, and to get to the shore whence they were come: so as the men, to whose assistance many were come from the Camp, got safe to Land, and abandoned their Gallies; three whereof, having but few men left in them, were sunk by our shot: the rest, which were gotten a little further off, escaped. For some signs of foul weather appearing, Quirini betook himselfe to get his ships to be towed into the Haven; whereinto when they were gotten; they might easily Land the supply, which consisted of 1600 Foot, and much Ammunition and Victuals. The addition of these Forces, and the rest of the recruit, did much comfort the defendants, and encourage them; and Marco Quirini his gallantry was mightily cryed up by all the Famagostans; and he purchas'd much more praise and reputation by other prosperous successes; for whilst he kept in that Haven he took a Ship, and other lesser Vessels of the Enemies, loaded with Ammunition and Victuals, which were going to the Army, which were very seasonably turned to the service of the besieged. And going with his Gallies not long after to shelves of Gambella, where he heard the Turks had made some Forts, he at unawares fell upon them, and destroyed them: which things being done, he thought he could doe no more good by his tarrying any longer there, and therefore returned with his Gallies to Candia. The Senators were not lesse solicitous this mean while, in providing new supply for Famagosta, whither they had sent two Ships with 800 Foot, and severall Ammunitions, which by relation of the Bishop of Ragozoni, the besieged wanted. Honorio Scoto, was made Commander

mander of the Souldiers, and Nicolo Donato had charge of the Ships, who being come a little before from Cyprus, upon the occasion that hath been mentioned, offered to return himselfe with that succour, (for which he was much commended) and to comfort those that were to undergo so sore a siege; the Senate, thought fit to write Letters of praise, and much affection to the communalty of Famagosta, telling them, That they were very well pleased with their constancy and fidelity, which they would never forget, but reward them for it, when the times should prove better; and that largely for their labours, losse, and dangers; wishing them therefore to discharge their duties; in the defence of themselves and families, reposing their hopes of safety in themselves, and in the assistance of their Prince, and not in the words of barbarous Infidels: for the Senate would minde nothing more, than to provide for all things which should be necessary for that their dear and faithfull City: And that the so many Fleets, so many Souldiers, such expence, and such warlike preparations, aimed chiefly at the freeing of them from that siege. Letters of almost the same contents, were likewise written to Baghione, exalting his valour, as worthy of those he was descended from, and of the affection which he and others of his Progenitors had alwayes born to the Common-wealth, promising him rewards answerable to his merit, and assistance proportionable to the Forces of the Enemy.

The Albaneses continued at this time in insurrection, many of Dugagini, Pedana, Emasia, and Sadrinia, came in dayly to make several offers to the Representatives of the Common-wealth: Wherefore Commissary Celsi was ordered to go to Cataro (whither Zacheria Salamane was gone before, with the Title of Commissary-Generall) to defend the City, and to advise of what was to be done in those parts: but Celsi falling sick by the way, Nicolo Suriano, who was left Vice-Captain in the Gulph, whilst Trono exercised the same office further off at Sea, received orders to enter the River of Boiana with four Gallies, to foment the Insurrection of those people, and to inform himselfe more particularly upon the place, whether there was any hopes of good to be done in the enterprises of Burazzo, Scutari, or Alessio, as was propounded and desired by the heads of the Albanesi. But Suriano having tarried awhile in those parts, found that effects were not answerable to words; and that no design could be had by such commotions upon the Towns of the Enemy, but with great uncertainty of successe. Yet that they might not be wanting upon any occasion that should be offered, the Senate had made Jacopo Malatesta, Governour-Generall in Albania, who going to Cataro, began forthwith to make several propofals, and it was at last resolved to fall upon Alessio, which was thought to be more feasible then the rest, by reason of situation, there being many strong passes there, which might hinder the Enemy from being succored. But whilst things necessary for this purpose were a preparing, Malatesta being impatient of lying long idle, went one day out of Cataro, to pillage some Towns of Risano, which were not far off, and having overcome the difficulties of the situation, burnt the Villages, and gotten much booty, as he was returning safe with all his men, through a valley, the Enemy fell upon him,

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and not being able to defend himself, by reason of the disadvantageousness of the place, he was much endamaged, not onely by musquet shot, but by stones, so as almost all his souldiers ran away; and whilst he, with some few of his men, withstood the fury of the enemy, who came down from the mountains, his leg was broken with a stone, and he was carried away prisoner into *Kisano* by the enemy. But *Almoro Tiepolo*, Captain of the Pinnaces, and *Affore Visconie*, Governour of *Sebenico*, had better successe in *Dalmatia*; for having assaulted the Town of *Scardona*, they made the enemy seek their safety by flight, so as our men had leasure, not onely to take the Town, but also to get great booty in the neighbouring Country. The Turks ceased not this mean while, to plot all the mischief they could against the Common-wealth; those of *Castelnovo* had held secret intelligence with *Troiano Ciciliano*, a Foot-Captain in *Catara*, that upon their coming at unawares to the City, by his means, they might get in by the *Porta della Bimara*, where the walls were weakest. But *Ciciliano* not being able to procure, that that Guard might be committed to him, out of another respect, for that treachery was not as yet discovered, the Turks failed in that their designe; and when the intelligence was known, the traitor was put to death. The enemy afterwards had other attempts upon that City, making some Forts in the mouth of the Gulph, whereby being able to keep out any vessels from entering thereinto, *Catara* was in a manner besieged, and was in great danger of being taken: Wherefore it behoved to send some Gallies, to disturb those works, and to keep navigation open. These things made the Venetians be very vigilant, in keeping Commanders of authority, and strong Garrisons in their sea-Forts. Thus *Savorgnano*, not being able to serve any longer at *Zara*, the Marquis *Baltasar Rangone* was put in his place; and *Jacopo Foscarini* was made Commissary Generall of *Dalmatia*. *Luigi Giorgio* went to *Corfu*, and *Marino de Cavalli* to *Candia*; the former in the place of *Venturo*, who was chosen to be Generall of the Fleets and the latter in *Mula's* place, who could no longer attend that charge, by reason of sickness. By reason of these extraordinary expences, which amounted to 300000 Duckets a month, it became them to use all means possible, for the raising of monies: wherefore the number of Procurators were again increased, sale was made of other publick goods, and monies by severall bargains brought into the Exchequer; wherein, to make the Citizens more willing and ready, Doge *Mocinego* encouraged them all he could, and was still the more carefull and diligent, in making all sorts of provisions, as being very ambitious of glory. He was much afflicted, that his government should begin with the losse of so noble a Kingdom. Wherefore the great Councill being one day assembled, the Doge standing up, spoke thus:

If ever citizens of any Common-wealth had a noble occasion to shew their generosity, their desire of glory, and of the common good, you now have it, to shew your worth, in preserving the splendour and dignity of this your noble Country, which the industry and perpetuall labours of our Ancestors, haile to their immortall glory purchased. We, through their deserts, and as

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*the reward of their wisdom, do now enjoy a Common-wealth, which for excellency of government, exceeds all the most antient and modern Common-wealths; and is not much inferiour to any of the famousst, for Forces and Empire. And since the condition of times and place will not permit, that greater perfection can be added to it, in civill affairs, nor perhaps, that her antient glory may be increased by military actions, by enlarging our confines, which are every where environed by powerfull neighbours; yet ought we with like endeavour and vigilancy, minde the preservation of so miraculous a work, recommended to our care, to the end, that we may leave it such to others, as we have received it from our fore-fathers, whereby we shall purchase no small praise. We being now to govern our selves in a heavy war, against the fury of so powerfull an enemy, whose forces I confesse are to be feared, but with wisdom, not pusillanimity; but so, as fear may make us more diligent, more joynt, constant, and firm in all labour and danger, and not to slacken that fervour, wherewith we undertooke the war: nor to take us off, from our noble and generous resolution, of defending our Dominions, against the unjust forces of those, that seek to oppress them. Let us call to minde, with how much praise and wonder to other Nations, our fathers and grandfathers withstood the violence, of almost all the Princes of Christendom, who joyntly conspired the ruine of our Empire; so as finally by their worth, the fortune of the vanquishing enemy was overcome, and by adversity, the Common-wealth won more glory and honour. And if the losse of all our Dominions by Terra Firma, the having so many, and so potent enemies, and so neer at hand, could not prevail over our noble Ancestors; certainly, if we will imitate their domestick worth, the first frowns of fortune will not at all prevail over us, nor not onely not discourage us, but not make us forego any thing of our former hopes. The losse of *Nicossia* is assuredly very sore, but not such as may not be repaired. The fortune of war at first, is very uncertain and various; but at last, she associates with true worth; and the most valiant are at the last the most glorious. Our forces (God be praised) are yet safe and entire, and such, as had it not been for want of diligence, and good advice in our Commanders; or, it may be, for want of better fortune, the enemies might have had no cause to rejoyce. Our Common-wealth could at one and the same time, make war in severall Countries; nor did her being assaulted by *Bajazet*, Prince of the Turks, make her lay down the Arms which she had taken up, against *Lo-dowick Storza*, Duke of *Millan*: fighting on the one side for their own defence and safety; on the other, for the honour of the Venetian name, and out of a desire of making new acquisitions. Nor are these things so far out of our memory, as that we not rather say, we have seen them, than heard of them. We may hope for these, and greater things, if there be in us the like worth, agreement, and readinesse to maintain and defend the publick safety and dignity. Wherefore though we may assure our selves, that all other Christian Princes will, for their own interests, favour and assist our cause, against the common enemy, who is now become so formidable to them all; yet we must repose our chiefe defence in our selves, constantly believing, that every ones particular good is inseparably annexed, to the preservation of the liberty and prosperity of this Common-wealth; which being safe and powerfull, whatsoever else is most dear unto us, wives, children, friends, and goods, will be the more safely preserved from injuries, and we shall have*

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great rewards of honours, and many other things reserved for us. Therefore as the charity we bear to our Country comprehends all other loves to whatsoever be them dearest; so he who is truly set on fire therewithall, knows no danger, knows no inconveniences, values no expense, but freely sacrificeth himself, and all that is his, to this his true Mother and Nurse, from whence he must acknowledge, he hath received all things. Then you, Gentlemen, who have still agreed in all things else; must now and commend onely in this generous emulation, who shall contribute most, and readiest to the service of this his Country, in this her so great necessity. Let those, who for their age, or experience in the Militia, or Sea-affairs, are able to serve in person, either by way of command; or as private persons; put themselves into the Fleet; and such as are fitter for counsell, let them busie themselves, in thinking upon, in minding, and in providing for all such things, as may secure, the present dangers, and may make way for better fortune. In this, the thoughts of all true Venetians ought to be busied; this ought to be the true, and onely aim, and end of all their discourses and actions, in these so dangerous times. But above all things; let every man, according to his ability, contribute moities to the Common-wealth, which is the very sinews of war; assuring himself; he can put it forth to no better advantage; the like that he laies out hereupon, preferres all the rest; not onely his estate, but his honour, children, and life; none of which will be safe from the injuries, of this insolent victorious enemy; nor can any thing be dear or delightful to him, the propriety and pristine greatness of this city being lost. We see, how wonderful readily, not onely those who live under the wings, and protection of this Dominion, who may be persuaded to endeavour the preservation of this Common-wealth, out of a desire of living quietly; and under a moderate government; but many other persons of honour, have come to serve in this war, from almost all the parts of Italy, and from forraign parts; making our cause theirs; and concurring with us in expense and dangers; to the end, that this, the glory of Italy, and bulwark of Christendom; (as our Common-wealth is, by all, reputed to be) may be preserved; which, as it ought to rejoice us, and make us thankfull; so ought we not by any means suffer ourselves to be outdone by others, in the defence of ourselves, and of our Common-wealth; but shew unto the world, that this city exceeds not others more in fortune, than in worthy Citizens. Briefly, Gentlemen, we must alwaies have an eye to the conclusion of these times, and of this war, which is such, as if we do, but neglect to little give way unto the Enemy, or slacken necessary provisions; we shall not onely leave the Kingdom of Cyprus open to him, to be made a prey of; but all our Dominions by sea, will be exposed to manifest danger; the grandeur of this Common-wealth, the principality of those seas, which hath with so much labour been for many ages gotten by our Ancestors, will be left to the discretion of bitter and powerful enemies. whereas, on the contrary, we may through our diligence, constancy, and gallantry, hope for much better things; and by valiantly withstanding and repelling the violence of this fierce enemy, purchase unto our selves much glory and honour. Who knows, that this war may prove the exaltation of this Common-wealth, and of Christendom, and the confusion of the Ottoman Empire? I do despair, but that a general League may be made by all Christian Princes; whereof, the treaty is already drawn near to a conclusion with some. If by these forces, and Gods assistance, our Fleets shall have got the better of these enemies,

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who are grown so powerfull, more through our home-disscords; then by their own valours will not the way be opened to their ruine? What may now we hope for, of prosperous or happy? All our fears and hopes, as also our bad and good fortune, do for the most part depend upon our selves; who, by change of behaviour, may work a change of fortune. He who doth not justly consider these things, who apprehends not these dangers, who is not cheered by these hopes, deserves not to be called a Citizen of this illustrious Country; is no man, nor lives not; since he is not sensible of so many offences; is not awakened at his own safety, nor minded not his own good.

These the Doge's words, which were attentively listened unto by all, made great impression in all noble mindes, and encouraged them to continue the war, and to provide for all things necessary thereunto. Each enheartened other, lessening the past losses and misfortunes, and comforting each other with hopes of better success. One shewed the necessity of defending themselves, for the maintaining of the Common-wealth; and publick dignity. Another more highly minded, aspired at greater matters, and to take a double revenge of the enemy, as well for injuries received, as by becoming Master of their Dominions. All things requisite, either for Navall preparation, for victuals or monies, were diligently taken into consideration. No pains, industry; nor cost was spared, in munitioning the Forts, in recruiting the Fleet; and in adding therunto forces sufficient to withstand, and to assault the Enemy. All hopes, thoughts, and designs, were now busied about Arms; no more talk of treaties of peace.

But whilst the Venetians were doing these things, the Turks were as solicitous in providing for war, that they might pursue their prosperous fortune. *Selino* was very much gladdened at the newes of *Nicosia's* being taken, which, together with many other presents, in token of victory, was brought unto him by a son of *Mustafa's*; *Mustafa's* valour being highly esteemed by *Selino*; he was very ready to furnish him with new men; and with all other things necessary, to perfect the enterprises, wherein the Turks were more diligent, because they heard great fame of the Christian Fleets; yet did it cause no fear in that proud Barbarian, but did the more incense him; so as, not satisfied with the getting of the Kingdom of Cyprus, he threatened to beat the Christian Fleets, and to reduce the other Islands and places, belonging to the Venetians, under his power, which lay very convenient (as he said) for the making himself Master of Rome, the head of the Roman Empire, which did belong unto him, as supreme Emperour; and which, as was foretold by their Prophet, should fall under the Dominion of the Ottomans. *Selino* abounding in these vast imaginations, fancied unto himself, that when his Fleet should have carried sufficient succour to Cyprus, it should fight ours; and fall upon such other enterprises, as they should see occasion for. Thus valuing his power the more, by his prosperous success in Cyprus, he was highly offended, with *Piali*, for not going the preceding year into the Gulph; to finde out the Venetian Fleet, and fight it; and his fault being aggravated by *Mehemet*, who said, he had forborn doing so, out of fear,

fear, and that thereby he had much lessened the reputation of the forces of the Empire, and not without some danger, leaving all the Maritime places, as it were, in prey to the Christians, *Piali* was degraded from being Bashaw, and *Pertau* was chosen in his place, who was to have the same authority in the Fleet. In order to these designs, twenty Gallies put to sea from *Constantinople*; very early in the year, under the command of *Caiaceleli*, who meeting by the way with the Gallies of *Schio* and *Rhodes*, went along with them towards *Cyprus*, to hinder the relief which went to *Famagosta*, and did so; for *Nicolo Donato* being gone with the ships of succour from *Candia*, which Island he had touch'd upon, to learn some newes of the enemy, he was forced by a violent storm, which had shredly torn his ships, to steer his course backwards, and to return again to that Island, to provide himself of many things which he wanted; where he heard, that some Turkish Gallies lay in wait about *Cyprus*, to hinder the succour: wherefore thinking it became him, to take some new advice touching his voyage, he desired the opinion of *Cavalli*, Commissary of the Island, and of Commissary *Quirini*; and finding them to agree, he staid in *Candia*, where he landed his souldiers, and distributed them into the Forts, to augment those Garrisons; it being judged, that if the ships should be sent without a convoy of gallies, they would incur certain ruine, from which they could not be secured by a few gallies, those of the enemies being many; nor were those of *Candia* fit to make such a voyage; or, had they been fit, it was thought, it would not be wisely done, totally to deprive that Island of the guard of those gallies, wherein there were as then but a few souldiers; and when it was noised abroad, that the enemies were very near, and did intend to assault it.

After these first Gallies were gone from *Constantinople*, *Ali* went from thence also with 30 others to *Fenica* to take up men, and from thence went to *Cyprus*, where he tarried for many dayes himselfe, and sent his Gallies the mean while to *Tripoli*, to take in more Souldiers, and Ammunition; and when the Army was provided of all things, *Ali*, leaving *Arumat* with 20 Gallies, ten Mahouns, five Ships, and many other Vessels to guard the Island, went with 54 Gallies to find out Bashaw *Pertau*, who being gone from *Constantinople* before, and meeting by the way with the Gallies of *Napoli* and *Metelino*, was come with about 100 Gallies to *Castel Ruzzo*, where the whole Fleet was to make their Rendezvous. Not long after, *Muzzali*, who was gone from *Algiers*, came to the same place with 20 Vessels, and with many others belonging to particular Pyrats; and last of all *Cassan*, Son to *Barbarossa*, came thither with 20 Gallies which had been bartered, and were now new Calke. The Turkish Fleet being thus all met together, which consisted of about 250 sayl, they went to the Island of *Candia*, whither being come, they entred the Haven of *Suda*, and going soon after towards *Cania*, they landed many men not far from the City, who burnt divers Villages, and made much prey of beasts, and other goods; for the Inhabitants were all fled either to the City, or to the Mountains.

tains. The Commissary of *Cania* sent forth a good Band of the Garrison of that Fort; and with them many of *Quirini's* Souldiers, out of his Gallies which were then in that Haven, to suppress the insolency of these Men, and to prevent further mischief, who made the Enemy to retreats and our Souldiers being afterward recruited with 300 *Corsick* foot, who were very opportunely come thither a little before, in a ship of *Genoa*, under the conduct of Colonel *Justiniano*, they pursued the Turks; who as they retreated towards the Gallies to save themselves, were many of them slain, and durst not accost the Fort, knowing that it was well man'd: but they had a great mind to have pillagd the whole Island, and the Maritime parts, had they not been diverted by foul weather. *Muzzali* forbore not, notwithstanding to go to *Relhimo* with 40 Gallies, in which City, (for all the rest were fled at the news of the approach of the Turkish Fleet, not having sufficient Garrisons to defend themselves) there was none left but *Jerolimo Justiniano*, one of the Counsellors, and Captain *Jeraldo Alfieri*, with 100 foot, who as the Enemy drew near the City, began to shoot apace at their Gallies, not without somewhat indamaging them; whereupon the Enemy thinking that there were men enough in the Town able to defend it, they departed for that time, without making any further attempt. But afterwards landing some men on the neighbouring shores, and taking some Prisoners, they understood by them, that the City had not men enough within to defend it: So as *Muzzali* resolved to return thither, as to a secure prey. *Justiniano* seeing the Enemy returned, and landed, with a full resolution to assault the City, was forced to abandon it, and to retire into the neighbouring Mountains, to save those few Souldiers; and with them, and some others that he had pickt up in the Country, he berook himselfe to guard the strongest passes, to the end that the Enemy might not get further in to doe more mischief. When the Turks were entred the City void of Inhabitants, 'tis a sad thing to say the cruelties which they used to that miserable Town; they plundered the Houses, ranfackt the Churches, fired both publick and private Edifices, did not pardon the quiet of the dead, but digging up the graves, scattered them up and down every where, moved thereunto either out of hopes of finding some Monies there, or by that naturall inhumanity of dealing with the dead, as they could not do with the living: For which wickednesse they did in some sort pay, for some of their Gallies were by a great tempest driven upon the shore, where together with the death of many, they were split; and many others, who out of a desire of pillage, were gotten further into the Island, were cut in pieces by the Souldiers, who were gotten out of *Cania*, and by the Country people, who came down from the Mountains: So as upon mustering their men at their departure, they found above 2000 missing. The Enemies being gone from *Candia*, went to *Cerigo*, where they did much harm, and from thence the whole Fleet past to *Girunco*, and went to the Islands of *Lante* and *Cesalonis*, burning all the Towns, and laying the Countries waste, all the Inhabitants being withdrawn into Forts.

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Whilst the Turks did this mean while diligently attend their business at Sea; they forgot not their Land affairs; for they had assembled together an Army numerous enough, and made *Acmat Basha* Captain thereof, who being gone with his men from *Constantinople*, and keeping awhile in *Scopia*, made men doubtfull whether he was to go for *Dalmatia*, or for *Transilvania*; the times being such, as there was reason to suspect either of them: but soon after, *Acmat* marched towards *Duragani*, with above 15000 Horses; and it was known, that the *Belgerie of Greece*, raised many Horse to joyn with *Acmat's* Army, which made it be believed, that these men were intended against the Venetians Dominions; and chiefly, since the Fleet was seen to advance so far, which being assisted by the Land forces, it was thought that the Turks intended to attempt jointly somewhat in the Gulph. These things being first designed by the Turks, were the more hotly pursued, for that all Agreement grew desperate, and all treaty of Peace was broken. For when *Ragazzoni* was come to *Constantinople*, it was known that the hopes had much prejudiced this business; that if the Venetians would prosecute the Treaty, it might be brought to a good end, the Turks having begun to hope they might attain those things by agreement, which were not to be had without doubt, and difficulty, by Arms. For before *Ragazzoni* came to *Constantinople*, a messenger was come thither, sent in great haste by the *Sangrasso of Chersago*, Son to *Mehemet*, which gave notice of the others coming, with certain intelligence that he brought orders for a treaty of Peace; which as it caused much joy, so did fill it men with immoderate hopes. So as the *Bashaw* entering upon this Treaty, did in a magnificent manner extoll the Ottoman Forces. He said, that *Selino* was heinously offended, that he had mighty designs against the Common-wealth, the which he prepared to assault with powerfull Forces, both by Sea and Land; and out of these discourses he took occasion to propose unreasonable conditions of Peace: but yet proceeding very cunningly therein, he sought to moderate the severity of what he related in *Selino's* name, by his own endeavours full of humanity and affection. In fine, he advised the Consull, to counsell his Senators, to deliver up the possession of Cyprus freely, as that which did justly belong to the Ottoman Empire, and which lay more convenient for the other Ottoman Dominions; and that if it should be laid waste, it would be of great expence, and of no advantage to the possessors.

By which words, the Consull perceiving plainly, that there was no hopes of proceeding in the treaty of Peace with any publick honour, or with hopes of bringing it to any acceptable conditions, thought it fit that *Ragazzoni* should depart from *Constantinople*, as he did: the Treaty in hand, which was formerly begun by him with great hopes, nay brought to a conclusion, of restoring the Merchants and their goods, being left imperfect; for when commands were already agreed upon, and given out to be sent to *Soria*, and *Alexandria*, it was found that through ill offices done with the Grand Signor, his mind was altered, who had alwaies been very forward therein, saying often, that it was no more then just; And there-

therefore what had been before concluded, and established, being again call'd in question, other proposals were made; to wit, That the men and Merchants of all sides, should be brought to *Ragusa*, or at least to *Zara*, where the exchange should be made, that the resolution of the Turkish subjects might be the better known. But this proving a business of length and difficulty; and *Hebraino* dying unluckily at this time, who had the management of this business, *Ragazzoni's* journey proved to no purpose. At which time, General *Veniero*, that he might not be altogether idle, went with the Gallies that were then at *Corfu*, to the shores of *Albania*, to relieve the Castle of *Sopoto*, a place very fit (as hath been said) for other acquisitions. And the Fleet being entered into the Haven of *Palorino*, he might easily land the Garrison, which being done, he past on to the Gulph of *Pallona*, where hearing that the Fort of *Durazzo* was very weak, and ill man'd, he went thither, hoping easily to gain it. The whole Fleet, when it came before the Fort, was divided into three Squadrons, commanded by three Chieftains, *Veniero*, the Commissary-General; and the Commissaries, *Quirino* and *Cannale*. The battery was at once begun on three parts, for so long a space of wall as contained one whole curtain, and two great Towers; against which, finding they could no good, though they were frequently play'd upon by great Guns from all the Gallies: our men wanting Ammunition, and having but a few foot to give an assault, despair'd of accomplishing that enterprize, wherein their fortune had been no better than their advice had been; for they found the Town stronger, and better man'd then they were perswaded; and not knowing the situation, they left the Enemy some passes open, which they easily might have hindred, whereby new Garrisons past in afterwards, so as our men were forc'd to depart, without having done any thing. The Fleet being return'd to *Corfu*, they betook themselves to relieve *la Parga*, and the charge thereof was given to *Paolo Orsino*, though he was not much for the business, considering that it was hard to secure that Town, which might be play'd upon both by Sea and Land; and that it would be unreasonable to weaken the Garrisons of *Corfu* at this time. Yet the desire of replacing those men in their own Houses, who were very affectionate to the Venetians, and a very fitting means to make their Neighbours the *Albanes* rise, prevailed as then over the reasons to the contrary; but it did no good, for the Town was not well repaired, when soon after it was taken, and once more destroy'd by the Turkish Fleet.

At this time the associat Fleets, which was appointed to have met altogether in *May*, at *Otranto* (all great actions being alwaies slower, and more difficult then is imagined) was neither met, nor likely to meet, when all *June* was over. The Venetians, whilst it was not known what would become of the League, fearing that they should not be able of themselves to oppose and fight the Enemy, which was said would be stronger, and more numerous than that of the preceding year, had resolv'd to maintain a body of 60 Gallies, the best that were in *Candia*, by which they might convey reliefe

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to Cyprus; or, as occasion should serve, to any other place, hinder the Enemy from sayling safely on those Seas, fall upon the sag end of any Turkish Gallies which should lag behind, and be divided from the rest, (as falls alwaies out in a numerous Fleet, where all the Gallies cannot be of an equall goodnesse); and, in fine, to do as they should see occasion. And to this purpose, Commissary Canale was gone with 15 of the best Gallies of *Candia*, to leave them, with as many more of the best man'd Gallies of that Island, under the command of Commissary *Quirini*; from whom receiving the rest that were not so good, he was to return with them to find out the Fleet at *Corfu*. But this his return was at first hindred by news, that the Turkish Fleet was gotten very near those Seas; and afterwards, by new orders from the Generall, who had dispatcht away Letters speedily to *Candia*, desiring that not onely *Canale*, but *Quirini* also, should come with all possible speed to *Corfu*, with 50 Gallies which they had, that they might jointly proceed against the Enemy, when all the Confederates forces should, according to appointment, be met. Which order could not so suddenly be obey'd, because Commissary *Quirini*, when the Enemies Fleet was past on further, was gone with ten Gallies to *Cerigo*, that he might better inform himselfe of what course the Enemies steered, and of their intent; to the end that with more caution and safety, he might carry the Garrison to *Famagosta*, which was the mean while preparing, in two ships that were thereunto destined: But the Commissary-Generall, who was come into the Gulph, to gather together severall ships that were there, and to bring them to *Corfu*, hearing at *Otranto*, that it would be long ere the Spanish Fleet would arrive, made no haste, lest he might remove the Gallies too immaturely from doing of severall duties to which they were destin'd; so as of all the chief Commanders, the General onely remained at *Corfu*, and but with a few Gallies: This was the condition of the Venetian Fleet, nor was there any hopes of the speedy coming of that of *Spain*; for 'twas known, that the Princes of *Bohemia* were not as yet come to *Barcelona*, to embark therein; and those men which were first prepared for the Fleet, not being to be made use of, by reason of an accident that hapned; *Don Alvaro di Bazzano* went with some of the gallies to *Almiria*, to take up some other Foot, which were in their speed destin'd for that service. Nor could all the pressures of the Pope or Venetians, get the gallies of *Napoli* and *Cicily*, which were in readinesse, and had nothing to do, come to *Otranto*; the Spaniards being resolv'd, that these also should expect *Don John's* coming. And *Colonna* being busied in getting the gallies of *Florence* and *Malta* to joine with his, was forced to delay his going to joine with the Venetian Fleet, though he was very desirous to do so. The Turks being advertised of the not joining of the Christian Fleets, when they left *Candia*, proceeded boldly on, having received orders (as hath been said) to finde out and to fight the Christian Fleet, ruining, in the interim, and destroying, all the Venetian Dominions, wherefoever they came. Wherefore Generall *Veniero*, hearing what way the enemies went, and what their intentions were, and know-

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ing that he was not able to keep them from advancing, resolv'd to go with his Fleet to *Messina*, which was afterwards approved of by the Senate; fearing, that when the enemies Fleet should be come near them, (as it was thought they would do) our Gallies might be expos'd to much danger: and that likewise the enemies coming between *Fano* and *Merlere*, might hinder the joining of the Colleagues Fleets. He therefore would not follow the counsell of some, who advis'd him to go to *Brandizzi*, as that which met with the same objections: wherefore *Messina* was chosen for the rendezvous of the whole Fleet; and they resolv'd the rather upon this, for that this consideration of the uniting of the Fleets, which was the ground of all their hopes, prevail'd over all that was urg'd to the contrary, of not abandoning the Gulph. They were likewise perswaded, that when the Turks should have assur'd news of the League, and of the joining together of so great forces as were preparing, they would not enter the gulph, and leave so powerfull a Fleet of the enemies behind them.

Whilst these things were a doing abroad, the League was proclaimed in *Venice*, on the 2d. day of July, with great solemnity and concourse of people; Masse being first sung in *Sr. Mark's Church*, which *Don Gusman de Silva*, the Catholick King's Embassadour, did celebrate, the Doge and Senate intervening, and the Embassadours of Princes, together with many Prelates; who went out afterwards in Procession, with the whole body of the Clergy, into the *Piazza*, which was hung with Tapestry, and other rich adornments. And when the Doge was come to the place, where Proclamations are wont to be made, it was proclaimed by a Cryer, who had the words dictated unto him by one of the Secretaries, That on the 20th. of May, in the city of Rome, through the grace of God, and of the blessed Virgin, and by the means of Pope Pius Quintus, a perpetuall league and confederacy was made against the Turks, the common enemy, between the See of Rome, the Catholick King, and the State of Venice; leaving room therein for the Emperour, and the most Christian King, upon such conditions, as were particularly declared in the writing. That therefore every one was to beseech the divine Majesty, to grant prosperous successe to the union of these Princes, for the exaltation of the Common-wealth, and for the universall good of Christendom. These words were with silence heard, and afterwards confirmed by great applause of the people, and were accompanied by a great noise of Artillery, Bells, Drums, and Trumpets, with much universall joy. The League being thus proclaimed, they began to prosecute the business more fervently, chiefly in soliciting other Princes, that they might jointly, and with the greater force, make war against the common enemy. The Pope, to this end, resolv'd to send his nephew, the Cardinall *Allessandrino*, to *Portugall*, it being thought, that the forces and territories of that King were very fit, to give aid and reputation to the League; he having many armed Vessells, and confining in his Indian territories, with the Turkish Empire. To this purpose, the Venetians sent Commission likewise to *Antonio Tiepolo*, their Embassadour formerly to the Court of *Spain*, that (when he had dis-

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patch'd his business with that King; he should passe on into Portugal, to use the name of the Common-wealth in the business, which was to be treated of, as the Pope's name; and thus by reason of the ancient friendship, and continuall traffick, which was between the Kings of Portugal and that Nation. That the conclusion of the League, and the hopes that it would be confirmed, and the forces thereof increased, by the assistance of other Princes, had so influenced the Venetians with a desire of war, as they had not onely given over all treatie of peace, but being constant to the resolution they had taken, would not listen to any agreement. That therefore the King of France had resolved, to send the Bishop of Aix to Constantinople, chiefly to interpose himself in the business of agreement; who being come to Venice, shewed how zealous the King was, of the welfare of the Common-wealths and that he did therefore offer all his endeavours and authority, to put her into her former quiet condition of peace. That notwithstanding, these speeches were not listened unto, but that when the French Embassador, altho' in other respects, would pursue his voyage, the Senate acquainted the other confederates with what had past between him and them, to free them of all jealousy, and so incite them to provide for war, as they themselves did solicitously, taking Foot into pay in severall parts, augmenting their Garrison; and of new shipping their Commanders at sea, to have all things in readiness, so that as soon as the Fleet should be joyned, they might meet, and fight the enemies Fleet, which was their chief intent and desire.

But in the mean while, Generall Veniero having received certain intelligence from the Gallies of *Jovanni Corredado*, and *Collonne Drasio da Cherso*, who were sent towards *Cefalonia* to that purpose, that the Turkish Fleet, having pillaged the Islands of *Zante* and *Cefalonia*, was advanced further; went from *Corfu*, as he intended before; came to *Reggio*, and so to *Messina*, having with him 50 small gallies, 6 great ones, and 3 ships. But the same *Cherso* gally, and that of *Francesco Trovo*, staying behinde, to inform themselves more particularly what way the enemy went, as they went out of the Haven of *Steca*; they met unfortunately with ten of *Caragiali's* gallies, who tarried to lay waste the lesser *Cefalonia*; *Drasio's* gally making towards land, with much ado, got safe into the channell of *Corfu*; but *Trovo's* putting to sea-ward, was taken by the enemy; who understanding by the prisoners which they took, that our Generall was with no great forces in the Island of *Corfu*, halted thitherward, and came to *Figaro*, and soon after to *Buixinto*, where, after one daies stay, they viewed the Island of *Corfu*, but not doing any thing more; then they went to the shores of *Sopoto*; whither many men were come from land, inasmuch as *Lazaro Stioni*, who kept the Castle, being mightily afraid at the approach of the enemy, abandoned it; so it fell into their hands without any dispute. *Sopoto* being taken, and garrisoned, the Turkish Fleet made presently for the Gulph of *Venice*, the Bashaw being moved thereunto, either out of a desire of making more prey, or by pride and barbarous boasting, that he might say, He had sailed so far victoriously, and that none daring to oppose him, he was come near the very city of *Venice*, making the terror of his Arms be felt every where: or else, as it was afterwards conceived, and as the effects shewed, to bring

bring safety and reputation by these forces, to their affairs in *Albania*, where the inhabitants were risen in severall parts, who were fierce men, and could not well tolerate the yoke of Turkish slavery. By which risings, whilst our men hoped easily to take *Akko* and *Scutari*, they hastned the losse of *Aniveri* and *Dolcigno*, whereunto many land-forces were already drawn near; for the St. *Jarvis* of *Scopia*, *Durazzo*, and *Duragini* were joyned together, so as their Army amounted to above 5800 men, bringing with them ten great guns, and many lesser. The *Marcovicchans*, who had rebelled against the Turks, had made themselves masters of some strong passes, which hindered the enemies Army from going to *Aniveri*, and on the other side, the garrison of *Dolcigno*, assisted by the country people, had possessed themselves of *Corno*, and St. *Giorgio*, places upon the *Boiana*, which being very narrow, and very advantageously seated, a few might keep a great many out. *Nicolo Suriano* was likewise very seasonably come at this time, who hearing what eminent danger *Dolcigno* was in, had brought with him a good relief of men from *Catara*, with which the guards were made the stronger, and the passes better secured: And a little while after, entering with two gallies into the River of *Boiana*, they disturbed and dammished the enemy, who were encamped about those shores, by frequent shot; so as for a while, the Turks were doubtful what to do, and kept aloof off. But hearing that the Turkish Fleet advanced, the two gallies, commanded by *Michele Martiniago*, and by *Pietro Bartalazzi*, of *Lara*, went from those shores, to go to finde out the Fleet at *Corfu*, according to orders received from the Generall, though their diligence therein proved unfortunate; for meeting with some Turkish gallies, they were taken by them. The news of the approach of the enemies Fleet, made those foot be likewise sent for, who (as hath been said) were upon the guard of the passes into *Dolcigno*, it being feared, that to weaken the garrison of that Town, which was but badly walled, especially on the side towards the sea, would make the danger greater. Wherefore the country people who were up, being terrified, and wanting both Arms and Commanders, did likewise abandon the passes, leaving the enemy's Army free entrance; by whose advancing, and by the still continuing news, that the Turkish Fleet was not far off; those of *Dolcigno* being forely affraid; and thinking themselves not able to withstand so great a power; by reason of their small numbers, and for that the Town was not strong either by nature nor art, began to think upon their own safety, propounding the last desperate tearms, of taking away the Artillery of the Town, of embarking themselves, and all they could of theirs, in some small Vessells, and of getting safe to *Catara*, burning and ruining the Town themselves, so to keep it from falling into the power of the enemy, & from being serviceable unto them. And whilst being yet rather resolved to fly, then to defend themselves, *Nicolo Suriano*, and *Scarra Martiniago*, returned with fresh succour, who entering the Town, appeased the tumult, and somewhat comforting the mindes of those, who were confused through fear, they made them prepare for defence. The enemy's Camp

Camp this mean while approached, and beginning to batter the walls with six piece of Cannon, they quickly deprived our men of all defence, so as a good band of Janissaries, began already to prepare to give an assault. Wherefore *Martiningo* not hoping long to defend the Town, unless he were suddenly recruited by a great supply, resolved, that *Suriano* should return to *Catara* with his galleys, and bring with him a good company of French foot, whom not long before he had conducted into *Catara*; which was very speedily done, all that could being first taken from out his galleys, where with the garrison of the Town was recruited. These helps kept the defendants a while in heart. But the enemies Fleet still advancing, and *Suriano* being forc'd therefore to go from those shores, they were all seized on by excessive fear; and the more, for that *Martiningo* being then ill-disposed, who standing underneath the walls, had a stone which fell upon him, which bereaving him of his sense, made him for a while be thought dead, he could not behave himself so; as the occasion required. Wherefore despairing to be able to maintain that Fort, which was plaid upon both by sea and land, where there was no materials for Rampiers, nor sufficient ammunition; after having withstood battery twelve daies, they were forc'd to yield, leaving the Town in the Bashaw's possession, which he received, with promise of saving all their lives and goods, and of allowing them four ships, to carry as many to *Ragusa* as would depart thither, and of treating those well that would tarry there; and with particular permission to the souldiers, to march out with their arms and colours: Which conditions were afterwards but badly observed, for some contention arising hereupon, between *Pertaw*, and *Aemas* Bashaw, were it true or fained, they took occasion to deal hardly with those miserable people, who had submitted themselves upon his word, making the souldiers and most of the townsmen prisoners, and putting many valiant Albanesian souldiers to the sword. They kept their word onely to the Governour, to *Martiningo*, and to some few others of the better sort, whom they conveyed safe to *Ragusa*. *Dolcigno* being taken, the Army marched suddenly towards *Aniweri*, where all, by reason of their neighbours successe, were full of fear, though the Town, being four miles from the shoar, was safe from any fear of the Fleet; but the Governour, not waiting till the Camp drew nearer, sent the keys by some of the chiefest of the town to the Bashaw, for which he was afterwards sentenced by the Senate to perpetuall banishment. And the *Budnani*, *Agostino Pasquillo* their Governour being already gone, forsook their Country, and endeavouring to save themselves in *Catara*, and other neighbouring places, were most of them taken prisoners, and the town was first sack'd, then burnt. All things were now so full of terrour, flight, death, and rapine, as those miserable Inhabitants proceeded not by any counsell, but by despair, whereby the ruine of their country became more certain to the enemy. *Uluzzali* being thus gone with fifteen galleys to *Curzola*, after having made much prey in the Island, he drew near the Town, from which, (though there were but few inhabitants in it) being at first

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beaten back by the Artillery, he forbore attempting it any more; so as, by a notable example, 40 men onely, making women put on military apparell, and appear upon the walls, to cause the number of the defendants seem the more, were sufficient to save that Town from utter ruine, and to keep off the Enemy. Thus *Uluzzali* departed from *Curzola*, and taking with him some Gallies of *Caracosa*, went to plunder the Island of *Liesna*, which was also void of Inhabitants.

The Venetians were at this time very much afflicted, to understand that the Turks were entred with so powerfull a Fleet into their Gulph, and that they did still advance further, leaving sad marks of misery wheresoever they went; and to see so many armed Vessels of the Enemy, sail with such out-rage in those Seas, whereof they by ancient priviledge pretended possession: it seemed a strange spectacle to all mens eyes, to see what provisions were made for the safety of that City, which being the onely example, which had despised the power of the enemy, had kept herself for so many ages free from being injured by the Barbarians; It was thought, that not onely her situation, (the miracle of nature) but the so many forces which she had then at Sea, were sufficient to secure her from all present danger: the Fleet not being able to tarry on those shores, which were every where exposed to the fury of the winds, and it not being likely, that the Turks, having so many Forces of the enemy behind them, as were those of the Venetians, and Colleagues, would advance any further, nor busie themselves in any the least enterprize which might detain them longer; yet since not to fear great dangers, though far off, was thought no rash advice; the Senators, that they might leave nothing to Fortune, thought fit diligently to munite their shores, which are as it were the City walls, to the end that so insolent an enemy might know the vanity of his presumption. *Vicenzo Morefina*, one of the prime Senators, was made Generall upon the shores, and to him were added six other Senators, who were to assist him upon all occasions; *Daniele Veniero*, *Maro Jusiniato*, *Girolimo Contarini*, *Francesco Michiele*, *Lorenzo Soranzo*, and *Andrea Bernardo*. The Washes, or Moorish grounds, wherein the City of *Venice* is placed, in the midst of salt-water, founded upon, and every where invironed by, an almost perpetuall shore, which extends it self for the space of thirty miles from the mouth of the *Adice*, to that of *Piave*, renders that Creek which is therein inclosed, (which is not now above five miles over in the broadest parts, though in ancient times it enlarged it self for above thirty miles, even to the roots of the *Euganean Mountains*) safe from the violence of the winds. This shore, is as it were cut through in sundry parts by short intervalls, by which the Sea-waters come freely into every part by the Lake, and by which Navigation is also open to ships. That which is nearest the City, and by which, as being the most commodious, most Vessels enter and go out, is called *Porto St. Nicolo*: over against which stands a Castle of egregious Workmanship and art, wherein much Artillery may be placed, which shooting continually upon any Vessels which should indea-

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vour to get in by force, suffers them not easily to enter. *Luigi Gri-mani* was made Governour thereof, and had a good many foot and gunners allowed him. And from this Castle, to the opposite shore, was drawn a strong chain, which blockt up the whole channell: Behind which they placed three great Gallies, and some bodies of smaller Gallies, with great store of Artillery; and the other Ports were easily secured, by reason of the shallownesse, crookednesse, and uncertainty of the channels which lead to the City. Divers *Corps de Guard*, were likewise placed in severall requisite parts of those shores, and 200 *Gens d'Armes* were added to a number of foot; all the other Leaders being brought to muster near the City. There was a large and continued Cawlie drawn upon the shores, by which men might commodiously pass in all places; *Julio Savorg-nano*, who had the chiefe charge given him of managing all that appertain'd to the Militia upon the shores, having designed to tarry in the midst thereof himselfe with 4000 foot, that he might be ready to turn and winde every where. But to the end that the Souldiers might upon all occasions have a safe and commodious recepracle upon the shore; and because the preservation of Port St. *Nicolo*, did secure the whole; It was resolved to make a Fort there, drawing a line which looked towards *Malamocco*, vvhich beginning from the *Wafhes*, ended upon the Sea-shore: the part vvvithin was left open for the conveniency and use of the defendants, and that vvvithout, was flankt and secured by a well woven *Palesado*. In the midst of this Travers, there was an intire perfect Bulwork, and at the ends thereof two halfe Bulworks. Thus vvas all that part of the shore secured, which extends it selfe from the Monastery of St. *Nicolo* in an acute form, to the mouth of the Haven, a place very fit to receive upon any occasion a number of men. Some other Forts were likewise made in an octangular form, vvvithin the wash in the *Velma*, whither great Vessels could not come, vvhereby the Havens of *Malamocco* and *Chioggia* were secured; by the Artillery vvhereof, and vvherewith they were furnished, the entrance by the mouth of those Ports might be easily impeded, and the channels, and neighbouring shores secured.

The Senate having made these provisions, that they might proceed vvifely, and with great circumspection, in a businesse of such importance; and that they might not by their negligence invite the enemy to do some shame unto the City: it vvas soon known, as it vvas at first imagined, that they were needlesse. For *Muzzali* vvhen he had sackt the Islands of *Lisena* and *Curzola*, turn'd suddenly back to finde out the *Bashaw*, vvho vvas gone vvith the rest of the Fleet to the mouth of the channel of *Cataro*, vvhere having staid a vvhile, and demanded the Fort, but made no attempt; were it either, that he never had the courage to do any important action, or that he grew more jealous of the uniting of the Christian Fleet, hastened towards *Vallona*, where re-inforcing the Fleet with many men, having sent severall gallies to severall parts, to inform himselfe more particularly of the confederates Fleet: he vvent towards

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Corfu, and being come to *Pazzo*, the first thing he did, vvas to vievv the *Mandrachio*; and vvhen the gallies vvcre gone from *Butrinto*, the Commanders went severall times about the Island, and having diligently considered the scituation, they did not vvell agree vvithin themselves vvhat to do; but many souldiers being this mean vvhile gone on land from out of lesser boats, to be the first that should pillage; they fell upon an ambush of our light Horse, which vvas laid by Captain *George Mormori*, vvhere they vvcre almost all of them either slain, or taken Prisoners, amongst vvich *Cassar*, named *Basso*, vvas one, a Rënega do *Candian*, famous for his experience at Sea, but much more famous for his cruelty. At last, the vvhole Fleet drevv near, and vvcre shot at from the Fort, but not much prejudiced, by reason of the Cannonnere want of experience. And being past on about a mile, they landed a great many men at *Potamo*, who came to assault the Suburbs; our men, who had posselt themselves of the Passes upon the Mountains, not being able to detain them. *Philippo Roncone*, had the custody of the Suburbs, with 400 foot, part *Grecians*, part *Italians*, who seeing a greater number of the Enemy, were forced to retreat into the plain, where meeting with a succour of more men, which were sent to them from the Fort, they made a stand, making the Turks do the like: But the next day, having landed more foot, together with 600 Horse, which they had taken up at *Butrinto*; they attempted the taking of *Castel St. Angelo*, and finding it a harder businesse then they had thought, they gave it over, but not without some signe of their barbarousness, for they fired many Houses and Churches, destroying almost all the Suburbs and vineyards about the City, and the third day they quit the Island. But this mean while, the Magistrates of the City, and the Commanders, had taken order, that as long as the Enemy should keep about the Island, the gates of the Fort should alwaies stand open, secured by a good body of men, to keep the Enemy from growing more bold, by the appearing fearfulnessse of those that were vvithin: and they had also forc'd the Enemy by shot from the Fort, to change his station more then once.

The Venetians were the more grieved at these miseries, for that having hoped for aid from the League, they found that they had not only failed in their expected good thereby, but that they had altered their first design, and imploy'd their forces much to their disadvantage; for their having ordered the gallies of *Candia*, to go forthvvith to *Messina*, to joyn all their forces vvith those of the Colleagues, made them fear the successe of *Famagosta*, not having any certain intelligence that it had been as yet relieved, as they might very well have heard; for that there being so many gallies in that Kingdom, and the enemies Fleet being far off from those Seas, our men could not have been kept from succouring *Famagosta*. So also, by expecting the coming of *Don John* vvith the intire forces, and consequently not to hinder the hopes of better affairs; their Generall stood idly looking on so many injuries and out-rages done by the Enemy, vvithout taking any revenge. So it being very hard vvhat to resolve on, amidst

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so many difficulties, they set themselves wholly to solicit *Don John* comming, which they chiefly did with the Pope shewing him, that by his persuasions chiefly, they had given over all treaty of peace, and that in time of adverse fortune, when more mischief was to be doubted, then good hoped for by continuing in Arms, they had embraced advices which peradventure were more generous then usefull, so to preserve the ancient dignity of the Common-wealth, to be governed by the Authority of that holy See, and not to seem to distrust the Christian Princes; but that whereas they had not failed in their part, nor had retarded the business for any expence or danger, they found that the Colleagues had not used like diligence, and that that League which was made for the good of Christendom, would redound to the shame thereof, and to the particular prejudice of their Common-wealth: That it was too apparent, how great a lesse of honour, and how great a prejudice to all other proceedings the losse of *Famagosta* would prove, wherein so many important consequences consisted, as to preserve her, questionlesse they were to finde out, and to fight the Enemies Fleet, since they had so great hopes to pass victoriously into Cyprus, and free *Famagosta* from being besieged, whence the recovery of that Kingdom would quickly insue, and the destruction of the Enemies Army, which would be waded by its own wants, and way would be made for greater acquisition.

The Pope held these things to be very just, and was very solicitous therein. He heard all men willingly, desired them to be mindfull of fitting remedies against so many mischiefs; and interposed his means and authority, in every thing which might further the League. He dispatcht expresse Messengers to *Don John*, and earnestly renewed his endeavours to the Spanish Court, whither Cardinal *Alessandrino* was already come, who carried Letters from the Pope to the King, wherein he told him, That he never desired any thing more fervently, then prosperity to the League; that nothing had ever been more suitable to the worth and power of that King, or which might purchase him greater, or more real glory. That he had much desired to come himselfe in person to make this desire unto him, and to acquaint him with the necessities of Christendom, and how he might acquire singular merit; but that, since the imperfections of old age would not suffer him to do so, he had sent his Nephew, Cardinall *Alessandrino* to him, whom he loved as his Son, to the end that he might the more lively represent his person, and perform that office the more effectually.

The Legate was very honourably received by the King, and met by himselfe and his whole Court, at the utmost precincts of *Madrid*, and was sent back with an answer full of affectionate expressions, and fair promises; wherein the King laboured to shew the Pope, That he had been alwaies very ready to be serviceable to Christendom, and particularly now upon occasion of this League, towards the prosperous proceedings whereof, he had resolved that *Don John* should winter with the Spanish Gallies in Sicily, that he might be the readier the next Spring, to doe what should be resolved of in Rome; and that though he had oft-times used his Authority with the Emperour, in exhorting him to enter into this union, yet he would now again send *Don Pietro Faltardo* to him, to the same purpose, to the end that *Cesar* knowing more expressly that this was his desire,

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and bringing, that his encouragement would oblige him to maintain it, the might he more willingly resolve to do so. But howsoever the slownesse of the Fleets moving, did much lessen the reputation of the League, made nobelies be given to the speakers, whereby the greatnesse and stability of its forces were amplified, and made the other Princes more cool therein; inasmuch as Cardinall *Commendone* being gone into Germany, and afterwards into Poland, to perform his Embassy, his endeavours were lesse efficacious, and lesse belief was given to his promises: for it was most assured, that these Princes would not meddle in it, unless they should see it firmly settled, that the confederacy should be long continued. So as (which redounded much to the prejudice of such a business) it was said by many in those Courts, that the Spaniards would serve the League onely in name, and by giving it reputation; but that they would not actually concur therein, with forces and veritable to what was needfull. These speeches were the rather credited, by reason of *Falsardo's* delay. Wherefore *Cesar* finding himself in the same perplexitie, and having received many Letters and messages from the *Bashaw of Buda*, which exhorted him to preserve peace, and promised him good and real friendship and neighbourhood; and on the other side, hearing the preparation of the Turkish Fleet, which keeping till then in *Scopia*, made men doubtfull whether it would bend, or resolved at last to send the Tribute to *Constantinople*, affirming, that it was no hinderance to the League, nor did dispar him from declaring for it, whensoever there should be a fitting time; but that on the contrary, he might be much inconvenienced, by longer detaining the Tribute, for *Selino* growing jealous of him, would be the first to invade him, when he should not be provided for him, and when his own particular troubles, would encrease the mischief and danger of Christendom.

The Venetians were mightily troubled at these things, knowing, that if the Turks should be sure, not to be troubled by any commotions of the Northern Provinces; it would much prejudice the League, and more endanger the Common-wealth. Wherefore, the Pope and the King of Spain's Agents consenting thereunto, they offered *Cesar* to give him 20000 of the Leagues Foot, and 4000 Horse, thinking, that they might be more serviceable against the enemy on this side, and that the other 3000, which remained by the tie of Articles, would suffice for those enterprises, which were to be attempted by the Fleet, on the maritime parts. The Emperour's Embasadour, resident at Rome, had oftentimes protest, that his Master wanted no good-will, but onely forces, to make war upon the Turks; and that if the confederates would promise to assist him, he would doubtlesse declare for the League; and that whole Germany, being convinc'd at last by necessity and shame, would join in this war; and that by their example, Poland and *Muscovia* would easily be brought to do the like. Yet all this would do no good, for *Cesar* affirming, that it was too late for him to make use of this assistance, and that the scarcity of corn, which was that year in that Country, would not suffer him to have an Army, till after the Har-

vest; continued in his resolution of sending the Tribute, making all men firmly believe, that by reason of his last unfortunate success in the war of *Hungary*, he thought, that peace was the only way to secure his Dominions from the Turkish forces. And thus stood the affairs of the confederacy.

But the Venetians continued still, to do what they were able, for the safety of their State: They resolved to create twenty five Governours, whereof ten were forthwith to man their gallies, and, with some others, to attend the guarding of the Gulph; under the government of *Filippo Bragadino*, who was chosen Commissary General of the Gulph, and had commission to cease on all sorts of Vessells, whatsoever were then in those seas, and to attend with all possible diligence, in conveying victualls and garrisons into such places, as were needfull, to defend the Islands, and to preserve navigation. Wherein, that he might govern himself the better in the Generall's absence, he had supremam authority given. But there was much ado at this time to furnish the Fleet with souldiers, for the which there was already 5000 Foot in *Venice*, commanded by *Prospero Colonna*, *Pompeio da Castella*, and *Galleazzo Farnese*; which being already imbarqued in three great Gallies, and in other shipping, the passage being stop't up, by the enemies coming into the Gulph, they could not get thither. Wherefore to find a speedy remedy for this, *Prospero Colonna* was in great haste dispatch'd away to *Napolls*, to raise 1000 Foot in that Kingdom, as he promised to do. And Duke *Avri*, and some others, that had first offered themselves to do so, were written unto, to bring as many men as they could to the Fleet; and the vice-Roy was desired to give leave, that men might be had from thence upon this occasion. The Venetian gallies, and those of the Church, of *Florence*, and of *Malta*, were in this interim brought to *Messina*; and *Don John's* coming was expected by all, who being gone with 27 gallies, and 5000 Catalanian Foot, was at last come about the end of *July* to *Genua*, where having staid a very little while, and left *Doria* with 12 gallies, to provide for severall things which the Fleet wanted, he went towards *Napolls*, where being received in great pomp, he had the Standard of Generall of the League delivered unto him, which was sent him from the Pope; and soon after, making the same haste, and leaving 30 gallies to accompany the ships, he went with the remainder of the Fleet to *Messina*, where he knew he was expected by the Pope's, and by the Venetians Generalls; who, in signe of honour, and that they might be the readier with all their forces, for greater enterprises, as also to make the enemy the more jealous of this union, staid there without doing any thing, only waiting for *Don John's* coming; of whom, mention being often to be made, in the most important things which are yet to be related, I have thought it not amisse, to say somewhat of his conditions and customs.

Don John was illegitimately gotten by the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. upon *Madam de Plombes*, a Flemish Lady, and was acknowledged by his father for his true and naturall son, and as such recommended

commended to his Brother King *Phillip*, not indowing him notwithstanding with the Inheritance of any particular State: *Don John* was then about two and twenty years olds, of a very noble and gracious aspect, and who by his words and actions appeared to be greatly desirous of glory; and excellent hopes were conceived of him; so as every one thought that he would zealously embrace this noble occasion of acquiring glory, which fortune had presented him with; and which was fit for his ancient Descent, and for his generous mind; and some said; that the King his Brother had promised to make him King of *Tunis*, and to give him whatsoever he should get in the *Levant*. Yet it was observed, that the King being willing to honour him with this Title, and to use his name and person in a businesse of such importance, did notwithstanding not a little lessen his Authority, by giving a great part thereof to many of his Counsellours; not without some doubt whether he had therein respect only to moderate his youth, or not also not to suffer him to grow too great. These were *Don Bernardino di Requesens*, Commandadore Maggiore of *Castille*; *Don Alvaro di Bazzano*, Marquis of *San Croce*; *Don Giovanni di Cardona*; *il Conte di Piego*; *Antonio Doria*, and *Carlo d' Avalos*, to which he afterwards added the Duke of *Sessa*, and *Ferrante Loffredo*, Marquis of *Trevico*; all of them men of great condition, and highly esteem'd by the King; and by whose judgments all important affairs were govern'd. As soon as *Don John* was come to *Genua*, he dispatcht away *Michiel Morcada*, one of the Kings Councill, to *Venice*, to give an account of his voyage, and to thank the Senate for the confidence they had put in him, promising that he would carry himselfe so as they should never be deceived in the good opinion they had of him; and shewing great readiness to act any thing against the Enemy, with which welcome news they were all much cheered and encouraged.

But the Turks going from *Corfu* (as hath been said) with their Fleet, returned to *Buiturro*, where staying some dayes to hear some tidings of the Christian Fleet, & expecting new orders from *Constantinople*, they pass'd on to *Pevesa*, where the Bashaw had certain news of the taking of *Famagosta*, and particular commission to finde out, and to fight the Christian Fleet. The Fort of *Famagosta*, after having resisted long and valiantly, fell on the 5th of *August* into the enemies hands; and because it was one of the most memorable sieges which hath hapned in our memory, and peradventure in many former Ages, I have thought fit, to give a particular relation thereof, to the present, and to future Ages.

Famagosta is seated on the head of Cyprus, towards the *Levant*, in a flat shore upon the Seas, whence it was called of old by the Grecians, *Amantunte*, as much as to say, hid in the sands; It stands almost in midst of a semicircle, shaped out by two Promontories, *Carpassio*, and *Pedaglio*, which by the modern are now called, *The one Capo di St. Andrea*, the other *Capo della Greca*; The former thrusting out, for above 90 miles, and breaking the circle, puts an end to the Island on the North side, in a very acute point. This Country was formerly called *Salaminia*, from the

ancient City Salamina, built by Tevero, after the ruin of Troy, which was afterwards called Caltania, of which there are some signs yet to be seen, which (it may be) in remembrance of the ancient nobleness of their City, is now by those inhabitants called, Old Famagotta. It hath a Haven lying between the East and the North, made up of certain Shelves and Rocks, which being a little divided in severall parts, and withstanding the first waves of the Sea, renders that little creek which is between them and the Shore, free from storms; but being but shallow, it is capable of but a few great Vessels. The mouth of the Haven, which is turned towards the North, and shut in by a chain fastened in a butting out, which thrusts it self forth 40 paces beyond the Forts and a little Castle, built after the ancient sort with four Towers, secures the whole Haven. This Fort was reduced into square, but in an imperfect form; for extending it self on the part towards the Sea, from the East to the North, in crooked lines, and with some great spaces, the sides thereof are in some parts unequal: Of these, two lie towards the Shore, and two look towards the Town, in one of which there was a little Tower, or Keep, with six fronts, called il Diamantino, and here was the Gate called Limisso. In the other, there was a large Bulwark, built but of late, with double Flanks, a good Front, and with Orillons, after the modern fashion. The whole Fort was little above two Italian miles in compass, all walled about with a wall of square soft stones, chiefly on the side towards the Town, where it was 20 foot broad, with a plat-form of twelve paces, upon which there was a Parapet above four feet high; the ditch round about was 12 or 15 paces over, digg'd out for the most part in the soft stones, and where that wanted, there was a counter-scarse made of Stone. About the walls there were many Towers, but for the most part so narrow, as but small peeces of Artillery could be made use of there: and some others, which were greater, and stood between the Gate Limisso, and the Arsenal, which were, for their shapes sake, called half Moors, wanted not likewise for many faults; but they were thought to be the safer, and more commodious for that they were made compass wise, and because they had places to go out of, on both sides. The parts about the Fort, are all a plain Campagna, having onely some little houses towards the North-west, which stand somewhat higher, like so many little hills, not above a mile from the city, where it was thought the Enemy would have incamped, both for that the Fort was weakest on that side, and for the commodiousness of some caverns under ground, from whence the Famagottians dug out stones for their buildings, wherein many men might lie safe: But the Turks finding that they could not well incamp there, by reason of the condition of the Earth, they brought their whole campe to the opposite plain, which extends it self for the space of three miles, from the Fort to the Sea, which was full of fine Gardens, of Orange trees, and Cedars, and of other sorts of fruit trees, which were before much destroy'd by the Inhabitants, to bereave the Enemy of making use thereof; yet they had the use of many wells of fresh water, which served for use of the Gardens, and which were a great refreshment to the Army, afflicted with excessive heat. The Turks had slackned the siege (as hath been said) by reason of the bitterness of the season, and withdrawn themselves to winter in more commodious places further off. But as soon as Navigation began to be safe, and that the time fit for action drew near,

near, great store of Men, Ammunition, and Vissuals, were brought to the camp by galleys, and other vessels, which pass continually to the Island, especially from the neighbouring shores of Caramania, and Soria, all men flocking so fast thither, as it is said above 50000 Turks, came to the Island of Cyprus, after Nicollia was taken, many whereof were neither paid nor commanded, but drawn onely out of hopes of booty, which the Basha had cunningly given out, should be greater than that of Nicollia, in so much as the Turks boasting, according to their usual manner, of their numbers, they in a threatening way sent word to the besieged, by some that were come from the Town, to treat of the ransoming of prisoners; that the grand Signor had sent so many men to this enterprise, as if every one of them should throw but one shulter-full of earth in the ditches about the Fort, they would fill them up, and level the way to mount the walls. The Army being recruited, and sufficiently furnished with all things, and some great Guns being brought from Nicollia: the Turks began about the middle of April to make their Trenches, to draw near the Town, and to raise Forts to batter it, which Works were really of much labour, and miraculous industry: for digging the earth from their winter quarters to the Fort, which was for above three miles, they made some wayes so large and so deep, though in some places they met with Stone Adines, where they were faine to labour with Picaxes, and Mattocks; as not onely Foot, but men on Horseback march'd so well cover'd, as the tops of their Lances could hardly be seen; and being thereby safe from the shot of the Town, they drew many Trenches, allways raising the earth so high above them, as being able to work safely by day, they perfected the work. These Trenches were so made, as the Pioners, throwing the earth they digg'd out very forwards, there remained sufficient space between the ditch and the bank for the Souldiers to keep in, making use of the earth that was thrown out, as of a Parapet, behind which they might with aim shoot at the walles. These Ditches, and these Rampiers were so many, and so disposed of, as the whole Army was safely lodged therein, though very near the city, being as it were buried between those Mountains of earth, so as from the walls of the city, nothing of the Enemies Camp could be seen, but the tops of their Pavillions. In the same plain, the Turks made ten Forts, standing at severall distances, 50 foot broad in the front, which were secured with rafters of Oak woven together so artificially, and so strong, as the middle being fill'd with earth, with bundles, cinders, sacks of wool, and such like things those Forts were made defensible against any thing that could prejudice them: and if any of these works were at any time thrown down by shot from the city, the number of pioners was so great, as they were speedily restored to their former condition; so as, for above halfe a miles space, from the Arsenal to the Limisso Gate, the walls were play'd upon by continuall shot. These were the forces, provisions, and designs of the Enemy, by which the defendants being made more industrious and vigilant, prompted thereunto by their own gallantry, and by the danger they were in; the souldiers and citizens were not wanting in any thing that might make for the defence of the city. Thus at first, (though they were not so many as might counterpoise the Assallians forces) they sallied often out to skirmish with the Enemy, and to disturb their works, thereby to shew their generosity, and to lessen the Enemies confidence. They were very diligent in securing

securing the Parapets, in making new works, in making new Cavaliers, and in mending the old ones, and sparing neither for labour nor ingenuity; there was not any hour wherein they were idle, nor any day wherein they had not new inventions. All the Artillery, (whereof some new ones were cast, and so their number still increased) were brought to that part of the wall where the battery was expected. Luigi Martiningo, as Captain-Generall of the Artillery, had the particular care thereof who had fix underneath him, who commanded all the Cannonieres, so as all things were very well ordered. They prepared likewise many artificiall fires, to be used in severall manners, which being made by excellent Masters did very good service; and that they might not fight at once against the Enemy, and against their own inconveniencies, they put all uselesse people out of the city, to the number of above 8000, which not being any ways injured by the Turks, went to their country houses, and mustering the rest, there were found to be 7000 men fit for action in the city; 3500 Italian foot, and the rest Grecians, who behaved themselves with much valour and fidelity in these actions. These were still incouraged to defend the city out of hopes of glory, and ample rewards wherein; as in all things else, Marc Antonio Bragadino, who was then Captain of Famagosta, and chief Magistrate of the city, was very diligent, and won much praise: and the danger increasing by the Enemies nearer approaches, Bragadino sought to incourage the Souldiers; Telling them the time was now come, wherein they were to shew their true valour, which he saw them for these many last months nobly prepared to do. That no greater glory had hapned to any in this our age, then what was now prepared for them, by preserving a Fort so far from all other parts of Christendom, against the power of the Ottoman Empire; nay by thereby keeping a flourishing Kingdom from being enslaved by Barbarians. Wherefore, said he, are you, most valiant Souldiers, (directing his speech to the Italians) com from parts so far off, exposing your selves to the certain inconveniencies and great dangers of long Navigation, if not to give good proof of your worth, and by your merits, to purchase the prime honours of the Militia? You have now met with that you so much desired; you have a large field wherein to exercise your patience, your industry, and all military virtues. This City being assaulted by powerfull enemies, and the eyes of all the world being set upon the event of this siege: Nor is my confidence lesse in you Citizens, and in all the rest who have entred into this Militia; who have given so good testimony, not onely of fidelity and constancy, but of true valour; Having performed all military actions as well and readily now, as ever did any ancient Souldiers. Your generosity is such, as will not suffer you to let any other advance you in the defence of your selves, country, wives, children, and estates; every one of you will with a noble emulation, seek to exceed other in pains-taking, and in exposing your selves to danger. Let not the number of the Enemy any whit affright you; for certainly it is lesse then it is noysed to be, or then their empty Pavillions cunningly make shew of; the most and valliantest of them being wasted, partly by sufferings, and part of them being gone to their own homes,

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to enjoy the wealth they got, at the sacking of *Nicosia*, the example whereof ought to make you more vigilant, but not more fearfull. For we are certain, it was not the valour nor industry of the enemy, which gave them the victory, but the defendants negligence, who thought, as I believe, that it was bare walls, not bodies of men, that went to the defence of a City. The hopes we have of speedy relief, may make even cowards valiant; which notwithstanding, none of you ought to consider, that you may not thereby lessen your courage, but rather place your hopes in your selves, and believe, that you carry your fortune in your right hands. Thus ought all valiant men do, whereunto you are perswaded by infinite examples, where worth and fortitude of minde, have overcome invincible difficulties. But we have another greater hope of safety and victory, since we defend so just a cause, against so wicked and perfidious enemies, whom peradventure divine providence hath permitted to be prosperous hitherto, that the fortune of war altering, their fall may be the greater. All humane and divine reason doth therefore perswade us, to drive away all fear, and to hope for good and happy successe, from our own daring.

These words were accompanied with great acclamations, and expressions of joy, every one striving to shew confidence, and encouraging others readily, to undergo labour and danger; and the commanders to encourage their souldiers, not onely by words, but by example, having already excellently well ordered all the guards, went themselves to lodge upon the walls, at the foot of the rampier; that they might be present at all actions, and partake in labour and danger. By this time, half May was over, and all things were ready prepared on all sides, chiefly the souldiers mindes, which were miraculously disposed, as well in the camp, as in the city, to give, and to sustain the Assault. In which condition of affairs, one morning, at the rising of the Sun, they might discover from the walls, all the forts and trenches of the enemy, furnish'd with great store of colours and launces, and a great shout was heard of men, and noise of Cymballs, and other such like instruments; and soon after, the Turks began to discharge their muskets and artillery, continuing to shoot all the day-long, to encrease courage in their own men, and to infuse the more fear in ours. The enemy intended first, to bereave the city of her defences; wherefore they levelled their shot against the Parapets, which were speedily re-erected by those within, and made better then they were, so as they received great security thereby. But beginning afterwards to shoot lower, whereby they much prejudiced the walls; those within were very diligent, in mending by night, what had been thrown down by day, which they were able to do, though not without infinite labour, till such time as the Turks getting into the ditch, disturbed this their work; for the enemy being already got with their trenches near the counter-scarp, they threw much earth into the ditch, and afterwards following the wall of the counter-scarp, they made their passage safe into the ditch, even to the wall, without being prejudiced by artillery from the half-moons, which shot on their flanks, and were a little

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damned onely by some shot from the Cavaliers. But the city beginning to want powder, it behoved them to be sparing thereof; so as the cannoners were forbid to shoot, unlesse by order from their captains, which was not given, but upon great occasion. So as the greatest harm the enemy received at this time, was, by artificall fires, which were thrown down upon them from the walls, which did disorder and kill many of them. They used some iron-balls full of fine powder, like Granadoes, which breaking into many pieces, did at once give many mortall wounds. So as they began to make many mines, especially on the side of the Arsenall; whereof those within found some, and did very seasonably make use of that powder, for their own preservation, which was intended for their ruine. But the Turks had already placed many Corps de guard in the ditch, and lay safe there in their tents, being secured from harm by the diligence of the guards, which attended the nearest neighbouring trenches; who did so narrowly observe all the motions of our men, as not any one could appear upon the walls, who was not soon slain by the enemies musquet-shot. Mines were not, notwithstanding, this mean while given overs of which, one proved very prejudiciall, which was made in the midst of the Arsenall's half Moon, which gave a notable example of the souldiers constancy, or rather, of their miserable condition; for seeing the mine made, and the bags of powder put into it, so as the danger of that horrible death was certain, they did, notwithstanding, continue the wonted guard in the suspected place, expecting hourly, that those that were upon it, should be blown up into the aire, and rent into a thousand pieces by the violence of the fire; as soon after hapned to a company, which was but just then entred to relieve others, that were upon that guard. The Mine made so horrible a noise, by reason of the wall's solidity, and of great quantity of powder, as the city seemed to be shaken with an earth-quake; and the Turks began almost immediately to enter, through the ruines, made by this mine, and to give an assault, which endured with great fierceness, for above five hours space: Our souldiers were so desirous to fight with the Turks neer at hand, and not to suffer themselves to be slain, without making trial of their valour, or without taking any revenge; as every one strove to get into places of greatest danger, every one would be present at every important action, at all assaults; in so much as women vying for valour with men, came continually upon the walls, bringing many things for the souldiers use. In this action, our men lost above an hundred and sixty men, amongst which, Bernardino da Ugubio, who had behaved himself gallantly; and Pietro Conté, Hercóle Malatesta, and other valiant commanders were dangerously wounded. The defendants retired then from this place, which was broke open by the mine, to their inward works, which were made with great art; but by reason of the finalness of circums, were but of little use; for the souldiers being to defend themselves at push of pike, were much inconvenienced. In these works, the industry of Mormori, an Engineer, and of Marco Crivellatore, a Venetian Captain of foot, was chiefly commended; for by their inventions, two ranks of hogsbheads full of earth, joyned one to the other, and upon them, two ranks likewise of bags of wet earth, well rammed in, were placed, behinde which, convenient space was left, for musketeers to stand safely;

which

Part II.

Written by Paulo Paruta.

which proved to be of notable advantage; for the shot meeting with no solid resistance, took away some of those bags, the place whereof was suddenly fill'd up with more of the like, so as no great hurt was done. By these inventions, and by singular valour, the enemy were long withstood, and oft-times repuls'd, in so much as they began to despair, of taking the city by this way: wherefore betaking themselves to new inventions, they began to build up other Forts neerer hand, from whence they might the more easily throw down the inward works, and the cavaliers, thereby to bereave our men of all defence, and themselves of all impediments. And at the same time they shot continually into the city, with mortar-pieces, bullets of great weight, which falling upon the houses, broke down the roofs, and slew the inhabitants. They shot likewise great number of arrowes, shooting them up on high, that falling down perpendicularly, they might wound the heads of those, that were upon the walls. They gave many allarums, especially by night, making, as if they would give an assault; and, in fine, they left the defendants no houres rest, so to tire them out, and to discourage them, with so continuall labour, danger, and watching. But at last, finding that breaches made by mines, was not sufficient to make way for their assaults, they fell to work with their mat-hooks and pick-axes, throwing down the walls, and forcing them within to get straiter in-works: So as things being brought to that passe, as that they might get upon the walls in several places, the Commanders resolv'd to do their utmost, and to assault the defendants at one and the same time in several parts; who being few, and employed in many actions, they thought they would not be able long to withstand the violence of their assault. Mustafa made all things fitting for this, to be prepared; he would be present every where himself, and going about, sought to encourage the souldiers, and calling all the valiantest and most honourable by their names.

He minded them of their former actions, of their praise and merit got by their valour, and encouraged them to hope for greater things. As for the rest, he sometimes threatned their cowardice with severe punishment; promised sometimes great honour and rewards to their valour. He held forth unto them the booty and prey they were to get, which he confirm'd, by their companions having enrich'd themselves at Nicossia. He entreated, he conjured them, not to suffer the victorious army incur any shame; that they should not fear them, to whom they had ever been a terror. He had them remember Nicossia, shewing them, that they might get another noble victory, and put an end to the war, with more ease and advantage; for that the enemy were still the same, weak, and unexperienced in the true Militia: They therefore ought to be the same, and to be mindfull of their invincible forces, whereby they had got the glorious name of conquerours, having hardly ever attempted any thing, wherein they were not successfull, teaching the world by their example, that fortune of war obeys true valour.

The Basha having much encouraged the souldiers, with these and the like speeches, would be present himself at the assault, to the end that seeing what was done, & being seen himself by others, he might by his advice, provide for all things, & by his presence encourage his souldiers. This assault proved terrible & dangerous; the Turks fought valiantly, hoping to get the city that day; but our men keeping together, and resolute to keep what they had, could not be beaten off; the enemy appeared no sooner, but they were dispers'd, repuls'd, and slain; their blows proved the sorer to the enemy, for that being made at

a multitude, none of them proved vain. Thus for five hours space, the third assault was valiantly withstood. But those who defended the Ravelin of the gate Limisso, being disordered by fire-works, and not being able to govern themselves well in so little a compass, laboured still, when the battle was almost ended in all other places, and were much endamaged by the enemy; so as being forc'd to yield at last, they suffered the Turks to mount the Ravelin, and all other helps failing, the Captains, by necessity, but dreadfull advice, resolved immediately to give fire unto a Mine, which they, foreseeing the danger, had prepared in the same place; and the souldiers of the camp, and those of the city, being intermingled on the Ravelin, those pursuing, these retreating, both enemies and friends were blown up, and buried in those ruines. The Ravelin being lost, there was only the thickness of the in-works, made, as hath been said, of bags of earth, between the besiegers and the besieged, so as the souldiers of the camp, and those of the city, spoke often together; and, according to the custom of war, the Turks mock and laugh at our men, for their vain hopes, saying, That the Christian Fleet was fled for fear back towards Venices, and our men reproached the enemy, for that like country people, not like souldiers, they used their spades and mat-hooks, not trusting to the valour of their forces. Amongst which jesting speeches, some serious discourse was sometimes mingled; the Turks made some proposals of agreement be put, by certain slaves that were in their camp, which they had oftentimes formerly endeavoured by severall Letters, written sometimes to the Governours, and sometimes to the common people of the city, which were conveyed in by arrows. But no answer of coming to a parley was ever assented unto, according as was desired. Wherefore the Turks finding they could not prevail by their craft, betook themselves to another assault, by the Ravelin which they had already got, when the combat was come to, it was egregiously fought on all sides, but chiefly by our men, and to the singular glory of the chief commanders; for stout Baglione encouraged his souldiers more by his example, than by his words; and placing himself amongst the foremost, took, as it is said, the Venetian Standard, which the enemies got at the taking of Nicollia, from the hands of an Ensign-bearer; and Luigi Martinigo, who had the particular charge of that place committed to him, did discharge the part of a wise and valiant commander in all things, did supply the battle with fresh souldiers often, assisting those that were wearied, entertaining the enemy where they fought most, and repulsing those that gave back. The Turks having received a repulse, betook themselves to molest our men yet further, with new machinations; they filled up all the space which was between the gate and the Ravelin, with wood and faggots, which they set on fire, throwing in severall mixtures, that the combustion might be the greater; whereby they did much torment our men by the heat, and also by the stench of that wood, which grows in that Island, and which is called by those of the country, Tezza, which being set on fire, makes a very horrible stinke. This fire continuing for many daies, the souldiers had much ado, and were greatly incommodited to defend that place, having in vain tried all things to quench it. Those valiant men, notwithstanding these, so many, and so grievous perplexities, did still defend the city, all of them growing so courageous, and being so resolute to maintain the siege to the utmost, that even old men and women kept continually upon the walls, and together with the souldiers, discharged the

the duties, of the Militia. But things were now brought to the last extremity, the persisting in labour, and danger afforded no hopes of safety. The Enemies were still recruited with new Forces, and with all things necessary for the want of men, ammunition, and victuals, grew dayly greater and greater within the Town: a great many of the valiantest Souldiers were already slain, and many being wounded, were given over for want of Medicaments, and Physicians: The few that were yet well, were wasted not only by continuall pains-taking, but by sufferings, being forced to feed upon Asses, Horses, Dogs, and other such nauseous food, and to drink nothing but water, their wine being all spent: They were reduced to such weakness, as they seemed to live more by vigour of minde, then by strength of body; so as finding it was now impossible to maintain the city any longer, the citizens resolved to beseech the Governours and Commanders, to provide for their safety, and not to wait the utmost extremities. Matteo Golsi spoke in the name of all the rest.

Who intreated the Magistrates, in the name of the whole city, that considering the loyalty and constancy of the Inhabitants, the dangers and sufferings which they had so patiently undergone: and that since things were now brought to the utmost extremity, they would not suffer their fidelity to be rewarded by the totall ruine of their country, but rather by the preservation thereof; so as to the double praise of those who had so long defended her, it might be seen that their generous minds, which could be wrought upon by no fear of the Enemy, had been moved by the love of their friends, & by a desire of giving them, if not the reward which they had desired, at least what fortune had permitted them to do: He said, that if there were any hope of doing good, the same readines and courage should be found in them as had been seen hitherto; that if they could preserve their country from the sore & cruel slavery of those barbarous infidels, by the expence of their blood, so to maintain it under the just and moderate Venetian Government, there was not any one that would be sparing thereof; for that which had now moved them to make this request, was no fear of death, which they valued not; since that being bereft of so many kindred, friends, and of whatsoever else was held dear by them, they could not delight in life, but rather a doubt of living to suffer more heavy calamities, and of seeing their Country laid waste themselves, and their children, made prisoners, and the eternal welfare of their soules endangered. That therefore he did in all humility desire, in name of the most Loyall City, that they would give way to a parley, which was dayly desired by the Enemy; and by some fair conditions of agreement, endeavour to preserve those few remainders, which were yet left of so great, and of so noble a Kingdom.

This the peoples request being heard, the Magistrates and chiefe commanders consulted what was to be done; there was severall opinions therein, some were fittest for dying with sword in hand; and that by falling all of them out by night, they might assault the Enemy at unawares, and dying, vindicate that death by their blood, which howsoever was to be esteemed equally certain, but not equally glorious, by reason of the no trust that was to be given to the Enemies word; that there was no reason to believe the Turks would keep that agreement, which they saw necessity, not choice, had brought them to; which though they should do, it might contaminate, or at least some-

some what lessen the renown and honour, which through so much labour they had gotten.

Others pleaded on the contrary, that it became not them who were deputed to the Government of that city, to shew themselves more cruel thereunto, and to the people thereof, than did the enemy: For it was clear enough, that nothing had moved the Commanders in the Camp to motion and Agreement, save only to preserve the city from sucking, and the citizens from being slain, fearing that they should not be able to refrain the Souldiers insolence, if it should be taken by storm. Moreover, as it became men of courage not to do any base thing, or to be failing in their duty, for fear of death, so to lose their lives without any advantage, would be rather a sign of foolish ostentatiousness, than of true worth: that the things which they had done for the defence of that Fort, were such, and so many, as none, unless moved by envy, would dare to detract from their merits; but that how much greater glory is, so much more doth Envy sharpen her goads: yet virtue had that of privilege, that she could be satisfied and assaid in herself; that they had sufficiently discharged their duties in all respects, by preserving that city to the Masters thereof to the last, that now they were able to do them no other service, then by preserving those Souldiers for other occasions, who by so many sufferings, and by such experience, were all become fit to be made Commanders. Neither ought they so much to distrust the observance of Articles in this case, having had many examples, as in the taking of Rhodes, and upon many other occasions in the actions of Hungary; that though the Turks were Barbarians, yet they love and honour warlike worth; even in their enemies.

These reasons at last prevailing, it was, after a long dispute, resolved to surrender the city upon fair conditions. Thus on the first of August, it was concluded, by means of an Italian Ensign, who was prisoner in the camp, that Hostages being first given to our men, two of the chief of the Camp should enter the city, to treat of the particular Articles of surrender, and that in the interim, there should be a cessation of Arms on all sides, and severall white flags being hung out, both within the city, and without, in sign of Truce, the next day two Cechia, (who are amongst the Turks as Masters of the Household) the one of them belonging to Mustafa, the other to the Aga of the Janifaries, entered the city, and with them only 6 Janifaries on foot, the Cechia being on Horseback, richly adorn'd. On our side, Hercule Martinengo, and Matteo Colti, a citizen of Famagosta, went out, attended only by four Souldiers, who as soon as they were out of the city, were met by a Son of Mustafa's, and by a great number of foot and horse, and were by him brought to his Father, who having very civilly received them, and presented them with two testaments introidered with gold, sent them to lodge in the Aga of the Janifaries Pavillion. Those who were come to treat of the Agreement, easily granted all that was proposed, which in fine was, That the Souldiers should be safely carried in Turkish Vessels to Candia, carrying with them all their Arms, and goods, and particularly five pieces of Artillery, and three of the three chief Commanders Horses: That the same liberty should be given to such of the Inhabitants as would depart, to go with their families, and their goods, whither they pleased; and that those who would

would tarry, should be preserved in their lives, goods, and honours, from the insolency of the Souldier.

Thus in one and the same day, the Articles were negotiated, agreed on, and concluded. And seeming as if they would speedily and inviolably observe them, some 40 Vessels were forthwith sent into the Haven, in which those that were infirm, began to be imbarked, whilst those that were well, guarded the inworks, not suffering the Turks to make any invasion. But as soon as our men came out of the Trenches, and that they saw the Enemies, and were seen by them, it cannot be said what wonder arose in both the Armies, but out of severall reasons. Our men marvelled at the vast number of the Enemy, who for three miles space from about the city, stood so thick, as their white Turbants, like flakes of snow, seemed to cover the superficies of the earth. And the Turks on the other side, seeing how few those that defended the city were, how lean and pale, hardly able to stand upon their legs; they admired their valour, who had been so long able to make so valiant resistance, not without some obloquie to themselves: so as being wrought upon by meer naturall charity, they gave them severall refreshments, and praying their constancy, encouraged them to hope well. The Grecians, and Albanians, were this mean while imbarcking themselves, and their families; and some souldiers were already got into other Vessels; so as on the 4th of August, the whole city was left in free possession to the Turks: But as soon as the Enemy were got within the walls, they began to use much violence against the citizens, wherewith Bragadino acquainted Mustafa, complaining thereof, and intreating him, that in observance of the Articles, and of his plighted faith, he would curb the souldiers insolencie, and send other ships to carry away the rest of his men; saying, that he would come himselfe, and bring him the keys of the City. This employment was given to Nectore Martinengo, a spright youth, who being come to Famagosta at the very beginning of the War, under the colours of his uncle Girolimo Martinengo, had carried himselfe gallantly in severall offices, and with much praise, shewing great ingenuity and valour. He coming to the Harbour, got speedy orders sent to the Souldiers who were entered the City, to keep from doing any injuries, and that two Vessels more should be sent to the Haven to imbarke the Souldiers; and by commission from Mustafa, brought Bragadino word back, that he should be very glad to see him, for that he desired much to know his face, as he had already known his valour, which he would always witness to the world: So as without any longer stay, leaving Ticipoli in the city, all the chief Commanders marcht out, Bragadino, Baglione, Martinengo, and Antonio Quirino, a noble Venetian, accompanied by other Captains, and some Grecian Gentlemen, all on Horseback, with forty Musqueteers on foot. Bragadino went before the rest under a red Umbrell, clad in purple, and in his ordinary habit of Magistrate, being followed by all the rest, who when they were come to the Barbans Pavillion, were received with much civility, made to lay down their Arms, and then brought before Mustafa; who entertaining himselfe a while with them in severall discourses, concealing his inward thoughts, at last seeking some occasion to shew his cruelty, demanded security for the return of his ships which he lent them; to the which Bragadino answering, that he was not tyed thereto by Articles, nor had he any with him which were sufficient security: Mustafa,

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pointing to Quirino, said, he should stay behind with him: This Touch's gallantry might be seen in the nobleness of his aspect. But Bragadino said, he would never willingly give way unto it; wherefore the Bashaw, being no longer able to conceal his anger, fell to injurious words, accusing our men, for that contrary to the custom of War, and to all humane Lawes, they had put his Muselmans to death, who were their prisoners: and his anger increasing by multiplying of words, he commanded that they should all be bound, and making them be led out of his Pavilion, dismissing the hostages, who were yet with him, he made Baglione, Martiningo, Quirino, and all the rest (a sad spectacle) to be cut in pieces by his Souldiers: a death certainly misbecoming so gallant valiant men, who should have received rewards from men truly military, though enemies, not punishment for their warlike worth. But Bragadino, who was reserved for greater torments, must be a spectator of this cruelty, being to feel the torments of death severall times before he lost his life: for making him reach out his neck, they would not as then kill him, but onely cut off his Ears: and those that were formerly imbarcked, fared no better then the rest; for they were put in chains, and condemned to miserable slavery, being to undergo long and heavy calamity. Fortune was more favourable to some few, who tarrying last in the City, were made Prisoners by some particular Souldiers, & paying speedily some ransome, were for fear of losing it, set at liberty by those that took them; for all men were strictly forbidden to keep any particular Prisoners: the Bashaw being desirous to make his Triumph the more glorious by the number of slaves which he should lead into Constantinople. Amongst these, onely Tiepoli found no favour, whose dignity made him the more regardable: He by order from the Bashaw, underwent the infamous death of being hang'd upon the Mast of a Gally. But it is a sad thing to tell, what, and how many cruell Martyrdoms these barbarous men made Bragadino suffer: After many revilings, and scorns, he was brought to the Piazza of Famagosta, and being tied to the Pillory, he was dead alive; Mustafa standing upon a little hill in the Palace to feed his eyes with this strange and most cruel spectacle; but the courage of this gallant man shew'd amidst so many torments, and for which his memory ought never to be forgotten, is not to be imagined. Mustafa, not having yet satisfied his anger, gave order, that Bragadino's skin should be stuff'd with straw, and putting it upon a Cow, with the red umbrella, for his greater scorn, with which he went into the Camp, made it to be led all about the City, and at last made it be hung up upon the main Mast of a Gally, to the end that this infamous Trophy might be seen by all the people on the shore as he pass'd by.

It was not well known, what made Mustafa thus cruel; some said, that having kept the Souldiers from the reward he had promised them in sacking the City; he sought to give some satisfaction to his Army, by the death of a few, for the death of so many as he had lost in that great siege. Others, that being incen'd at their so long and obstinate standing out, and at the losse of some that he had extraordinarily loved; he had formerly taken some oath, to take some severe revenge. And others thought, that Mustafa, who was so subject to choller, as when he was moved he was wont to grow furious, and to be horn-mad; being proud of Victory, was mightily scandalized, when he saw Bragadino and the rest come to his Pavillion with so many armed men, and

and so richly apparel'd, as if they had rather been conquerors, then conquered: which being of it selfe a slight occasion for such cruelty, was the lesse likely, in respect of the time which pass between these severe punishments, and the giving sentence. For moved onely out of his Barbarism, he was cruell even against the dead, and entering into the Cathedrall Church of St. Nicolas, made all the Tombs be throwne open, and the bones that were within them be scattered abroad: he destroy'd the Altars and Images of Saints, and committed many other cruell and bestiall actions, for which he was much blamed even by his own men. The city being thus won, they be- took themselves with diligence to cleanse the ditches, to levell all the Forts and Trenches that were without, and to repair what was ruinated within; in so much, as in a short time, the Fort was restored to its former condition; nay, made more defensible then it was before: the Bashaw left il Bei de Rodi, Governour of the City, and went himselfe from Cyprus, the 24th of September, returning victorious, and triumphant towards Constantinople, where he was received with much honour and joy by all, though this victory was dearly bought, the Turks having therein lost, as it was said, above 50000 men, among which many Commanders, and their best Warri-ers.

But it is time for us, after so long and unpleasing a Narrative, now to return to the Fleets, where we shall finde, wherewithal to make some amends for these miseries. On the 24th of Aprill, all the three Generals were joyned together, as hath been said, at Messina, with the greatest part of the Forces of the League, wherewith they thought at first, to go to Palermo, that they might by getting nearer the Enemy, cause some jealousie in them: But this resolution being delay'd, Giovan Andrea Doria, and the Marquis of St. Croce came thither with some other of the King of Spain's Gallies; and soon after the two Commissaries, Canale and Quirini, with 62 Venetian Gallies man'd in Candia, which came somewhat late, having met with contrary winds at Sea. When they were altogether, they amounted to the number of 220 gallies, to boot with six Gallies, 25 ships, and other lesser Vessels. These forces being thought able to grapple with the Turkish Fleet, a council was held, wherein the Commendatore Maggiore, Pompeo Collonna, and Commissary Barbarigo met, and spoke their opinions, and wherkein it was by common consent agreed upon, to part forthwith from Messina, and go to Corfu, as a fitting place to put on such resolves as they should see occasion for, and to learn tydings of the Enemy. Having therefore address'd themselves by humble Orisons, solemn processions, and other pious and religious actions to God; the whole Fleet put from Messina on the 17th of September, the first day, they sayled with a prosperous wind to Calabria, keeping a good order either for making way, or for fighting, that they might take all occasions they might meet with, of fighting the Enemy. Eight Gallies, commanded by Giovanni di Cardona, the Sicilian General went before the rest, as Van-guard to the Fleet, after which, Giovan Andrea Doria, went next with 53 gallies, and after him followed the three Generalls, with a greater Squadron of 61 gallies; and a little after, followed Commissary Barbarigo, with 50 other gallies; the fourth and last

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squadron, consisting of 30 galleys, was commanded by *Don Alvarez di Bazzano*, Marquis of *St. Croce*, the Neapolitan General: but upon occasion of battel, the Van-guard was to divide it selfe into two wings, and to fall into such places as were appointed them; and the first Squadron, lying to sea-ward, was to make the right wing, whereof *Doria's* Admirall was to lye outermost, and the Admirall of *Sicily*, next to the Battel: the third Squadron, recommended to *Barbarigo*, plying towards Land, was to make the left wing, wherein were likewise placed the two Commissaries, *Canale* in the midst, and *Quirini*, in the outermost part inward, as Commissary *Barbarigo*, first on the out-side: The second Squadron made the Battel, plac'd between the two wings, in the midst whereof were the three Royall Gallies, with the three Generalls, *Don John*, *Colonna*, and *Veniero*; and next these, on one side, *la Patrona Reale*, and the Admirall of *Genua*; and on the other side, the *Commandadore Maggiore*, and the Admirall of *Savoy*: and this whole battel was terminated on the right wings side, by the Admirall of *Malta*; and on the left, by *Lomelinoes* Admirall: and the fourth Squadron lay behinde, to be a succour to the rest. The great Venetian Gallies were before the lesser Fleet, about half a mile, divided so, as *Duodoes* Admirall was to be placed before the battel, and that of *Jacopo Guoro*: Before the right wing, stood *Andrea Pefaro*, and *Pietro Pisani*, with their two gallies; and before the left, *Antonio*, and *Antibrogio Bragadini*, with other two. The ships were sent before with the men and munition, to *Corsu*, commanded by *Cesare Duvalos*, and *Nicolo Donato*; but because the foot destin'd thereunto, were not yet arriv'd, being hindred, as hath been said by the Enemies Fleet, whereby the Venetian gallies were not furnisht with as many men as were the Spanish; *Don John* gave very readily way, that they should be re-inforced with 1000 of the *Spaniards* Italian foot, and with 4000 *Spaniards*, which were with as much affiance received into the Venetian gallies. Two dayes after, the Fleet being come to the Cape of the *Colonne*, where, by reason of contrary winds, and upon occasion of taking in some foot, it staid a while: *Gilandrada* was sent with his own gally, and with three other Venetian gallies, to *Corsu*, to learn news of the Enemies Fleet, whereof that of *Caterino Malepiro* return'd forthwith, and brought news, that the Enemy was past by within sight of *Zante*, and was sent with their whole Fleet, into the Gulph of *Lepanto*; the mean while, seeing the winds would not serve them to make for *Corsu*, the Venetian General mentioned going towards *Cefalonia*, whether they seemed to be invited by prosperous Navigation, and hopes of meeting speedily with the Enemy; but this opinion being laid aside, and the first course being pursued, the Fleet came on the 27th of September to *Corsu*, and anchor'd at *Casopo*, where having the same news confirmed by severall advertisements; and moreover, that *Uluzzali* was past with fifty sayle to *Modone*, It was thought, that these things being to be believed, it was now time to come to some certain resolution. The three Generalls therefore called a councill; where not onely those did intervene, who

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were usually admitted, but many other Commanders, and prime Personages, who were then in the Fleet. Some were of opinion, that they were to advance, and fight the enemy. But others being of another mind, propounded other enterprises, seeking to enterpose delays; yet to shew, that they were likewise for trying the fortune of war, but governed by better reasons, they propos'd the expugning of *Naverino*; and governed by taking this place, which with so great forces they might easily do, *Modone* would be thereby likewise much endangered; so as the enemy would be forc'd to come out of their strong places; and places of safety, where they were, and to encounter and hinder them; so as by this means, they might come upon more advantage to battel. But it was clearly seen by many arguments, that these things were propounded, not with any minde of putting them in effect, but of opposing such as were forwardest for advancing; for at the same time, it was granted by themselves, that the season of the year was unfit for sea-enterprises, and that this would meet with many dangers; for that so great a Fleet would not meet with any friend's places, or havens able to receive them. That therefore they ought to consider well, before they should take any such resolution, as might make the enemy glory in a victory, gotten without fighting. That those, to whose care the conduct of the Fleet was committed, and whereupon the whole businesse did depend, were to think, as well of coming back, as of advancing, and not to juster themselves to be carried so far away, with a desire of undoing the enemy, as to forget their own safety. That the voyage of the western Gallies, to go to where they were to winer, was long and difficult. Besides, great care ought to be had, in assaulting the enemy at their own dores, though they should be the weaker; whereas those that spoke the least, affirm'd, that the Turkish Fleet was doubtlesly greater then theirs. That though *Uluzzali* was gone, he was not gone so farre, as that they might hope to finde the Enemy divided. And that certainly it was more likely, that they should lose their labour, in seeking to finde out the Turkish Fleet, which, loaded with prey, after having tane the towns in *Albania*, it being no longer time to make other attempts, would not stay expecting them, but would be already past on towards *Constantinople*. Which reasons prevailing with some, they were for making some enterprise in the Gulph, as that which would be sooner, and with more safety done. And others mentioned going for *Candia*, fearing, lest the enemy, when they should see our men busied else-where, and being thereunto invited by the weaknesse of the garriisons, and the rising of the country Mountaigners, would turn towards that Islands and endanger it. But General *Veniero*, and commissary *Barbarigo*, with some others, who were constant to their opinion of fighting the enemy, gainsaying all other proposalls, considered, that the season was now such, as that alone was enough to make them give over the thought, of expugning any city, or doing any thing else, that required length of time; whereas the Turkish Fleet was so near, as that a battel might soon be had, wherein all the hopes and reputation of the League did now consist. That Cyprus was already lost, many Islands in the Levant, and all the Rivers of *Albania* and *Dalmatia* were pillaged. That the victorious enemy insulted every where, threatening the Island of *Candia*, wherein, it was already said, they intended to winter, putting themselves, with the greatest part of their Gallies, into the haven of *Suda*. Wherefore (said these) hath there been so great a Fleet prepared, and so

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many souldiers raised; wherefore hath so much monies been expended? why have the people been grieved with so many taxes? Princes so much troubled; if without so much as seeing the face of an enemy, or trying our fortune, we, when we are not well got out to sea, should return home, with so much losse, and disgrace to Christendom? Is it not peradventure sufficiently known, that no war is made without danger; and that not onely war, but no other action is secure and certain? But when the danger is counterpoised with as much hope, those who esteeme glory, or what the world will say, ought not to shun the triall of their fortune. We have a Fleet so numerous, so well provided of men and artillery, and of all things fitting, (the Lord be praised) as we want nothing, unlesse our Commanders want courage and resolution, to make use of their forces. The Turkish Gallies are usually much worse then those of Christendom; and at the present, they cannot be well provided of souldiers, all the best being gone with the Army to Cyprus; the having been long at sea, their prey, and their present security, are things which make the Fleet the weaker, and the easier to be overcome. And say, that the Fleet should now be suffered to return home safe and entire, have we not reason to believe, that it will be so strongly recruited the next year, as all lands, and all seas, must lie open to the pleasure thereof, not meeting with any, that dare any where withstand it? It is wisely done, to spin out the war in length, when there is hopes, that the enemy may consume of himself, and by his own sufferings: But our case is clean different: such difficulties being, out of many respects, rather to be feared on our side, then that we should hope to see the enemy oppress thereby. There is no hope of glory or safety therefore for us now in any thing, but in beating the enemies Fleet; after that, we may hope for all good successe; without it, all our designs are vain, all other enterprizes are to no purpose, or else of very little help to the main businesse. Now are we to dispair of finding out the enemy, for being by their innate pride insolent, and by the negligence, wherein the Christians have alwaies proceeded against them, they will not hasten their journey for any fear of our Fleet. But say we should not find them, we shall not be said to have done but little, when we shall have won much honour, by shewing, we have done what in us lay, to find out, and to fight the Enemy.

These things were eagerly disputed on all sides, so as every one standing firm to their own opinion, nothing could positively be then agreed on: Yet their judgment beginning to prevail, who advised for the best, it was resolved, to go to *Cefalonia*, and there, upon more certain intelligence, resolve what to do. Thus the Fleet parted from *Corfu* on the 30th. of September, passing by the head of the Island, which lies towards the *Levanti*; and, crossing the Channel with a brisk south-east winde, they went to Anchor at the *Gemeniæ*, about some twenty miles from *Corfu*, where there is a large haven, where being forced to tarry three daies, by reason of contrary winde, they began to muster their men, the care whereof being given to *John Andrea Doria*, he went aboard some of the Venetian Gallies, and making the souldiers stand to their Arms, he seemed to be well satisfied. But so much powder was spent in those musters, and in continuall salutations, wherein our men, who were but fresh souldiers, took much delight, as above 200 barrells of powder was wasted in one day, so as fearing lest they might want it in time of need,

need, the souldiers were forbidden to shoot without occasion. There hapned at this time a sleight accident, which was like to have caused very ill blood. A tumult being risen amongst the souldiers in *Andrea's* Gally, a Candian, wherein there was a company of Italian foot, who were the Count of *Sto Fiore's* men, commanded by *Murio Tortona*, one of the King of Spain's Captains; The Venetian Generall hearing, that the tumult continued, and that severall of them were slain, to prevent further mischief, sent first his Master's Mate thither, and afterwards his Admirall, who both of them received injurious words from *Tortona*, and the Admirall was sorely hurt by *Tortona's* souldiers. The Venetian Generall thought, that if this should remain unpunished, it might cause the greater prejudice to him, and to his authority, for that it was done before his eyes, who was not far from thence in his own Gally: Wherefore he gave command, that Captain *Murio*, his Antient, and his Sergeant, who were the first occasioners of the scandall, should be apprehended; and being apparently found guilty, he made them immediately be hung up upon the Mast of his own Gally, to the end, that they might be an example to others, to proceed with more respect, and to give due obedience to their Commanders. *Don John* was more troubled at this, then became him, as if he and his authority had been therein injured, by whom alone, as some of his followers sought to perswade him, such justice should have been done. But *Colonna*, and others, who were lovers of justice, and who were much troubled, that the most important businesse should be disturbed, by so small occasions, did labour to pacifie *Don John*, shewing, that there was no cause of offence given him; that the place wherein the fault was committed, was sufficient reason for him to punish it, who commanded there. That the Venetian Generall might use his authority in such particular affairs, wherein the common interest was not concerned; and that that time, and that occasion, did particularly require it, to the end, that Commanders might not be bereft of that obedience, which was alwaies so usefull in War, but most necessary there, where there were souldiers of severall Nations, and under Commanders of severall Dominions. Wherewith, though *Don John's* anger was in a good part satisfied, yet was he not altogether appeased; inasmuch as absolutely denying, to treat of any thing with the Venetian Generall, the most important businesses were negotiated by Commissary *Barberigo*, who with singular dexterity and wisdom, sought to keep upon good terms with the Spaniards, which was then more necessary then ever; the enemies Fleet was very strong, and very near; the businesse which they had in hand with all the League's forces, was of greatest importance. So as continuing without more dispute, in their first resolution, of going to *Cefalonia*, as soon as the winde should serve, they pursued their voyage; and passing on the 4th. of October by the Channell of *Viscardo*, on the 5th. the Fleet went to the vale of *Alessandria*, where many ruines of the antient city of *Samos* are yet to be seen. Here, by the relation of *Gilæ Andrea*, of *Jovan Batista Contarini*, and by Letters from *Paolo Contarini*, Com-

Commissary of *Zante*, the same things were confirmed, which they had formerly heard, of the Turkish Fleet; and chiefly of *Aluzzaali's* being gone, though his voyage was diversly spoken of; some saying, that he was gone with fifty Gallies to *Modene*; and others, that he was gone with somewhat a lesser number to *Barbary*. Wherefore all of them being of opinion, that they were fully informed of the enemies forces, and of their condition, and that they might hope to finde them in the Gulph of *Lepanto*, and fight them upon advantageous terms, the Venetians met together, to consult what was to be done: On the one side, they were very desirous to fight, and had great hopes of victory; on the other side, they were very doubtfull what to do, and feared much any good successe, by reason of the Spaniards various and uncertain proceedings, so as they knew not well what resolution to take. By saying nothing, they did not onely give over their hopes of good successe, but suffered their Fleet to be exposed to great danger, by reason of the enemies being so near; and they were debar'd advising thereupon, (according as the importancy of the newes, and the business required) by reason of the Commander's simulation. In this ambiguity, they resolved to send *Colonna*, and Commissary *Barbarigo*, upon the occasion of the newes which they had received, to *Don John*; and that without mentioning any fighting, they should endeavour to perswade him, to continue his first resolution of advancing, and to think onely of doing what was already resolved on, without any further consultation. Yet some propos'd the enterprise of *St. Maura*, and other things but much difficulty was found in them all. Wherefore the next night, the Fleet went from the Haven of *Alessandria*, and steering towards the Gulph of *Lepanto*, came to the Curzolari Rocks the next morning, by Sun-rising, which was on the seventh of *October*.

At the same time, the enemy hearing by *Caracoza*, that the Christians Fleet came forward, and was badly provided of men; *Ali*, were it either, that he had received such expresse orders from *Selino*, or that aspiring after glory, being thereunto egg'd on by the Trophies, which the other *Bashaw* had won by land-enterprises, which made him desirous to do some notable action by sea, prepared to go out of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, and to meet the Colleagues Fleet, with intention to fight them, promising unto himself a glorious victory. And yet being desirous to have the opinions of the chief Commanders therein, he found some doubtfull, and others of a clean contrary sense. *Pertau*, as being of chief authority, and knowing himself out of emulation of glory, to be more subject to suspicion, did neither give his free consent, nor openly contradict it. But *Siloco*, *Sangiaco* of *Alessandria*, an aged man, and of great experience at Sea, dissuading from the proposall, laboured to prove, that this advice was full of danger; and that the advisers thereunto might be the more subject to blame, for that such a resolution would not onely be taken without necessity, but unreasonably, and without reason.

Our arms (said he) *have hitherto been victorious, we have ruined many*

any of the Enemies Islands, taken so much booty, brought away so many prizes, and taken two Towns in Albania, opportunely seated, whereby we have much increased the Ottoman Empire; nor was it to be esteemed lesse boldly done to have advanc'd so far, and approach'd with their Gallies so near the very city of Venice, and scorn'd the so great preparations of the Enemies Fleet, to have withstood their force to the defence of their own shores, and made the memory of that expedition perpetually glorious. What greater prosperity, what greater renown could be now expected? That some bounds were to be put to the desire of glory, and Empire; and that they ought not so often, and at th time tempt, nay tire fortune, which never smiles long upon any body, especially in affairs of war: that they had made war with the Venetians for the getting of Cyprus, which was successfully by force of Arms now reduced under the Ottoman Empire, so as the cause of that war was now decided. What should now make them hazard the dubious event of battel; and not onely afford those Enemies a means, but even force them to fight, whom if they, the Turks, knew how to make use of the present occasions, they might without unsheathing a sword, force to return with shame home to their own Havens, for want of bread, leaving them the effect of victory, gotten without any hazard: so as being confounded and amazed by so many bad successes, they would not hereafter dare to agree in joining so many forces together as now they had done: wherein that they had done their utmost, might be witness'd by their so long delay of putting out together to Sea, and by their unmov'd boldness of advancing so far, knowing that they had so great a Fleet as might counterpoise their Enemies: therefore it would be much more wisely done, to keep within that Haven, where they were defended by two Forts, and had good store of Victuals, and all other conveniences; and where the enemy durst not approach them: that those things were truly advantageous, which wrought our intents with real glory, by the vain appearance whereof none ought to suffer themselves to be led against all reason of war, and whereby they might incur great blame, committing their reputation, and perchance all that they had got, to the uncertainty of fortune.

But these reasons, though in themselves of great weight and consideration, were not able to remove *Ali* from his first firmly taken resolution, building upon so assured a victory, as that when our men should be assaulted by them, they should onely think of saving themselves by flight; by which falling into disorder, they would the more easily become their prey. Former examples, and the late successes represented all things so prosperous unto him, and did so inflame him with pride and audacity, as thinking his men invincible, he could not be perswaded that his fortune could alter. He therefore cheered up the Captains and Souldiers with promise of Victory; he minded them that they went against the same enemies, which had been so often beaten by them, and rob'd of all their military glory; a weak people, accustomed to pleasures, not to pain, who relied upon the Arms wherewith they were covered, not upon their valour.

Thus all things being ordered to this purpose, and the gallies being well recruited with Souldiers, by taking 6000 Spachi from the neighbouring *St. Jacchi's*, he parted with his whole Fleet from *Lepanto*, on the 6th of *October*, which according to the truest relation, consisted of 250 sayl, whereof above 200 were gallies, the rest Fly-

Fly-boats, and Galliacasses: and in this number there were about 40 Lanthorns. *Ali* disposing of the Fleet, as if he had been presently to give battel, committed the right wing to *Mehemet Siloco*, an *Alessandrian* Captain; he gave the care of the left wing to *Musxali*, King of *Algiers*; he placed himselfe together with *Balthaw Pertaui*, in the midst, the body of the battel consisting of 100 gallies, 50 on a side. The two Captains of the wings were placed, the one before, the other behinde all the Squadrons; and certain fly-boats were kept for a reserve, under several Captains. The Turkish Fleet parting in this order from *Lepanto*, sayled the first day to *Galata*, where staying but one night, it steered the next morning before day towards *Cefalonia*, where the Turks thought to finde our Fleet, and to fight it within the Haven; having the same design upon our men, as we had upon them; for a little before the Turkish Fleet hoysted sayl, the Christian Fleet was likewise gone from their Havens, to go meet the Enemy.

Thus it fell out, that the two Fleets were gotten very near one another, before either of them knew what way the other took: they both desired battel, but yet they met without knowing it, each thinking that the other would not fight uninforced. But when the Turkish Fleet discovered ours, and was at the same time discovered by ours, the wonder was great on both sides, and the joy as much, each of them undervaluing the others forces. The Turkish gallies sayled in the order aforesaid, with their Trincher-sayl onely, very close together, in form of a halfe Moon; but our Fleet, as it past through the channel, which the *Curzolari* Rocks make there, was forced somewhat to alter their order; for the Van-guard being only advanced, and the first gallies of the right-wing beginning to go out, the rest remained behinde those Rocks. But that all things may be the more clearly represented, the Narration requires that this situation be particularly described. A Creek is made as it were by two Arches in the Jonick Sea, which incompasseth about 200 miles; for parting from the Gulph of *Aria*, and pursuing the Rivers of *Albania*, even to the gulph of *Lepanto*, for the space of 70 miles: the Land bends backwards, and advancing as far on the coast of *Morea*, from the gulph of *Lepanto*, to the Castle *Torneste*, it makes as it were a half Moon. Opposite to the *Ferme* Land, lies the Islands of *Sta Maura*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zante*, which being seated in a triangular form, shape an opposite Semicircle; so as this part of the Sea is, though with a large intervall, almost inclosed. In this, there are three small Rocks, not above a mile from the Rivers of *Albania*, standing but a little divided; on the East, they look upon *Lepanto*; on the West, upon *Sta Maura*, from which places they are almost equally distant between 35 and 40 miles: on the South, lies the Islands of *Zante*, above twice as far off: and on the North, the *Albanian* coast. These Islands were by the Ancients, called *Echinadi*, whereof the Poets, fabling, said, they were Nymphs, drowned there in the Sea, and turned into Rocks: for having despised the Deity of the neighbouring River *Achiloo*. These are barren Rocky places, without any humane habitation, and otherwise of no note; but

Part II. Written by Paulo Paruta.

but now made famous through all Ages, for the memorable Naval fight which ensued thereabouts. Hither came our Fleet, as you have heard the 7th of *October*, a day celebrated amongst Christians, in memory of the Virgin Martyr *Juslina*, a little after sun-rising; which having disperst the clouds, and allay'd the winds, brought with it a Calm. *Jovanni di Corodha* past by the *Curzolari* Rocks, who guided the Van with 8 Gallies, and went to *Petala*, and was followed by the whole Fleet, to tarry there, by reason of the conveniency of the Haven, and of the River *Achiloo*, with intention, now that they were come within 8 miles of the Castle that lies in the mouth of the gulph of *Lepanto*, to send some Commander to view it. Thus all of them following the same way, as they came from out the *Curzolari* Rocks, upon the point of the *Pescharie*, called by the Grecians, *Mesologni*: the Enemies Fleet was kend by *Don Johns* Admiral Royall, about 12 miles off. Then the Generalls, surpris'd by an unexpected necessity of fighting, not being at all moved, sent with all possible speed and diligence to all the gallies, that they should stand to their Arms, and hastening their voyage, take the places as was particularly prescribed them before. It is said, that *Don John* was then wisht by those who were formerly against advancing, not to hazard himselfe upon a battel, without new and mature advice; to which he wisely and generously reply'd, the present condition of affairs was such as required courage, not counsell. And thus immediately, without listning to any thing that might disswade from fighting, he caused the Standard to be hoysted up in his Gally, with the Arms of the Princes of the League, and made the signe of Battel be given, at sight whereof all cry'd out with great joy, Victory, victory; and arming himselfe, and without any delay, getting into a long boat, he went round about, and solicited every one presently to make forward, and to overcome the malignity of the place; he ordered the Gallies, encouraged them all to fight; he acquainted them with the occasion of battel, with the danger, necessity, glory, and with the rich booty of the Victory.

The Venetian Generall was no lesse diligent, in ordering his forces, and encouraging his men to fight. When any noble Venetian, Governour of any Gally, came before him; he desired him to remember, That a publick, pious, and important cause, was to be disposed in that days work. That the totall affairs, and the honour and safety of their Country, lay in their valour; that the necessity of fighting was unavoidable, which was wont to make even cowards valiant; but that selfe worth, and desire of praise, did awaken fortitude in noble and generous hearts. This mean while the Gallies came still out, and leaving the Rocks on the left hand, the whole Fleet came into full Sea, and put it selfe in order, one gally keeping in a direct line by the others, with sufficient space for a gally to go between them: The Venetian and Spanisht gallies being every where mingled, the whole Fleet taking up about 4 miles space. *Andrea Doria*, who led on the right wing, kept towards the Sea on the South-East side. Commissary *Barbarigo*, kept with the left wing to landward, the three Generalls keeping in the midst with the Battel, about which there were 4 gallies with Lanthorns,

horns; two on the side, the two Admiralls of *Savoy* and *Genoa*, upon one whereof was the Prince of *Parma*, and the Prince of *Urbino* upon the other, and two on the Poop, *La Parvona Reale*, and the Commandador of *Castile* Admirall, *Lomellini's* Gally, and Commisary *Quirini's* Admirall, closing up the battel on one side, joynd it to the left wing; the Admirall of *Malta*, and Admirall of *Sicily*, joynd it with the right wing; and the Admiralls of the wings were the foremost of their Squadrons, on the out-side, The 6 Galliasles were placed on the Front of the Battel, about halfe a mile from it, divided in the same manner: In the midst before the Battel, stood *Duado's* Admirall, and *Jacomo Guoro's* Gally, with two others, for every wing, which were all very well furnished with Artillery and Souldiers.

The Fleet being thus ordered, stood firm, with their Prow turn'd towards the Enemy, expecting that they should come on. *Ali*, not seeing our left wing appear yet, which was not come from forth the Rocks, thought the Christian Fleet to be lesser then it was; and seeing *Doria*, bend towards the Sea, which he did to make way for the other gallies which followed, he imagined they began to fly; whereupon the Trumpet, Drums, and Cymballs, sounding, and making great signs of joy, the Turks advanced, as to an assured prey; but when they had advanced a little, and saw all our Gallies in order, they grew doubtful; so as, striking their main Yards, (for the winde began to grow lesse) they slackned their course; but not having time to put on new resolutions, they came slowly on, that they might keep the better order. *Ali* exhorted his Souldiers, not to forgo their former courage; if he found fear in any one of them, he stir'd them up, either by promises, or threats, bidding them remember the worth of many *Muselmans*, who would not give over the Battel till either dead, or Conquerors. As soon as the Enemies Fleet came near the greater gallies, they were play'd upon by a great shower of shot; for those Vessels were well provided (as hath been said) with both great Guns and lesser, and suddenly made many shot at them, every where, on Prow, Flank, and Poop, whereby they prejudiced them much. Those of the first Squadrons made resistance, and made many shots at *Duado's* Admirall; but soon perceiving that they did us but little harm, and received much themselves, they began to fall off with all possible speed from the greater Vessels, so as every gally seeking to give way, and to free themselves as soon as might be from danger, and not being all of equall goodnesse, nor able to keepe the same course, they fell of themselves into disorder; and to get out of the reach of the Guns, kept their ranks sometimes closer, sometimes wider, not according to conveniency, or reason, but as they were advised by Necessity. Hereupon it happened, that the enemies Fleet fought in great disorder, for the winde failed them; so as after they had past the Galliasles, they could not re-order themselves, before they were come very near our smaller Gallies, which making use of the fair winde, were advanced, and had by shot desfied the enemy, and begun the fight.

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This disorder of the enemies appeared most in the right Wing, for many of them falling willingly towards land, they had strained their Squadrons too much on that part. Then *Ali*, thinking *Doria's* Squadron the greater, because it made the greater show, being out at high Sea; and beginning to doubt, that his taking so great a compassse, was done with intention, of inclosing him in the midst, and by tacking about, to assault him both on the Flank and Poop, to his great inconvenience; he commanded *Uluzzali*, that he should augment his left wing, and making towards the enemy, should face or fight their right Wing. But *Doria* steered his course towards the enemy's Admirall, which was opposite to him, so as the conflict began somewhat later on that side, then it had on the left Wing, which being near land, and having but little way to make, encountered the enemy quickly. But *Siloco*, who was opposite to this our Wing, seeing some space by sea, between the last Gallies thereof, and the land, his Gallies being (as hath been said) close together, fell with them presently beyond ours, to the end, that turning back, he might assault our left Wing on the rear, and that upon any ill fortune, he might be the neerer land, and so might provide the better for his safety. And though Commisary *Barbarigo* were aware of this his designe, yet could he not hinder him time enough; so as the Gallies of the second Squadron past safely beyond ours. At the same time, *Ali* keeping his course straight on, and re-enforcing the Rowers, that he might be the sooner out of danger of the shot, met with *Don John's* Gally, who seeing him come, knew the Emperiall Gally by its Ensignes; and not tarrying to expect being assaulted, advanced immediately, together with the Venetian Generall, and both of them gave him a fierce assault. *Colonna* did the like to *Bashaw Pertan's* Gally, betwixt whom the fight grew the fiercer, for that these the chief Commander's Gallies, had other Gallies neer them, which assisted them to sustain, and to refresh the fight. But other Squadrons of the same order, which kept first close together, severing themselves a little, entred the Battle in severall places, and in severall manners; some were to resist many of the enemies Gallies, and some other unfought withall, wound about whither they listed, to succour their companions that were in danger. Thus they fought in severall places with great slaughter, and dubious event, so as it seemed not to be one, but many Navall Battles. The souldiers being on all sides enflamed, not onely with the desire of glory, but with hatred to their enemies, boarding the enemies Gallies, or beating back those, that fought to get into theirs, exposed themselves readily to all dangers, and were more intent in wounding the enemy, then in defending themselves. There were but few that stood idly looking on, nor were these the more secure by their cowardice. The greatest cowards, and the most valiant, ran often the same fortune, but purchas'd not the same praise. The mix'd noise of joy and lamentation, made by the conquerours and conquered; the sound of Muskets and Cannon, and many other warlike Instruments; the cloud of smoak which obscured the Sun, took away the use of ears and eyes, and made the Fight the sharper,

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and the more confused. They fought with more vigour there where the Generalls were, and with greatest slaughter on all sides; the souldiers being become almost invincible by their presence, words, and example. So as for two hours space, the businesse was hotly disputed between them, with various fortune, and dubious event. Our souldiers having entred *Ali's* Gally more then once, even to the main-mast, were as often valiantly repulst by the Turks. The enemy encreased their forces here, other Gallies comming in to assist the Bashaw, to boot with *Caracozzo*, Captain of *Pallona*, and *Mamut Saiderbet*, Governour of *Maiselina*, who were already entred into the Battle with *Ali* and *Pertaw*: four other Gallies bearing lant-horns, came in unto them, which did much augment the Squadron; and others giving over other employments, came continually in, to where the chief Commanders were fighting: inso much as the Marquis of *S^t Croce*, who was in the rear, being aware of the danger that our Generalls were in, came in speedily to their assistance with his Squadron; and *Jovan Battista Contarini* making forward at the same time, let fly at one of the enemy's Gallies, which was about to assault the Venetian Generall, and sunk it. Other Gallies of the Reserve followed their example, of which, *Jovanni Lovredeno*, and *Malapiero*, Commanders of two Venetian Gallies, put themselves boldly in the midst of the enemies, and after having long sustained their violence, were slain, and their Gallies were shroudly torn, having, notwithstanding, by keeping the enemies Gallies play, been very servicable, to the taking of *Ali's* Gally, which was thereby bereft of the assistance he expected from others; and *Ali's* self was slain by a Musket-shot, which he received in the head: his Gally being at last taken by those of *Don John's* souldiers, which were neere it, had the Standard with the half-Moons presently taken down, and an other with the Ensign of the Crossie was immediately set up in the place thereof, and the Bashaw's head put upon the head of a lance, to the end that it might be seen by the whole Fleet. At the same time *Pertaw's* Gally, and that of *Caracozzo*, were taken; but *Pertaw* getting into a Cock-boat, saved his life, and *Caracozzo* died in the conflict. The enemies *Bataglia* being routed, thirty of their Gallies, which were in best condition, got close together, and wheeling about, fled towards land, to save themselves, being pursued by *Quirini*, who forc'd the enemies to quit their gallies, and to throw themselves into the water, when they were got into the neighbouring Rivers, so to provide for their safety. They fought with like valour in both the Wings, but with some differing fortune; for the conflict was very long and bloody on the side towards the sea, but on the side towards the land, the day began quickly to appear favourable to the Christians; so as the shout of Victory which was made from the main Battle, was answered as it were by way of Echo, from the left Wing, with the same word, Victory. Some Turkish Gallies were past (as hath been said) beyond our left Wing, and assaulting our men on the Poop, did much endanger them. *Barbarigo's* Admirall, which was the first on that part, being encompassed and fought with, by six of the enemies

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Gallies, had much ado to defend her self from them all. The Commissary, in whom (though they seldom are seen to meet) better counsel, and greater courage, was never known, not being at all dismayd amidst so great danger, commanded, ordered, and provided all things necessary; but the misfortune was, that as he stood on the Poop, with his face towards one of the enemies Gallies, which came to assault him, he was thor with an Arrow in the left eye, whereby losing almost all his senses, he was presently carried down; and not being able to say any thing, he dyed of that wound three daies after, being therein the more unfortunate; for that he could not receive his part of joy of the victory. *Frederico Nani*, a valiant person, and well experienced in maritime affairs, succeeded him in his charge, whom *Barbarigo's* self, as if he had foreseen his misfortune, appointed thereunto: And he, accompanied therein by the valiant Count *Silvio da Porcio*, and the souldiers and marriners' reassuming new courage; they did not onely save their own Gally, but took one of the enemies Gallies, wherein *Cavali* was a commander, of great reputation, whom they took prisoner. But *Mavino Contarini's* gally, which, at the very beginning of the conflict, came in to the relief of *Barbarigo's* Admirall, was exposed to greater danger; for *Contarini* having run the same fortune as the Commissary, who was his uncle, had done, after his death, his Gally was long fought with, and was excellently well defended; for having lost most of her men in the long fight, she was in great danger of being lost: But Commissary *Canale* coming in, in the interim; he did so adoperate both his body and his wit, discharging at once the office, both of a captain, marriner, and souldier, as the Turks began apparently to yield, especially when they saw *Siloco's* Admirall sunk by *Canale's* Cannon, and *Siloco's* self taken in the water, who was brought to *Contarini's* gally, who had behaved himself gallantly in this action. But *Siloco* being almost dead of his wounds, *Contarini*, seeing he could not add to his glory, by the longer life of so honourable a Prisoner, made his head be cut off. At the same time, Commissary *Quirini* came in, who having driven away one of the enemies Squadrons, (as hath been said) turned upon the rest, who yet maintained the Battle in this part; and putting them to flight, pursued the victory. So as the Turks being disordered every where, many of their gallies being shattered, and having no hopes of victory, and lesse of safety, being disperst abroad every where, made for the neighbouring shores; and leaving their Vessells in prey to our men, exposed their lives to the danger of the waters, where many were drown, others slain by our forces, and but few of them escaped into places of safety. Thus past affairs in the Christian Fleet, which in the Battle, and on the left Wing, were undoubtedly victors: But the fight continued still very bloody in the right Wing, for *Muzzali*, seeing that he could not beat the hindermost part of our right Wing, by encompassing it, as it was thought he would have done, betook himself to a new resolution; racking about, he bent his course inwards, and turned thither, where he saw some of our gallies divided from the body of the Battle, and from the right Wing,

wing, so as he had Sea-room enough to get beyond our Fleet, unprejudiced: 15 Gallies, whereof some were Venetians, some Spaniards, being then furiously assailed by a great Squadron of the Enemies left wing, they were all of them reduced to dispair of safety; and amongst these, the Admirall of *Malta* was taken by the Enemy, but was rescued by two other gallies of the reserve, and through the valour of many Knights of *Malta* that were in them: But *Benetto Zoranzo's* gallic took fire, and was miserably lost, with all that were in her. *Muzzali* had with him the bigger gallies of *Algiers*, excellently well armed, and provided for any Action; with which, and with some other gallies which yet remained intire, of his wings (for having fallen much Roomward at the beginning of the fight, as you have heard, they kept aloof from the great gallies); he yet maintained the fight, and prepared to assault our battel on the flank. But when he saw his companions disordered in all other places, and that there was no hopes of victory, and saw *John Andrea Doria* make towards him on one side, with a great Squadron, and many other gallies of our battel, come to assault him on the other side; he resolved to free himselfe from danger as fast as he could. So as having the Sea open before him, he steered directly towards the *Curzolari*, and past through the midst of our Fleet with some 30 gallies, undamified; but his other squadrons which followed him, not being able to sayle so fast after him, being invironed by our gallies of the right wing, and by those of the Battel, who came too late to hinder the formers passage, were taken by our men without much ado; and most of those that were fled away vvith *Muzzali*, being followed by our men, gave against the ground on the *Curzolari* shores. *Muzzali*, vvith some fevv others, sayling with full sayl towards *St. Maura*, escaped safe away: and the Enemies gallies, which were in the reserve, when they saw their Battel broken, and their wings far off, being in a place fit for flight, were first retreated into the gulph of *Lepanto*; where they preserved themselves safe. After *Muzzali's* flight, our men pursuing the Victory, fell to take, and plunder the Enemies gallies where-foever they found them, and to take prisoners, the battel having lasted for the space of five hours. It was a horrid sight, to see the Sea covered with dead men, and with men halfe dead, who wrastring yet with death, did by severall means keep themselves above water: Sails, Oars, Masts, Rudders, Arms of all sorts, flored upon the Sea, which was becom red with blood. The number of the dead was diversly reported, as it is alwaies seen to be in such cases: The most agree, that we lost above 5000 men, and had more then as many more wounded; but those who speak least of the Turks losse, say that they had 30000 slain, amongst which, *Bashaw Ali*, their Commander in chief at Sea, and the greatest part of their prime Captains, and men of chiefest authority. The principall personages that perished in the Christian Fleet, were *Agostino Barbarigo*, Commissary-General, *Benetto Soranzo*, *Marino*, and *Jerolimo Contarini*, *Mark-Antonio Luado*, *Francesco Buono*, *Jacopo di Mezzo*, *Katerino Malepiero*, *Jovanni Loredano*, *Vicenzo Quirini*, *Andrea*, and *Georgio Bar-*

Barbarigo; and besides these noble Vancians, of other Masters of gallies, of good condition, *Jerolimo Bisauto*, *Jacomo Tresino*, *Jovhan Baptista*, *Benetti di Cypro*, *Jacopo di Mreuto*, and *Andrea Calergi*, of *Chandia*; and likewise some Chieftains of Authority, as *il Bailow Alemonia*, Knight of *Malta*, *Horatio*, and *Fergimo Orsini*, *Jovanni*, and *Bernardino di Cardine*, *Spaniard*, *Bernardino Bisbak*, *Conte di Baatrita*, a *Nepolitan*; all whose names I have thought fit to mention particularly, to the end that since it was not their fortune, to get any other advantage, or to receive any other reward by this victory, their memory may live glorious amongst men, who by their death have secured our lives, and augmented our Glory.

The greatest slaughter and inconvenience the Christian Fleet suffered, was in the hindermost part of the right wing, which is doubtfully disputed, whether it hapned by chance, (as often times bad effects follow good advice,) or whether out of cunning and ill will: For *John Andrea Doria*, falling Roomward, at the very beginning of the Conflict, as you have heard, went so far out to Sea, as some gallies of his Squadron, either not being able to keep course along with him, or it may be, suspecting this his way of proceeding, wherefore they would no longer follow him, nor to separate themselves further from the fight, were divided on all sides. *Doria* alledged, that the reason of War advised him so to do, for, to keep from being compassed by the Enemy, he was to take so large a compass, as keeping upon advantage, he might be in a condition rather of assaulting them on the Flank, then of being assaulted by them: yet many did not approve of this justification, thinking that he had gone further from the rest than he needed; and that keeping out of danger, he would place himselfe so as that he might accommodate himselfe to whatsoever event the conflict might have. 'Tis hard to say what his intention here in was, the effect appeared plainly to all men, that after having taken a large compass, & not being yet fully resolved what to do, it was very late ere he turned upon the Enemy, and came not in to succour his companions, till they were in great distress.

The carriage of this business being related to the Pope, the Pope said, that *Doria* had behaved himselfe more like a Pyrate, than a Capraint-General. There were notwithstanding some, who in his excuse, laid part of this fault upon others; affirming, that *Dona Jovanna di Conlona*, Captain of the Van-guard, whose place was appointed to him, between the main battel and the right wing, in case they should joya battel, being past on, and entred into the Haven of *Petala*, nor discovering the Enemy, came in so late, as that he could not time enough with his gallies, which were part of the same wing, posset himselfe time enough of that place, which was of purpose left open for him, whereby the gallies that were nearest thereto, were exposed to the assault of the Enemy. Others said, that the Marquis of *St. Croix*, who commanded the reserve, minding onely how to succour the main body of the battel; either for that *Dona John* was there himselfe in person, or that he thought the victory did chiefly consist in the good or bad success

of that part, did not care for assisting the right wing, though much playd by the Enemy, and others, (so much do men differ in their judgements and affections in the very same thing) commended *Doria* for what he had done; for that as a very expert and well-experienced person in maritime affairs, he had done so; to take the advantage of the Sun, and to have the opportunity of assaulting the Enemy upon the Flank. But it is most certain, that by this, either not very sincere, or unfortunate advice, the victory proved the more bloody, and the booty, and glory, somewhat the lesser, though they were both very great: For we took 117 of the Enemies Gallies, many were sunk, and very few of them escaped free away. There were above 5000 prisoners taken, of which 25 of good quality; and degreece; a great many Christians were also set at liberty, vvhov were detained in miserable slavery in the Turkish Gallies. There were many reasons given for this so good successe, and 'it may be all of them true; the goodnesse of our Vessels, which were strong; and found at Sea, and wherein our Souldiers being sheltred by our waste cloathes, fought the more boldly, and more secure: our store of Artillery, wherewith our Fleet was better furnisht then that of the Enemy, and made better use of them; as well by reason of their skill who managed them, as also that the Prows of our Gallies being low and even, not raised up, as those of the Turks, the shot being almost level with the superficies of the water, hit the Enemies Gallies more justly: moreover, the conditions of the Weapons vvas of no small consideration: our men fought armed, against unarmed Enemies; and whereas the Turks did use their Bows and Arrows most, vvhewrwith our men, though wounded, were yet able to fight, all our Musket shot was mortall; nor were our men weakened by frequent shooting, as vvhere the Turks, their Bows growing slacke, and their hands vvaker by often draving. Our greater Gallies were likewise of great use, by vvho's shot the squadrons of the Enemies Gallies being divided, and disordered, they began to lose their courage and force: But really, the vvorth and valour of the Souldiers vvas of most avail; as might be known vvhen they came to grappling, vvherein many of our Gallies boorded by the Enemy, though upon disadvantage, being to resist a greater number; they did notwithstanding bear avay the Victory, by the defendants valour, in vvho's Arms all their hopes did then consist. The Italian foot vvon much commendations, nor did the Spaniards merit lesse praise; but of all the rest, the *Grecians*, shewing both courage and discipline; as those vvho vvore most accustomed to that kind of Militia, and knew all advantages in vvounding, and in elcaping being wounded, behaved themselves with great praise and profit. It was likewise considerable, that the fighting near the Enemies Country, as it made our men the more valiant; being necessitated to fight, knowing that their sole hope of safety lay in their forces; so the Turks having opportunity of getting into their own Country, was the reason of their speedier flight. This so great Victory was of rare example in all ages, but rather to be desired then hoped for in ours, by reason of the Turks mighty power, and of the discords between our Prin-

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ces; so as it was deservedly acknowledged by the Christians, as the work of Gods all-powerfull hand, whercof manifest signes were seen; for on a suddain, the troubled skies became clear, and the winde, which at first stood fair for the enemy, altered to our advantage. Besides, it was confes'd by all sides, that being moved thereunto by divme inspiration, all the Commanders agreed in going near the Enemy, when it was least hoped they should do so. The Victory being thus got, the Christian Fleet sailing very slowly, as well by reason of towing the gallies which they had taken, as that the sea was covered over with dead carkases, with shrouds of ships, and other impediments, retired to *Petala*, a neighbouring place in the Rivers, opposite to the *Curzolari* Rocks. But the next day, the Venetian Generall past with his gallies, for his better accommodation, to the *Dragonette*; where the first care was, to cure the wounded, and to view all their men, to see who were wanting, that they might proceed to some further enterprise, answerable to their forces. But finding, that they were not able to land above 5000 Foot, they thought them not sufficient, for the expugning of *Lepanto*, which was proposed; wherfore they resolved to forbear falling thereupon; lest they might hazard the reputation they had won in their victory. Whilst the Commanders were intent about these busineses, the souldiers and mariners went from one gally to another, to enquire after their friends and acquaintances; they rejoyced with those that they found alive, talk'd of all that they had done, and reflecting back upon the danger past, they thought it to be greater, then what at first they had imagined, and were the more encouraged by their good fortune, conceiving the better of themselves. All men throughout the whole Fleet were joyed, with the glory they had won, and gladdened of the rich spoiles of the enemies which they had got. The mean while, Generall *Veniero* knowing, that nothing could be more welcome to his Country, then the newes of so great a victory; dispatcht away *Omsredo Jusliniano* speedily, in his gally, who making very great haste, came in ten daies to *Venice*, where it is impossible to say, how all men, of all conditions, were ravished with joy for this successe. This Gally appeared on the 17th. of *October*, in the morning, entring by the Haven between the two Castles, within sight of *la Piazza di San Marco*, which was then full of people; and having many souldiers in the Poop, clad in Turkish habies, which they had taken from the enemy, people knew not at first what to think, by reason of the novelties; but when they saw some Banners dragg'd along in the water, and that after some thor being made, those within the gally cryed with a loud voice, Victory; victory was joyfully received from the *Piazza*: And the newes being forthwith spread throughout the whole City, people flock'd from all parts to *St. Marks Piazza*, every one embracing other for joy; insomuch as when the Doge came from his Palace with the Senate, to *St. Marks Church*, he could hardly get thither, for the croude of people. *Te Deum* was presently sung, and a Masse celebrated, as the time required, with all humble and devout thanks to God, for so great a mercy. Four

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daies solemn procession was ordered, to be observed in the city of Venice, and throughout all the other Towns in that State, in *Terra ferma*; and the memory of that happy day was celebrated, with other demonstrations of joy, as ringing of bells, and bonfires. And it was ordain'd by decree of Senate, that that day should for ever after be kept holy, with much solemnity; and particularly, that the Doge and Senators should every year, visit the Temple of the blessed *Justina*, in remembrance of the singular favour which they had received from God, under her protection. Their obsequies which were slain in the fight, were afterwards celebrated with much solemnity, and honoured with Verses and funerall Orations. And *Justiniano*, who brought the happy newes, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him. Not long after, *John Baptista Contarini's* gally came to Venice, being sent from the Fleet, to give a more particular account to the Senate, of severall particulars; and to conduct four Gentlemen, who were sent by *Don John* to divers Princes, upon occasion of the victory: *Don Lopes di Figoraa*, to the Catholick King, *Don Ernando Mendoza* to the Emperour, the Count *di Piego* to the Pope, and *Don Pietro Zapata* to Venice, who landed all of them at *Otranto*. *Zapata* brought Letters to the Doge, and to the Senate, wherein *Don John* gave an account of the fight, & how ready he was to serve in this so difficult and dangerous businesse, saying, That he had exposed himself to so much labour and danger, no less out of a desire of the Grandetza and safety of the Common-wealth, then for the service of the King his Master, or for his own glory. And that rejoicing with them at the happy successe, he would be ready to serve them hereafter with the same willingness, and hoped to do yet greater things. All the Princes of Italy sent likewise their Embassadors to Venice, to congratulate this their so great prosperity. And such rejoycings were had in the Courts of Princes, that were further off, as might shew the importancy of the businesse, and in how great esteem they held the Common-wealth.

These things did not, notwithstanding, make them forbear providing for war, but did rather much quicken their desire of prosecuting the victory, and their hopes of reaping more advantage thereby. *Jacopo Zoranzo* was suddainly chosen in the stead of *Agostino Barbarigo*, to be Commissary-Generall of the Fleet, whither fifteen Gentlemen were likewise sent, to be governours of such gallies, as were destitute thereof. The Senate writ to Generall Veniero, praising his valour much, and willing him to give particular thanks to all the principall Personages, in name of the publick, for their service so readily performed, in so important a businesse. And then to rejoyce with them, for having won so much glory and merit throughout all Christendom. But they chiefly desired the Generall, to make good use of the victory, and to use all diligence in bereaving the Enemy, of the remainder of his Fleet, Tackling, Men, and of all things else, whereby he might recruit his Fleet's saying, That this was the chief ground-work of all other hopes, for if the enemy were bereft of all Navall preparations, an easie way would be opened for other achievements. The Generalls seemed very desirous, to prosecute their good fortune; therefore being all reconciled after the conflict, they had often met to consult, upon what they should do next; and at last

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last it was by common consent resolved, to equipage 150 gallies, whereof 30 should tarry to guard the gallies which they had taken; and that the other 120 should scour the Rivers of *Morta*, and incite the inhabitants to rebell against the beaten Turks, whose forces and courage were lost, by that daies misfortune. Wherein much hopes being put at the first, all things were prepared, for passing into the neighbouring shores of *Romania*, that they might first get footing there, and make themselves Masters of some fit place, to furnish the Fleet with victualls, whereby they might the better tarry in those parts, and fall upon greater affairs. But when these gallies were to steer this course, many difficulties being objected to *Don John's* that purpose was suddainly altered, and he would go with the whole Fleet to the Haven of *Calogero*, where the taking of *St. Maura* being propounded, *Gabriele Cerbalona*, and *Astasio della Cornia*, were sent to view the Fort, that they might put on the better resolution: From whom, when they heard, that the enterprize would be long and difficult, they quitted their former intention; and concluded, that it was not good to employ the Fleet in such actions, as might keep them from re-ordering, and re-inforcing it, and from doing greater affairs the next year. So as many daies being spent in these consultations, and the winter coming on, they bethought themselves rather where to winter their Fleet, then to make any new attempts. All the Generalls came therefore to *Corfu*; where *Don John* making no abode, went with his gallies to *Messina*, and *Colonna* went with the Pope's gallies to *Napols*, and from thence to *Rome*. This course not answering to the conceived hopes, caused much wonder, and no little dislike, since having overcome, they had not with the same vigour pursued the victory, when the bare reputation of such successe, was sufficient to make way, to further noble proceedings against the enemy. But as it is commonly seen, men are more diligent, and agree better, in keeping off common dangers, being by necessity instructed so to do, than in pursuing glory, and greater power, either out of envy to one anothers power, or else through the delight of present victory, neglecting such things as are uncertain and far distant, though very beneficiall. Wherefore some pleaded the example of the memorable Battle of *Salamina*, wherein, though the Grecians did with incredible valour, overcome the mighty Prince *Xerxes* his Fleet, they did not yet reap any more signall advantage thereby, then of having delivered *Greece* for that time from the eminent danger of being enslaved by Barbarians.

The Venetians staid, as you have heard, with their Fleet at *Corfu*; and finding their forces encreased by *Phillippo Bragadino's* coming, with 6 galliasseles, and 10 gallies, which were not in the Battle, severall enterprizes were propounded, all of them acknowledging, that to lie idle, must needs diminish somewhat from the reputation which they had won. But the sharpnesse of the season did very much crosse all attempts, which not suffering them to employ themselves in far-distant and important actions, the Commanders resolved, to attempt the taking of *Malgarishi*, whither 30

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gallies were sent, under the conduct of *Marco Quirini*, with 6000 Foot; with whom there went *Francesco Cornaro*, Commissary of *Corfu*, *Prospero Colonna*, *Paolo Orsino*, and other Commanders: To whom the enemy immediately yielded, not more in respect of their forces, then for their recent victory. So as without much ado, they took the Fort, which thinking they should not be able to keep, without much inconvenience and expence, it was by common consent sleighted. By which being encouraged to greater hopes, Generall *Venero* propounded, the taking of *S^a Maura*, thinking it to be a businessse easily to be effected, by the relation which was made by some, that the Fort was weak, guarded then but by onely 300 men, and that the Passes to be posselt were but few and narrow; that it was very easie to cut the Bridge, which joyned the Fort to the *Terrafirma*, whereby the enemy should be kept from all reliefe. But Commissary Generall *Soranzo* dissented from this proposition, saying, That the information was not so certain, as that they might build thereupon, with hopes of getting honor, or rather without much hazarding their reputation. Moreover, that they had too few men for an enterprise, which was alwaies held to be difficult. That they wanted Commanders of authority, *Prospero Colonna*, and *Paolo Orsino* being presently gone, after their return from *Margarithi*. That it was likewise to be considered, if the businessse should prove longer then was imagined, (as it usually falls out in such cases) they should lose honour in giving it over, and might incur great prejudice by continuing it, since all the Leagues Fleets were to meet in good order in the beginning of March. He therefore propoed, as a thing better befitting the present time, and occasion, an attempt upon the *Dardanelli*, or that they might go somewhere else, where by depriving the enemy of their Rowers, and of other things, wherewith they were to recruit their Fleet, their designs might be disturbed and hindered. Yet *Venero* continuing in his opinion, went in the beginning of February with the whole Venerian Fleet, to the Island or Promontory of *Albania*, formerly called *Leucade*, but now *S^a Maura*, which being but a little distant from the firm land, is now by the *Corinthe*, the ancient inhabitants of that country, joyned by a Bridge to the land. Our mens first care was, to keep the Fort from being succoured; hoping, that being unexpectedly assaulted by sea and land, and having but a small garrison, it would soon become theirs. Commissary *Canale* was therefore ordered, to advance with 13 gallies, and to break the Bridge; about which many armed Barks were placed, to keep horses from wading into the Island, so as the enemy might be bereft of all succour. These things being thus ordered, and many Foot and Horse being already landed, Generall *Venero*, and Colonell *Rancone*, who had the chief command of the land-forces in this enterprise, went to view the situation; but finding many of the enemies Horse, with whom it became them to skirmish, and wherein they lost some of their men, they were forc'd to retreat, not being able to take so good observations as was needfull. And finding by what they conceived at the first sight, that the situation was stronger then it was given out to be, and that therefore the enterprise would prove the more difficult; which difficulty was made the greater, by their

their failing in their first designe: For the Barks which were to keep the Fort from being relieved, not being able to advance so far as they should have done, by reason of the shallownesse of the water, could not keep the enemies Foot and Horse from wading over, and encreasing the Garrison. They despairing of doing any good, without more ado, embarkt their men, and went away with the whole Fleet, whereof 25 gallies, commanded by Commissary Generall *Soranzo*, went to *Candia*, and Generall *Venero* returned with the rest to *Corfu*.

This mean while, *Colonna* was come from *Naples* to *Rome*, where he was received with great pomp, and extraordinary honour, the houses and streets being adorned, divers Arches erected, and the antient Arches of *Vespasian* and *Constantine*, by which he was to pass, enrich'd with new and proper motions. At his entrance into the City, he was met by a numerous company of people, and by the chief Magistrates of *Rome*, before he came to the *Porte Capena*, now called *St. Sebastian's Gate*; through which he made his publick entry, accompanied by 5000 Foot, and many Nobles, with attendance in rich Liveries; the pomp being made the more conspicuous and glorious, by 170 Turkish Slaves, who, clad all in silk, were led as it were in triumph amidst the files of souldiers. Thus did *Colonna* passe by the way of the *Campidoglio*, to the Palace, where the Pope, accompanied by the Colledge of Cardinals, stood expecting him, in *Constantine's Hall*, whose foot when he had kiss'd, he presented the prisoners to him, amongst which were the sons of *Bathaw Ali*, in token of his victory. At which, *Rome* was overjoyed, seeing the memory of her glorious triumphs; and of her pristine greatnesse, as it were, renewed, after so many ages, in one of her famous Citizens.



THE VVARS OF C Y P R U S.

BOOK III.

THE CONTENTS.

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The



THe Victory gotten by the Princes of the League, against those Enemies, who being till now almost invincible, were by reason of their so many prosperous successes in Battel, become formidable to all other Nations, had awakened great hopes in all men, thinking it was now an opportune time to take revenge for past offences; and that the Ottoman Empire being once abandoned by fortune, might be overborn by the true worth and valour of Christian Princes, and Souldiers: and, as it usually falls out, especially when being at the height of prosperity, men fancy all things feasible which they doe very much desire: no enterprize, no acquisition was so great, as could satise their conceived hopes, or which was thought a sufficient recompence for such a Victory. Nor did onely such, to whom it appertain'd, either by peculiar employment, or by experience in War, to talke thereof; but all men, being every where become Souldiers, did popularly, and oft-times very vainly discourse, how, making use of so happy an occasion, the Colleagues forces should be employ'd. Severall Enterprizes were motioned against the Turkish Dominions, and especially in Greece: All men held for certain, that the very fame of the approach of the Christian Fleets, was sufficient to make way for noble acquisitions: For that the Inhabitants of those Provinces, who were held in cruell slavery by the Turks, mortally hating their religion, customes, and Empire, would instantly rise up in behalfe of the Christians; and the Souldiers of their Garrisons, being posselt with fear, would retreat to the most remote and secure places, leaving their Towns to be freely posselt by our men, if they would but appear before them; so as the whole Turkish Dominions would in a short time be in disorder, and one acquisition would make way for another; and this first victory would beget more. Others, not content with such things as these, but stying at all, were of opinion, that as soon as the season should permit, the Christian Fleet should advance, and entering the Dardanelli, should with great, and unexpected forces, fall upon the city of Constantinople, against which they might use their maritime forces the better; for that it was said, the Garrison there were but weak, and the Inhabitants full of fear: That such an Enterprize would be undertaken with greater preparations, and more readinesse by all the Colleagues, because all of them would share in the gain; that this was to be esteemed the onely sufficient reward of the Victory; that other lesser acquisitions would but increase expence and difficulties; that nothing would be wanting to so glorious an action, if mens forwardnesse would equall the importancy of the occasion, which was now offer'd them of chasing these new, insolent, and ravenous Inhabitants, out of the most noble Countreys of Greece, into the farthest confines of Asia; and of regaining together with that Empire, glory to Christendom. But the wiser and more temperate men, suffer'd not themselves to be born away by their desires to so immoderate thoughts; nor nourishing vain hopes; but measuring the event of things by reason, not by affections; knew, that as long as the Turks Land-forces should remain entire, which is the true foundation of their Empire, no attempt which could be made against them would prove so easie; neither did they think it a good found-

oundation to ground their hopes upon the peoples rising, which often producing other effects, then what was at first conceived, might prove the more uncertain, and fallacious in the Ottoman Empire; for that the Inhabitants who are thereunto subject, being poor and base, wanting Commanders and followers, weapons and wealth, cannot by their rising do any great prejudice to the Turks, nor be of much advantage to any others: and the Grecians, being long accustomed to slavery, have much lost their ancient generosity. But grant that such commotions were to be expected from the late Victory, they had less slip the occasion, and lost all such hopes, by not pursuing the blow; for the Enemies fears being by time lessened, and their Forces increased, they might either appease, or hinder such Tumults, and secure their own affairs. So as that being every day confirmed by new advertisements, which was at first thought almost impossible, that the Turks would have a numerous Fleet out that Summer; it was judged by such as did more seriously, and more judiciously ballance the present condition of affairs, that nothing could be more advantageous for the League, then to bend all their indeavours and forces, to destroy this new Fleet, whereby they might so weaken the Enemy, as they might either have more assured hopes of doing some good upon their Dominions, by continuing the War; or that, if Peace should ensue, they might secure their own Territories for some time from the Turkish Fleets, and make use of the happy successe of this battel, rather as of a certain foundation, and commencement of overcoming the Enemy more easily hereafter, then as a perfect and compleat Victory. Out of these considerations, the Venetians gave themselves with all their might, to make new preparations for War. They increased the number of their Gallies, they recruited their Fleet with men, and provided for all things necessary, that as soon as the season would permit, their Fleet might go into the Levant to encounter and fight the Enemy.

Thus did men think, and thus they did discourse; but the Christian Princes, being blind-folded by their own affections, knew not the opportunity which was offered them of abasing the power of a common Enemy, who was become so formidable; but envying so much good unto themselves, and so much glory to this their age, neglected the War, as if they had not been therein concern'd; though their common interests lay therein, and refused the greater prosperity, promised them by their first happy successe. For the Emperour being again earnestly solicited, and many promises being made unto him, by the Pope and the Venetians, to come into the League, since he was thereunto invited by prosperous, and all desirable successe; so as he might (as he himselfe had said) safely do so; and being likewise exhorted thereunto by the King of Spain, who had sent Don Pedro Fasserdo to him, to that purpose; continued notwithstanding in his delays and irresolutions: nay, he propounded new and greater difficulties; for being averse thereunto, he strove to have place for excuse, and protraction still left unto him. He desired that the greatest part of contribution for the foot, should be assigned to him in Monies; and that it might be ascertained out of some of the Hauns-Towns in Germany. He further de-

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fired to be secured, that these assistances should continue for some time, and that therefore some more stricter capitulations should be inserted into the League; which desires were seen to be made, out of perswasion, that they would not be granted; for it was known, that the Tribute being already prepared, he had made choice of one to carry it to Constantinople. And the King of France, whom the Pope did again sollicite by his Nuntio, not to be wanting upon so weighty an occasion, to the good of Christendom, said, He must first know Cesar's resolution, who, if he should move therein, he would readily afford his helping hand, and would joyne his land-forces with those of Germany, under the command of Monsieur his brother; but that he neither could, nor would permit, that his sea-forces, which would be much inferiour to those of the King of Spain, should joyne with his Fleet. At the same time, Cardinall Aleſſandrino, having dispatch'd his Embassy in Spain, was already gone by order from the Pope to Portugall, who, by Torres his information, (who was sent thither the year before, to the same purpose) was told, that above 30 vessels might be man'd out of that Kingdom, for the service of the Christian Fleet; and that the King seemed very willing to employ all his forces in this common service: wherefore his Holinesse hoped, he might get good assistance there for the League. But though the Cardinall was very honourably and lovingly received, he could get nothing from the King but generall promises, whereby it was discovered, that that Prince being wholly intent upon the businesse of Barbary, did not much minde things at a farther distance. And not long after, Antonio Tiepolo went thither likewise, with an Embassy from Spain, it being hoped, that the newes he brought of the victory, might perswade that pious Prince, to enter into the League, wherein an honourable place was preserved for him; he being invited by the Colleagues to prosperous successe, and by his own interests, to quell the Turks insolent forces, both in regard of his Dominions in the Indies, to the which, he might know, the so great power of the Ottomans must needs be prejudiciall, by what Soliman had attempted against the City del Dieu, in the mouth of Indus, and by the Fleets which were assembled together in the Arabick Creek. Yet was not that King much moved at all this, nor could he be brought to promise any thing, save that he would furnish out 4000 Foot for the service of the League, the next year, and add some of his ships to the confederate's Fleet; which, he said, he was not able to do at the present, by reason of the French Huguenotes of Rochells incursions; against whom, he was forc'd to keep many armed vessels, to secure his Rivers, and the navigation of those seas: As also by reason of the Moors insurrection, in the Kingdom of Fez, which he was first to suppress. And hereof he gave an account by his Letters to the Senate, witnessing the affection and great esteem he had, for the Common-wealth. But Tiepolo, that he might do some good by his endeavours, shewed him, That he might assist the cause of Christendom against the Infidells some other way, without inconveniencing himself; to wit, by making his Officers in the Indies hold some intelligence

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telligence with the Persians, who are naturally enemies to the Turks, by informing them particularly, of the union and forces of the Christian Princes, of the victory which they had gotten, and with their designs: And then by furnishing them with some Portuguese Harchbugiers, who getting into the Turkish Empire by the Red-Sea, might raise some commotion, whereby the Turkish forces might be kept employ'd in severall parts, or whereby they might at least be made jealous. Which the King readily promised he would do; adding, that he would hinder the Turks commerce at *Ormus* and *Bazzana*; and keep them from bringing the great store of Mettle, which they were furnish'd with from *China*, through the Persian sea. The King likewise assisted the Legat *Alessandrino*, in sending certain Briefs from the Pope to the King of *Persia*, to *Presler-John*, and to some Arabick Kings; exhorting them to take up Arms against the Turks; of which, there never came any answer, nor did there any good come thereof.

But these uncertain and far remote things, were not much considered, as being able to do but little good at the present, to the conceived hopes. The Pope did likewise renew his desires to the King of *Poland*, with whom *Cardinall Commendone* was at the present, hoping to make him take up Arms, not onely in respect of the Victory, but for that other accidents had also occur'd, which was thought might work upon the King, and the Barons of that Kingdom. For the Turks being jealous, that the *Polanders* had favoured the *Wallachians*, in prejudice of the *Ottoman* Empire, that he might revenge the injury, entered at unawares into the Country that was subject to that Crown; and having made severall incursions into *Prussia*, *Podolia*, and *Russia*, threatned greater mischief. But the King was unseasonably saine dangerously sick, when he should have been treated with, touching this business: So as the affair being to be negotiated in the Kings absence, with other Lords of the Kingdom, not well inclined to this war; that they might not, contrary to their customs, contribute to any expence of war, out of their Kingdom; and they having had advertiment at the same time, that a *Chiaus* was upon his way from *Constantinople*, sent thither to accommodate the differences; the Popes authority nor endeavours could not work such effects, as were hoped for. Thus went affairs in the Courts of Christian Princes, and the first so-exalted-hopes began to grow lesse: For sea-forces were not sufficient to suppress the power of the Turks, powerfull land-Armies being likewise therunto requisite, which the Christian Princes might at this time have made good use of, taking advantage of the Turks maritime forces being divided; whereby, and by the loss of reputation in the Battle at *Lepanto*, they were become weaker then formerly, and easier to be overcome. But to this it was primarily necessary, that *Cesar* should declare for the League, it being the common opinion, that *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and the other Northern Countries, which were apt to take up Arms against the Turks, would follow the example of the Empire: Which being very well known unto the Turks, they fought by all possible means,

to preserve friendship with the Emperour *Maximilian* at this time, thinking their danger very great, if the German forces had moved against them. wherefore *Bahban* *Mehemet* had writ to *Cesar*, and given him an account of the success of the Battle, lessening very much the loss which they had received, exalting the power of the *Ottoman* Empire, and exhorting him not to break the Truce, for any vain designs of others; but to keep inviolably his friendship with *Selino*, wherein if his faith should now be seen, it should for ever be perpetuated.

The Turks were so jealous and apprehensive of the commotions, which *Germany* might be able to make, as that, when it was after known, that the Emperour would send the Tribute to *Constantinople*, that souldiers reward was encreased, who was the first bringer of so welcome newes. But that which did most trouble the Pope, and the Venetians, and which made all men not well know, what to hope or fear, was, a doubt which was begun to be conceived, that the *Spaniards* were not so forward to pursue the victory, as the present occasion required, whereby the enemy might have means afforded him, of becoming more powerfull than ever; for it was given out, that *Don John* was blamed by severall chief personages of the Catholick Court, for hafdarding the Kings forces to such danger of Battle, wherein the Kings interest, and that of the Venetians, were not alike; and that therefore that business ought to have been otherwise handled by him, and by counsell apart. And afterwards it was known, that the Duke of *Lesse*, a man of much maturity and esteem, and who had been verit in very important employments; was sent to the Fleet, in the place of the *Commendadore General*, who was gone to be Governour of *Millan*. From whence it was infer'd, that the King's pleasure was, that *Don John* being very well informed by the Duke of *Lesse*, and by his Counsell, in all things, should not suffer himself to be so far carried on in point of glory with any thing, as might in the least part exceed his directions. But the greatest impediment which was thought would befall the fervent prosecution of the war, in the *Levant*, was, the bad success of the affairs in *Flanders*, which grew every day worse and worse; it being somewhat suspected, that the Protestants of *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, did favour that insurrection, and assist those that rebelled against the King. Which being added to a certain natural slowness in the *Spaniards*, and to other more cautious circumstances, it was feared, that it would either altogether hinder the proceedings of the League, or occasion some important delay at this time, to the business of the *Levant*, whereof many apparent signes were seen: For the proper time for actions at sea appearing, and wherein the Fleet were of right to joyne, there was but little care taken to put the Fleet in order. And though the Venetians did mightily mediate it, by the means of their Embassadour *Lunardo Contarini*, who was sent to *Don John*; first, upon the occasion of the victory, and who tarried afterwards with him; yet no resolution was taken, nor were such actions seen, as the business required. Onely the Venetians letting no time slip, nor sparing either for cost or labour, endeavoured to make use of the victory, were diligent in re-

pairing their gallies, added to their numbers, and raised new men to recruit the Fleet; that they might both return with a powerfull Fleet into the *Levant*; and at the same time minde such occasions as presented themselves, of doing some remarkable thing in the Gulph. And finding those who were subjects to the Turkish Empire up in severall parts, and ready to rebell, they thought it became them, according to the custom observed by the Commonwealth, upon like occurrences, to chuse another Generall; to which end, they chose *Jacopo Foscarini*, who was then Commissary Generall in *Dalmatia*, who having had the miraculous happinesse, to passe some few years before from private affairs, to the managing of publick businesse, had shewed such singular judgment and wisdom therein, and wrought himself into so good an opinion with all men, as they thought, they might safely place the hopes of the Commonwealth upon him. And to obviate any occasion of new dislikes, finding that *Don John*, and generally all the Spaniards, not well affected to Generall *Veniero*, for what hath been said before, the Senate was pleased, that *Veniero* should come with some gallies into the Gulph, and that *Foscarini* should go with the forces of the League into the *Levant*: Who hearing of his election, and having already received the Standard from *Luigi Grimani*, who succeeded him in the place of Commissary in *Dalmatia*, he went away from *Zara* with 9 gallies, and came in the beginning of *April* to *Corfu*, where he took upon him the charge of the Fleet, which consisted then of 40 Gallies, and fell diligently to view those that were in them, to cause Foot be brought from *Brandizzi*, great store whereof were already there, under severall Commanders; to provide for Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition, and to dispose of all things excellently well. And Generall *Veniero* came with some gallies into the Gulph, to act as occasion should serve, keeping the same superiority of command over all the Captains at Sea, whensoever they met. And these were the proceedings of the Christian Princes.

As for the Turks, they were the more afflicted for the rout given to their Fleet, because being long accustomed to good successe in war, they believed, their fortune was unalterable; and totally despising the Christian Militia, thought, that to war with them, was onely for assured prey and glory. But after having received this unexpected blow, they grew capable of fear, and doubting the worst of evils, that some tumults might arise even in *Constantinople*; *Selano*, who was then at *Andronopoli*, came to *Constantinople*, and shewed himself to the people, concealing his grief and fear as much as he could: but the *Bashawes* were not the lesse carefull, in providing necessities for the Fleet; but building upon our mens slownesse, and negligence, in pursuing their victory, they were the more diligent in all things, for that their labours were accompanied by hopes, that they might make amends for the losse they had suffered in their Fleet, and recover their lost honour. They rig'd up their old gallies, and all those also which had been given over, as unserviceable in the *Mare majore*; and else-where. They built many new ones, mustered mariners, sent out commands to their souldiers in other Pro-

vinces,

vinces, to come to *Constantinople*. And using great speed and industry in all things, not without much wonder, and mischief to the Christians, *Carazzali* went out very betimes, out of the straits of *Gallipoli*, with 60 gallies, wherewith he began to scour the seas, and to lay waste the Islands of *Tyre* and *Cerigo*; whilst *Alazzali* stayed, to gather together as many armed Vessells as he could, designing, as it was said, to advance, and pillage the Island of *Candia*, when they should be joyned; or else to face our Fleet, hindring the designs of our Commanders, and securing the *Ottaman* shores. By which provisions of theirs, and by the slownesse and irresolution of the Christian Colleagues, the Turks re-assumed courage, though at first they had begun severall discourses of peace with the *Beylo*, and appeared very desirous thereof; yet they put off the more certain resolution, till Monsieur d' *Aix*, the King of *France* his Embassadour, should be come to *Constantinople*, who they heard was parted from *Venice*, and came upon important occasions to that Court, and who, as they believed, brought with him some particular Commission about that businesse; so as by his means, and by his Kings authority, the agreement might be the more easily made, and the more firmly established. So as afterwards, the face of affairs altering, when they came to a more particular treaty, they propounded very unjust and unreasonable demands, and would make peace rather as conquerours, then conquered. So as the businesse was as then laid asleepe, and the war prosecuted with much ferrency; which though the Venetians did willingly continue, yet were they much troubled, finding, that their Islands were burnt, and pillaged, and that the vanquish'd enemy did insult as victorious, threatening every day more mischief and ignominy. And that on the other side, their friends and confederates not being moved at these mischiefs, nor apprehending greater dangers, did proceed so slowly in all things, as if the enemy had been utterly overthrown, and that they needed not to fight any more, but onely peaceably to enjoy the fruits of victory. Many reasons were alledged for these delays, and much discourse was had upon it, all men wondring very much, at this manner of the Spaniards proceeding. It was much noised, that the French assisting the Flemish now no longer secretly, as it was thought they had done formerly; but that they were openly, and by publick advice, to assault the King of *Spain's* Dominions; that the preparation of 50 armed ships, which was made at *Rochel*, which *Philip Strozzi* was designed to command, aimed at this. That the assembling of men, and noise of arms, which was said to be made in the Kingdom of *Navar*, reflected upon this. That therefore it became the Spaniards to be carefull, and to provide against these important and dangerous commotions, and not to employ their sea-forces, wherein their greatest strength now lay, in remote enterprises, where they could not be ready upon occasion to defend their own territories. Others reasoning otherwise, said, That these French commotions being in themselves of no moment, were made to appear greater by the Spaniards, thereby to cloak their truer and more secret counsellis, which were seen very cunningly

ningly to aime, at the keeping of the Turks forces and power, and the like of the Venetians, to equally ballanced, as neither of them should exceed their present condition. That therefore thinking, they had done enough for the Venetians security, by defeating the Turkish Fleet, and by hindring the Turks further progresse, they were very reserved, in falling upon any other undertakings, lest if they should prove prosperous, the Venetians power and reputation might grow too immoderate, whereby the Spanish Fleet might meet with another weighty counterpoise, and greater, then peradventure might be thought convenient, for the safety of the territories, which the King of Spain was Master of in Italy. Nor wanted there those that said, the Grandees of Spain did envy Don John's glory, and that therefore they had held forth his too great Grandezza to the King of Spain, as a thing that might cause trouble and danger to his Dominions. But what the true cause of these proceedings was, is unknown; for the Spaniards were so close in concealing their counsells, as without appearing alienated from having the Fleets meet, or from the enterprises of the Levant, for fear of the French, or out of any other respect, they still affirmed the contrary, giving daily hopes, that they would go to Corfu, which they were very crafty in doing: that they knew very well, that if the Venetians should have any the least suspicion, of being abandoned by the Col-leagues, they would be forced to come to some agreement with the Turks, which, for some other respects, would be inconvenient for the Spaniards; for then they must of themselves alone withstand the forces of so great a Potentate, against whom they had alwaies profest enmity. Thus, and for these reasons, did not the Spaniards discover their intrinsicall thoughts, but finding sometimes one cause of delay, sometimes another, spun on time, without doing any thing.

At this time did Pope Pius Quintus die, which caused a generall grief, being taken away very unseasonably, when Christendom was in so great need; for he, being a sanctified man, and very zealous of the common good, and consequently of great authority and reverence with all Christian Princes, was held by all to be an excellent means, of keeping up the League, and of encreasing the power and reputation thereof: giving also great hopes, of making way for some notable acquisition by the Christians, and for the suppressing of the barbarous Infidells. As soon as his death was heard of, the Venetian Senate wrote suddenly to the Colledge of Cardinals, praying them, that they would not suffer the affairs of the League to slacken, wherein the late Pope had been so zealous, since any the least protraction might prove very prejudiciall, and might hinder the happy proceedings against the enemy. They were all of them very well minded to pursue the war; and that they might proceed the more resolutely, the employment was presently confirmed to those very Cardinals, who were formerly deputed by Pius Quintus, to negotiate the affairs belonging to the League, who were very diligent, in ordering all things necessary. But the intervall of Popedom was but very short, for the Consistory of Cardinals

Part II. Written by Paulo Paruta.

nalls meeting, they, the very first day, chose Hugo Buoncompagno, Cardinall of San Sesto, Pope, who took upon him the name of Gregory the 13th, a Bulligonesse by Nation, a Doctor of Law, who had lived long in the Court of Rome, and was held to be a just man, but of a soure and austere nature, well minded, but meanly witted, and not much experienced in managing of State-affairs. This election was much favoured by the Spaniards, and particularly by Cardinall Granville; were it either, that Hugo, whilst he was Legat in Spain, had won the Kings favour by his integrity; or else, (as some others said) because he was known then to be so moderate a man, as that it was thought, when he should be Pope, he would prove such a Prince, as in many respects would make for the advantage of the Catholick King; particularly, for the safety and preservation of his territories in Italy. Pope Pius Quintus his death, brought great disturbances to the uniting of the Fleets, though Gregory, as soon as he was crowned, confirmed the League in the same manner, as his Predecessor had done. For Don John, who sought to protract time, began more to scruple his departure, considering, that he could not of himself resolve to move with his Fleet any where, unless he should receive new orders from Spain; which he notwithstanding giving hopes should be suddainly had, according to the common desire, was the reason, why the Venetian forces did as yet nothing; and continuing still the same course, he, according as he thought time required his answer, did continually intimate his suddain departure, affirming it so particularly, as that he writ to Generall Foscherini, he stayed onely from comming to Corfu, in expectation of the Duke of Sessa; who, if he should not come all the sooner, he would assuredly come away without him. Nay he blamed Colonna's counsell, who expecting some few galleies from Florence, did so long delay his comming to joyne with them. The Senate had commanded Generall Foscherini, to wait for the comming of the Spanish galleies, and not to attempt any thing, nor to employ those his forces in any enterprise, whereby the common concernment, and further progresse might be retarded.

But the Venetians being desirous that their Forces might be somewhere felt by the Enemy, resolved to attempt Castell Nuovo; Sciarra Martinengo, being the chiefe adviser thereunto, who having been the preceding year at Catarro, and having had opportunity to inform himselfe well, propounded it as a thing ealie to be done. This man was born in Bressa, of a noble Family, though illegitimarely; and being banished upon occasion of private enmities, had been long in the French Wars, where he had won much repute for military valour. And upon occasion of this War, he had not onely obtained a safe conduct, but was made (as it is said) Generall Governour of Albania, every one conceiving well of him: His advice being embraced, and his speeches believed, all things were provided, which he desired as necessary for this action.

The taking of Castell Nuovo was very much desired by the Venetians, not out of meer consideration of the thing it selfe, it being a little Town, of no great circuit, nor very strong, nor well inhabited; but

but for the many advantages which might be had thereby: For it stands almost in the mouth of the Gulph of *Catarro*, near whereunto the land thrusts out, and streightens the Channel so, as they who are the possessors thereof, may hinder any from passing further into the Gulph, which winding towards the *Levant*, makes an other great Creek, which is safe from storms, wherein any Fleet, how numerous soever, may upon any occasion ride safely, and in the utmost part thereof, stands the City of *Catarro*, which cannot be by any other way supply'd with Garrisons, Victuals, or any other necessaries, it being invironed every where on the Lands side, by the Turkish Territories. *Sciarras*, having imbarckt himselfe at *Chioggia* with 5000 foot, whereof many were French, gallant men, and very well disciplin'd, went with great expectation of success towards the Gulph of *Catarro*, bringing orders with him to Generall *Veniero*, from the Councill of Ten, by whom this businesse was negotiated, to assist the Enterprize: so as meeting him near *Liesena*, they joyn'd together, and went to the mouth of the Gulph of *Catarro*, and passing a little forward, tarried in a narrow place, which by reason of the streightnesse thereof, may easily be shut up, and is commonly called *Le Catene*, or the *Chaine*. Here they thought they might most safely land their men, all that coast of *Castel-Nuovo*, being full of Flats, which in bad weather are very dangerous: Whence it happened, that a shallop wherein Colonell *Alessandro Castracani's* men were, not being able to keep at anchor, was by the fury of the wind driven on ground, which the Turks being aware of, they got upon a little hill not far off, and by Musket-shot slew some of those that were in her, who were not able to make any defence: so as inforced by necessity, they went on land, though in an enemies Country; and finding themselves backt by some of our Gallies, they were the better encouraged, and did for a while withstand the Enemy, though they were far inferior to them in number, till such time as some Boates were sent out unto them, wherein most of them saved themselves. After this, the rest of the men were landed without any opposition; which being done, *Martiningo* ordered his Brother *Silla*, to march immediately with a band of 200 French Harchibugiers, by the way of the Mountain which stands on the right hand of *Castel-Nuovo*, and that he should endeavour to make himselfe Master of some important Passes, whereby he apprehended the Enemy might be relieved: and he made as many more French Souldiers march towards the Town, conducted by Captain *Santa Maria*; and for the rest of his men, he gave the charge of the Battel to his Sergeant *Maioire*, *Carlo Frisone*, a *Bergamas* Captain, the reereward to *Lasino Orsino*, and put himselfe in the Van, and marcht thus in three squadrons, the one a little after the other: In this order, he drew very near the Fort, the land Forces being still backt by the Gallies, which coasted along the shore, and observed what way they went: Then *Martiningo* having placed *Corps de Guards* in severall places, fell presently to make Trenches, having brought good store of Pioners to that purpose from *Catarro*, and began to plant Cannon: But these works were mightily disturb'd by frequent shot from

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within the Town; so as being to use more time then was imagined, the news of our mens arrivall, and of the expugning of *Castel-Nuovo*, was noysed in the neighbouring places, whereby many came from severall parts to the reliefe thereof, by wayes unknown to our men: and chiefly on that part whither *Silla Martiningo* was sent to guard the Pass, the enemy grew so numerous, as though *Silla* was furnisht with more men from his Brother, it was clearly seen no such succour could be sent him, as was able to make good that Pass, which whilst it was open, they had great conveniency of bringing Garrisons to raise the siege, and free the Fort from danger: which when the Captains considered, and found that the businesse grew every day worse on their side, they began to think they should not be able to get the Town so quickly as they had imagined, it being much better furnishd with defendants than they thought. Wherefore it was resolv'd, to recall the Souldiers which were sent to guard the Passes, who could not retreat without some danger, and at the same time to reembark the Artillery, and the rest of their men, it being then the opinion of all men, that whatsoever they should attempt would prove unsuccessfull, and not void of danger: So as raising the siege, Generall *Veniero* came to *Zaras*, and *Sciarras* with his French Souldiers, returned to the custody of *Catarro*. Thus ended this Enterprize, not otherwise then was foreseen by many before, who thought it a vain design to be able to storm *Castel-Nuovo*, in so short a time with so few men; it not being likely that a Fort esteem'd very much by the Turks, and which they had used so great warlike preparations to get some few years before, should in so dangerous a time be left with a small Garrison to the discretion of the Enemy; nor yet, that being placed in a Country so full of Souldiers, the succors would be long a coming, which might be brought from the neighbouring parts. This success being therefore answerable to the advice, made *Martiningo* lose much reputation, who was formerly well esteem'd of by many, rather for couragious daring, than for military wildome. This afforded just occasion to *Mehemet Basha*, of upbraiding the weaknesse of our Counsels and forces, as he was discoursing with the Venetian Baylo.

These were the Christians actions, which were not answerable to the reputation they had won by so famous a Victory; the Fleet lying at *Corfu* and *Messina* with all their Souldiers, idle spectators of the Enemies insultings at Sea, vvaning forces to make any important attempts elsewhere; and the worst was, that the forces lay not then onely idle, but did much lessen, vvanishing their Victuals, and losing many men dayly through sufferings, and want of action. Wherefore there being no appearance of *Don Johns* departure from *Messina*, Generall *Foscherini*, infinitely weary of such delayes, was still thinking of severall affairs. He propounded to attempt something by himselfe alone; he discours'd with such as were skillfull in the Enemies forts, and in their inhabitants in those parts: nothing troubled his mind, which was full of aspiring thoughts, and greatly desirous of glory, and of maintaining the good opinion which he had won, more then quiet. But at last, tempering his bolder coun-

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sells vvith mature wisdom, he got the mastery of himselfe. He knew it became him not, to attempt any thing vvith small forces; lest if the Enemies Fleet should advance, he must be forced to let it passe, and lessen much the reputation of the League, to their great prejudice; especially to those Christians who were subjects to the Turk, and who being encouraged by the happy success at *Lepanto*, were risen: but he chiefly shun'd doing any thing which might be displeasing to the Spaniards, or which might give them any just excuse of being faulty to the common obligations; which he did the rather, for that all other acquisitions were held poor, all enterprises to no purpose, in respect of what might be hoped for by fighting the Enemies Fleet, with the whole Collegues forces, which was alwayes the Senates intention, greatly indeavouring this union, and hoping therein very much. *Foscherini* being much troubled with these difficulties, and finding no better remedy for the sore loss of time, he thought it expedient to send the Commissary *Soranzo*, (who was now return'd from *Candia*) to *Messina*, hoping that his wisdom and dexterity, together with this demonstration of honour, might work much with *Don John*, and might make him hasten his journey. *Soranzo* parted thus from *Corfu*, vvith 25 Gallies, being to make the whole voyage with bad winds, so as he could not avoid all inconveniences; some of his gallies being driven by a great tempest upon *Regio*, and that of *Antonio Justiniano's* being driven on land by a furious winde, could not be saved. But *Soranzo* being at last got to *Messina*, he was honourably received, and welcomed by *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who lay there, who excused himself, for not having come further to meet him, laying the fault upon the tempestuous winds: And then comming aboard the Commissaries Gally, they went together to *Don John*, who making *Soranzo* be met at the entrance into the Palace, by his chief Major *Domo*, and by other principall personages, he received him with much honour and grace, and seemed to be very glad of his coming. Then *Soranzo* began to acquaint him with the reason of his coming; he acquainted him with the present condition of things, saying; That his Highness's coming to *Corfu* was much desired by all, where all their forces lay now ready, 25 gallies, and 6 gallieses, all of them well fitted, with all things necessary; a great number of souldiers, abundance of vittuals and ammunition, whereof there were 22 ships loaded. That all that was now expected for their going forth, to prejudice the enemy, was the joining of the Fleets, which believing that they were in readinesse, by reason of the great diligence, which they knew was to be used in businesse of so great concernment; he was come thither, to give him an account of the Venetian Fleet, and to wait upon him to *Corfu*. That the Venetian Commander would not venture upon any attempt, with those forces which they had in readinesse, without his presence, and fortunate conduct, though they had been by many occasions invited so to do, and by some others almost enforced, by reason of the newes they had of the enemies weaknesse, and of the injuries that they had done to their Islands. That it was the Senates desire, and the desire of every particular man, that all things should be referred to him, and that the prime glory of all enterprises should be reserved for him. That for this

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this cause, they had till now kept their whole Fleet within their own havens, being confident, that it would not be long before he would come thither. That he was now come to *Messina*, rather to wait upon him, then to hasten his departure. That it was too apparent, of what importance every minutes losse was, wherein occasions of greatly prosperous success might be lost, or whereby at least, the reputation which they had won might be much lessened, which could not be upheld, but by speedy and generous resolutions; the expectation which the world had conceived of the Leagues forces, being very great, and particularly of his worth and fortune. That the last year, one day was sufficient to beat the enemy, and to make way for other victories; that non much more time would be required to vanquish them, to bereave them of all their maritime forces, and to make themselves Masters of their Forts. That they were certain, these considerations would make him use all possible speed and diligence, in making the Fleet ready. And that if his departure must be somewhat later, then the businesse required, doubtlesly it would be occasioned by the usuall difficulties, which accompany great actions. But that this small time which was let slip by necessity, might easily be recovered by his ardent zeal, towards the good of the League, towards his own glory, and towards the satisfaction of the Collegues. *Colonna* said almost the same things in the Pope's name, shewing, that he was very ready to favour the League, and very desirous to hear, that the Fleets were united. All these things *Don John* seemed to take in good part, as answerable to his intentions; he excused his past slownesse, out of severall impediments, and promised to use all possible diligence, in putting 100 gallies speedily in order, and 24000 Foot of severall Nations, which were assembling for the service of the Fleet. But the effects were not answerable, for there were not then above 64 gallies at *Messina*, and there was no newes of the Duke of *Sessa*, who was to bring those of *Spain*; and the old souldiers, who were ready to imbarck, being in arrears for pay, refused to come on board, unless they were satisfied for their former service; for which, there was no course taken. Yet the Venetian Commissary was held in hand with severall hopes and promises, from day to day, the which, that they might appear the more reall, 3000 Italian Foot were imbarcked in 30 gallies, which were given in charge to the Neapolitan Generall, it being given out, that he should go with them to *Corfu*, and there expect the coming of the rest of the Fleet. Thus time was spun on till near the end of June, nothing being all this while done against the enemy, nor was there any thing resolved what should be done; the Pope's endeavours having prevailed herein no more, than those of the Venetians. For *Don John* being oft solicited by Briefs, and by an expresse messenger, which was the Bishop *Odiscalco*, fought to satisfie the Pope with good words, and hopes, affairs being brought to that passe, as the Fleet was hallowed by the Bishop aforesaid; and Processions and Orisons were made, and a certain day appointed for their departure. But at last, *Don John* not knowing how to justifie his so long delay, or to gain say so many pressures, wherewith he was hourly solicited, the Marquis of *Santa Croce* being come with the Neapolitan gallies, and *Don John* di *Cordona*, with those of *Cicily*, and his Admirall being already

ready prepared, which things had served before for some excuse, he was forc'd to discover the truth; That he could not remove with the Fleet towards the *Levant*, by reason of new orders that he had received from *Spain*, out of the fears which were had of the French commotions, which had caused the keeping back of the Commissioners, and had made him keep those forces, where they might be ready to defend the Kings Dominions. This order being made known, and the reason of the Fleets suspension; whereby *Soranzo* found, that it was in vain to perswade *Don John*, to depart with his whole Fleet; and yet finding him well inclined to the good of the League, that he might get as much good thereby as he could, he thought it became him to endeavour the getting, at least some part of the Fleet, which joyning with the Venetians, the honour of the League might be preserved, and the forces which were ready at *Corfu* for any enterprise, might be encreased. But to shun assenting that, without breach of League, those forces might be detained, which were obliged to serve the common interests of the associates, he wrought it so, as that proposall was made by *Colonna*; upon which, many consultations being had, it was resolved, that 22 galleys should be permitted to go to *Corfu*, and 5000 Foot, part whereof being to be had from *Calabria*, was yet a further cause of delay. These galleys were given into the charge of *Gil d'Andrada*, Knight of *Malta*, with title of the King's Generall, *Vincenzo Turtavilla* having the command of the souldiers. With these, and with the galleys of the Church, which were 13 in number, 11 of them belonging to the Duke of *Florence*, and 2 to *Alcibale Bonello*, brother to Cardinal *Alessandrino*, did Commissary *Soranzo* return to *Corfu*, the whole Fleet comming along in company to the Straits of *Messina*, from whence *Don John* past to *Palerma*; and when they were parted, *Mark Antonio Colonna* set up the Standard of the League, supplying the place of Generall thereof. This the Spaniards resolution being published; every one firmly believed, that the enterprise of the *Levant* would be no further proceeded in this year, by all the forces of the League: And the Spanish Embassadour at *Rome* did already say, that the affairs in *Flanders* could not be settled time enough, for the going of the Fleet into the *Levant*; and that therefore the King would turn his forces into *Africa*, that they might not be altogether idle, and to ease *Croty* of them for a while. This opinion was the rather believed, by reason of many things that hapned; and especially, for that much provision was made upon the Spanish coasts, for retreating the Fleet; and because it was known for certain, that *Muley Affam*, King of *Tunis*, was willingly listned unto, who then was with *Don John*; and affirmed, that those people were very well disposed towards the Crown of *Spain*, and were ready to rise, and put themselves under his subjection, if they should finde any forces to back their rebellion. This the Fleets suspension, afforded subject for severall discourages; some said, That the King, in making this League, had respect to his own peculiar interests, since otherwise he could not have obtained from the now present Pope, the confirmation of what was granted him by *Pius Quartus*, of raising monies from the Ecclesiastick goods,

goods, for which he was bound to keep 100 galleys, to guard those seas; and that moreover he was perswaded therunto, out of other weighty considerations: For if the Venetians only were to withstand the Turkish forces, and should peradventure make any acquisitions, they would get so much reputation as sea, as they might buy with him for power; and on the other side, if they should fare ill, and should suffer in their Dominions, the Turks power would be so much the more encreased, and become infinitely formidable. And then again, if the Venetians should fail in their hopes of such assistance, it might be believed, they would easily give way to some agreement; and so those forces which were prepared against them, might be turned westward upon the Kings Dominions. That therefore having taken upon him the common cause, upon these reasons, and bound himself out of these respects to maintain it, he could not with any justice, turn those forces to his own private end, which were before obliged to the common service of the *Lea*, &c. That the wars of *Flanders* was not any thing of new, whereby the King should put on such a resolution; for that war was already begun, when the League was stipulated. Nor were there even then wanting suspicions of commotions in *France*; for the Agreement being made being made between the King of *France*, and the King of *Navar*, and the Admirall, there was reason to believe, that the French, who are naturally lovers of novelties, and who were then long vers'd in Arms, would not keep quiet, but would betake themselves thither, where they should finde best opportunity to make war. That it was very clear, that by the conventions of the League, each Confederate might of right claim interest in the forces of the rest, upon requiring observance of the Articles agreed upon. That before the League, it was in the Kings power, to employ those assistances where, and when he pleased; but since he had freely, of his own will, bound himself to limited time, and forces, he could not regulate them according to his own occasions, nor alter them, without the Confederates consent. Others affirmed the contrary, that the Catholick King had abundantly discharged the duty of a Christian Prince, and of a friend to the Common-wealth of *Venice*; since, unobliged thereunto, he had readily assisted the first year of this war, with all the sea-forces he was then master of, the common service of Christendom, to the particular advantage of *Venice*. That it was in his choice, whether he would engage himself in this war or no, not being thereunto enforce'd by necessity, or at least, that being unlimited, either in point of time or forces, he might have governed himself according to his own peculiar interests. That notwithstanding, he would engage himself with the League, to make the Confederates confide the more in him, and that they might have the better foundations for designing their enterprises, which they were to make against the enemy. That this had been the cause of very great good, since the Collegues forces being joyned together by this bond, and to the same end, had gotten so great, and so famous a victory over the Turks. That since the Kings interests were not like those of the Venetians, it was to be highly valued, that he would suffer the Fleet to run the same hazards. That it ought not to be wondered at, if the King, having had so great a share in this victory, should endeavour to reap some particular advantage thereby, by sending his Fleet, now that he had bereft the enemy of their power at sea, and that he might safely do it, to the enterprises of *Barbary*; which were specified in the Articles of the League, and which were so much desi-

desired by his people, to bereave the Pirates of their receptacles, from which the Spanish Seas could by no other means be secured. That it was much more lawful for him to make use of his own Forces for the defence of his peculiar affairs, at a time when his Confederates the Venetians, were in a great part free from being offended by the enemy. What reason, what wisdom was there, that he should abandon his own Dominions, to assault those of other men; and to suffer the like, or greater dangers increase at home, that he might carry them to the Enemies? That it was true, the wars of Flanders was no new thing, but that the accidents were new, which forc'd the King to think upon the preservation of those Countries, wherein disorders, were multiplied, and the Enemies Forces increased.

These, and such like things, were alleadged according to the variety of mens judgements, and much more of their affections; but to the end, that the cause of a businesse of such importancy, whereby the hopes of much good to Christendom were interrupted, may be made known, it will not be far from our purpose, that we acquaint you a little more particularly with the present condition of affairs, and with the occasions of jealousies which arose between the two most powerfull Kings of France and Spain, in a very unreasonable time. In the very beginning of this year, the Town of Mons, in Flanders, was lost, and not long after, Count Nassau took Valenciennes, with forrain foot, the most whereof were French. And a little before the Duke of Alva had chafed, and routed a great many both foot and horse, of the same Nation, which went to Garrisonize the Town of Mons.

These things, as they did much increase the danger of losing those Countries; so did they beget great jealousy in the Spaniards, that so many French Souldiers were brought into Flanders, not onely by permission, but by order from the King of France, which was the rather believed, for that the Duke of Alva giving notice of these passages, to the Spanish Court, to Rome, & to Millan, had much amplified the business, and caused many fears of greater Commotions. Whereupon the Governour of Millan, the Spanish Embassador at Rome, and Cardinall Granville, exclaiming very much, and appearing to be full of jealousies and fears, were the first reason why Don John staid at Messina, openly discovering themselves to be so ill satisfied with the French, and the French growing as jealous of the Spaniards, by reason of their speeches, and proceedings, and fearing lest the Catholick Fleet might turn upon Provence to their prejudice; they betook themselves to fortifie Marcelles, and increased the Garrisons thereof. It was also noised abroad, that the Duke of Alva should have said in publick, that he held the War to be already begun between the Crowns of France and Spain; at which speeches, the King of France being very much troubled, he mediated by his Embassadors, not onely with the Pope, and with the Venetians, but even with the King of Spain himselfe, complaining partly, That a thing of such importancy should be affirmed by one of his Majesties chiefe Ministers of State, which as he was very far from thinking of he thought he should finde others to be so too; and partly seeking to justify some of his actions, which might seem to have given occasion to these the Duke of Al-

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va's speeches. He therefore constantly affirmed, that those French with whom the Count Nassau had taken Valenciennes, were all of the Huguenot faction; his subjects, but (as to what was known) contumacious, and rebellious to the Crown of France, that he had been always much displeased at the commotions of Flanders, as one who was sensible of the peoples rebellion, in his own Kingdom, and whom it became to abhorre, not in instance by such examples, the darings of Subjects against their Prince; and as one also who did as much desire the exaltation of Christendom as did any one, though his particular troubles would not permit him to sit therein with others at so opportune a time. But though he could not concur therein with his Forces, he was far from hindring the good actions of others; that he had armed some Vessels, not with intention to prejudice any, but for the safety of his Seas, which were mightily infested by Pirates; neither were these his armed Vessels so many, as could make it be suspected that he either could, or would fall upon any enterprise.

And that these his words might be the better believed, he publish'd an Edick, upon pain of punishment, prohibiting all his subjects to go armed into Flanders, and placed guards in all places to hinder them, if any contumacious people (as he termed them) should be so bold as to countervene his orders: Not being herewithall content, he began at the same time to do severall things, whereby he seemed as if he himselfe would also enter into the League, making the Cardinall of Lorraine hold many discourtes thereupon, with the Embassador of the Common-wealth, then resident in France, wherein he strove to make it be believed, that the King of France was well inclined to the Peace, and to the good of Christendom, and chiefly to the Crown of Spain: So as laying at last all other respects aside, he would side with the League; and proceeding to particular Agreement, he propounded severall conditions; and chiefly to ratifie friendship and good intelligence, between him and the Catholick King, by Mariages.

Though these things came to the Spaniards knowledge, yet were they not satisfied therewith; but gave out, that the French did this, to work their ends the more easily, by assaulting the King of Spain's Territories in severall parts, which were unprovided for them: that for certain, the Admirall, and the King of Navarre, did publicly perfwade the Christian King to this Rupture, whom he would be forced to please for some other particular interests of his own. That it was said by all the chiefe of that Court, that there could be no quiet in France, till the King should resolve to fall upon some important forrain Enterprize, wherein the Catholicks & Huguenots were to be joyntly employ'd; and that it was clear enough, that the French thought this the easiest of all other Enterprizes, by reason of their convenience of assaulting Flanders, and of straitning the Spanish Army in point of Victuals, as also in respect of the difficulties the King of Spain should meet with, in relieving his men. That the King of France might make this War, upon some appearing pretensions of right, which the Crown of France hath to those Countries, wherein doubtlesly the Queen of England would joyn both

both with mind and might; nor was the League treated of by Monsieur de Momorancy, nay concluded (as some say) with the English, to any other end, but that being free from all other jealousies, they might the better minde the molesting of the Catholick King, and therewith assault Flanders. That the Queens minde was sufficiently known by her many no friendly actions, and especially for that the English did at this time flock over in so great numbers into Holland and Zealand, wherein they had already taken some Towns: That the ill will of that Queen, and of that Kingdom; could be no longer concealed now, by whom, and from whence, though with much secrecy and cunning, the Kings Rebels had been many wayes assisted; and those insurrections nourishd and fomented with several hopes; and some sums of Money. Moreover, that the friendship which the French held with the Turks, afforded more just reason for these suspicions; it being very likely that the French might be now as much solicited to turn their Forces upon the Catholick King, as they had often formerly obtain'd, that the Turks Fleet should proceed to the prejudice of the said King: nay, that it was given out, that the more to invite them therunto, the Turks had granted the City of Tunis to the Crown of France, upon being preserved by their forces from the Armies of Spain. The Pope was much troubled at these things, as well for the great Concern of Christendom, as in respect of his own credit, which seemed not to suffer a little, since the conventions of the League were violated by the Fleets suspension, and therewith his authority, who as Head thereof, had a little before established and confirmed it: and he was the more scandalized thereat, for that many things were in hand, which shew'd but little respect towards the Pontifical Majesty, whereof he was zealous above all other things, that it was not lawfull for Don John, being Generall of the League, to obey those orders of the Catholick King, which did countervene the said League, not onely without the Popes consent, but without his knowledge, nay contrary to his expresse will: after having been so often prest by his Nuncio to go from Messina, and joyn with the Venetian Fleet; that it was to be considered, that that Fleet, being raised by monies drawn from the Clergy, or from others by the particular concession and authority of the Apostolick See, as destined against the Turks, could not with any reason be by the King turn'd else-where: Wherefore the Pope being anxiously solicitous to have the Fleets joyn, he sent reduplicated Briefs to Don John, to make him speedily depart, and exhorted the Venetians to dispatch away their Embassadors forthwith, to the Courts of Spain and France, to appease the jealousies, and take away the diffidences which were risen between those Kings; and particularly to move the Catholick King to grant them his Fleet, and not to forgo the Articles of the League. To the same purpose, he sent Antonio Maria Saliceti, Bishop of St. Papolo, to the King of France, and dispatcht away Nicolo Ormaneto, Bishop of Padua, as his Nuncio to the Catholick Court. Cesar interposed himselfe likewise herein, using his Authority with

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both the Kings, to preserve peace and concord between them; being moved thereunto, either that he might do what became a Christian Emperour, or else, knowing, that if these commotions should go on, Peace with the Turks must insue; whereby he, who lived then secure and quiet, by reason of the dangers and troubles of others, might have reason to suspect that the Turks might fall upon him: But the Venetians were more fervent in these indeavours, than all the rest, as well because their interest was most therein, as also not to make the Pope jealous, left by their not stirring in accidents of such concernment, they might rather intend Peace, than War, which might make him grow cooler for the concerns of the League, who knowing that by these proceedings, the Venetians might have reason to think of agreeing with the Turks, encouraged them with many hopes, and exhorted them to use the accustomed wisdom and moderation of that Senate, which would overcome all difficulties; that they might not totally deprive themselves of the advantage which they might receive the next year (in case the Fleets could not conveniently joyn this year) by the more speedy provisions for War, and by the King of Spain, who would then be free from troubles, and from such suspitions. Giovanni Michiele, was chosen to be sent Embassadour to the King of France, and Antonio Tiepolo, to the King of Spain; both which used all diligence, in going to the Courts of those Kings.

Michiele said, how that the Venetian Senate had alwaies greatly desired the common good and peace between Christian Princes, which they did now the more, for that the war undertaken against the Turks, the danger where-with the Common-wealth was threatned, as also all Christendom, made them the more desirous to procure peace, and good intelligence between the Christian Princes, that they might jointly turn upon the common Enemy. That for this cause, they were much troubled at the insurrection of Flanders, and at the King of Spains troubles; that their displeasure was not a little increased by the report which was given out, of some suspitions, and State-jealousies, which were risen between the Crowns of France and Spain; by which it might be feared, that if these thoughts should take deeper root, an open breach might from thence proceed, to the great prejudice of Christendom; which (if it should meet with no impediment) might be in a gallant and safe condition. But by how much the more grievous, and of greater importance the businessse was, the lesse was it believed by the Senate, who very well knew the wisdom of that King, and his well-wishing towards the common good. Yet because the persuasions of such as are no friends to peace, and for their own interests seek to disturb it, doe often divert Princes from their good intentions; the Senate would not be wanting in making use of that favour, which they perswaded themselves they partook of from his Majesty, in exhorting him not to listen to such discourses, when they should be propounded; or that if he had had any such intentions hitherto, that for the good of Christendom, and for the particular advantage of their Common-wealth, he would lay aside all such thoughts, and totally convince the Catholick King, so as being free from all such jealousies, he might minde the businessse of the Levant, and observe the Articles of the League. The King listened graciously hereunto, and took it in good part; saying, That the Se-

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nate was not at all deceived, in the good affection which he bore to the Commonwealth, nor in their belief of his well-wishing to the good of Christendom. That he had been always troubled at the commotions of Flanders, and that he had still endeavoured, to keep those insurrections from being fomented by his subjects. But that the condition of these times was such, and the state wherein his Kingdom then was, as he could not curb the insolency of such, as were desirous of novelty; who having endeavoured to work confusion in his Kingdom, it was no wonder, if contrary to his orders, they were gone into other States, to perturb the affairs of other men. And some Court Lords, to free men from such suspicions, were of opinion, that he should wink at these things, which did not now concern the Crown of France, which was sensible of the prejudice which Princes receive, from the unbridled licentiousness of people, cloaked under the name of just liberty; which could no otherwise be hurtfull to him, then violent exercise is to an infirm boy. That he knew this might be prejudiciall to the Catholick King, without any advantage to France; nay, not without fear, of putting her into new troubles and dangers; for that these commotions might very likely make the King of Spain agree with the Flemish, with intention peradventure of assailing Dolphinie, or the Kingdom of Navar: So as, instead of carrying the war to other mens doors, they might be enforced to make war at home, at a time, when the forces of the Kingdom, through so many, and so long civil dissensions, were divided and weakened. But of all others, the Queen Mother (who bore then almost the chiefeft authority in the Kingdom) seemed greatly desirous to preserve peace, and would therefore with her own hand write to the Pope, attesting this her desire, and professing her self ready to follow his good advice. And that though there were some provision of Arms made, they were never intended to make use of them, to the prejudice of others, but only in their own defence; fearing lest the Spaniards, for the injuries which they causelessly affirmed they had received from the French, might invade his Kingdom. Where it is worth consideration, how great the jealousies of States are, and how easily Princes are more subject than other men, to every impression of various affections. The Catholick King feared, that the French would make war upon him, and desired peace. The Christian King desired to keep fair with the Spaniards, but apprehended, lest their forces, which were prepared against others, might be turned upon his Kingdom. Both these Princes were busied in other affairs, and were therefore better pleased with Agreement, and each of them feared, the other would break it. And yet those vain jealousies, which seemed to tend to the quiet and safety of their affairs, did in a manner afford occasion of many troubles, and of great prejudice.

But the Catholick King was resolved, before the Embassadour Tiepolo came to his Court, to send to Don John, that laying aside all other respects, he should forthwith go, with all the gallies that he had with him, and joine with those of the Venetians; and when the Fleets should be met, that he should immediately passe on to the Levant; being hereunto moved, either that he might the better know the King of France his minde towards him; or that he did fear his forces the lesse, after the recovery of Valerianes, and other prosper-

prosperous successes, which ensued in Flanders; or that he better understood the inconvenience and prejudice, which upon other occasions might arise to his affairs, it having made much for the reputation of the French amongst the Turks, by his seeming to be so concerned in all they did, as that he was thereby enforced to abandon his other enterprizes; or else, for that as a just and wise Prince, he thought it did in no way become him, to abandon the Articles of the League. But were it one, or more of these reasons, that moved him thereunto, it was then said for certain, that this resolution arose from his own meer will; for he had dispatched this order away to Don John, before he communicated it to his Counsellors, fearing lest they might have propounded somewhat, which might have diverted him from doing so, as had formerly hapned. But when Antonio Tiepolo was come to that Court, being now no more to speak of the jealousies of France, nor of the joyning of the Fleets; he, according to his Commission, desired the King onely, That since the best season for actions at sea was now well nigh over, he would give Don John leave (in case the occasion of affairs should so require it) to winter abroad in the Levant, shewing, that great advantage might be made thereby; for their Islands would by his means be eased of the burthen, which was now become grievous and insupportable, of having so long nourished so great a Fleet; which burthen would be laid upon the enemies countries, from whence they might easily be furnished with a bundance of victuals. Moreover, they would the sooner, and more easily, prosecute any thing, which they should either have begun, or should intend to do. The courage also of those which were risen, would thereby be augmented, and others would be invited to do the like, the enemy would be driven to within the Straits of Constantinople, and they would be hindered from coming forth early, to prejudice Christians, as they had done the preceding years; and, in fine, the League would thereby get great reputation in all things, and the enemy dishonour. But he concealed somewhat from the King, which moved the Venetians as much as any other reason, to desire this, which was, that by this, the Spaniards would be made forgo their so highly valued interests, in the African enterprizes, and by laying aside those thoughts, would be brought to minde the common affairs in the Levant the more. But all this did no good; for the King alledging many reasons to the contrary, would not give way thereunto, following therein either his own inclination, which was, not to hazard too much to fortune; or else the perswasion of those, who liked not the League. But howsoever, this advice was not much liked, it being thought, that thereby occasion for great good successes, if they should be favoured by fortune, would be taken away; and that Don John ought not to have been limited, in his Commissions granted him, as Generall of the associate Princes; which were, that he should endeavour to do, whatsoever might make for the advantage of the League, which was questionlessly known, would be very great, by wintering in the enemies Countries in the Levant. Don John had been perswaded formerly to this very thing, wherein the Pope likewise interposed his authority. But he, not being willing to determinate it of himself, had referred the con-

consideration thereof to Spain, which was an evident signe that his common Orders were limited, and restrained by particular Commission.

Whilſt Chriſtian Princes were thus employed, & whilſt the League proceeded very ſlowly, the Turkiſh Fleet was already very numerous, & powerful at ſea; for *Muazzali*, who was declared General at ſea, had with great diligence rig'd up 100 gallies, beſides thoſe former; which (as hath been ſaid) were gone under the command of *Envaazzali*, wherewith he likewiſe parted from the ſtraits of *Galipoli*. And when the whole Fleet was met, he made forward, with intention to pillage the Iſland of *Candia*, and to do other prejudice to the parts belonging to the Venetians, according as he ſhould hear newes of the Chriſtian Fleets proceedings. At which time, certain word being come to *Venice*, of the ſuſpenſion of the Spaniſh Fleet, great ſorrow was ſeen in all men, their wonder encreaſing together with their ſorrow, that the Spaniards, who ſeemed at firſt to deſire the League, ſhould, when it was concluded, & ſo many difficulties were overcome; nay, when they ſaw their hopes were great, deprive themſelves of the preſent, and aſſured advantage, which they might have by the League, for fear of dangers which were uncertain, and far off; and that they ſhould give occaſion of diſſolving it, when they ought to have confirmed it, and eſta bliſh it with more forces and confidence. So as, ſeeing they could not penetrate into their ſecret deſignes, nor thinking it fit to ground any thing upon ſuch helps, the Senate reſolved, to order Generall *Foſcherini*, that waiting no longer for the joyning of the Fleets, he ſhould, as ſoon as Commiſſary *Soranzo* ſhould be returned from *Corſu*, advance with their own forces, for the conſolation and ſafety of their ſubjects and affairs; and that proceeding with caution and circumſpection, he ſhould do as he ſhould ſee occaſion, for Gods glory, and the good of the Common-wealth. Therefore when *Foſcherini* had received this order, being impatient of lying ſo long idle, as ſoon as *Colonna*, and Commiſſary *Soranzo* were come to *Corſu*, he began without any further delay, to endeavour the Fleets departure towards the *Lerant*, that they might approach the enemy: Wherein finding all men willing, a Councell was called, wherein, to boot with the three Generalls, *Pompeo Colonna*, Lieutenant to *Mark Antonio*, and Commiſſary *Soranzo*, did intervene. *Mark Antonio*, with much freedom and affection, declared himſelf to be very affectionate to the League, and particularly to the good and greatneſſe of the Common-wealth, ſhewing his ſorrow for the time they had loſt, and for the forces which fell ſo ſhort of what was hoped for. He, notwithstanding, encouraged them to hope well, ſaying, that the Catholick Kings good intentions were very well known to him, as alſo the Popes ſervency in ſoliciting him: Therefore, if the jealousies of France ſhould ceaſe, they might be ſure Don John would come, and joyne with them, with the reſt of the Fleet. But that howſoever, though he were the Popes ſervant, and the Kings vaſſall, he was ready to ſall upon the enterpriſe, which might red to the particular ſervice of the Venetians, whoſe intereſſes and dangers he knew was moſt concerned therein. Hereupon Generall *Foſcherini*

cherini ſaid: That the Popes and the Catholick Kings good-will, was ſufficiently manifeſted likewiſe to his Common-wealth, as alſo the like of his Common-wealth towards thoſe Princes, and towards the League; as might be witneſſed by the way ſhe had proceeded in, and did ſtill proceed in; as concerning this buſineſſe: And that *Colonna*s gallantry, and his affection to the Common-wealth, as alſo his deſire to be ſerviceable to Chriſtendom, was manifeſtly known, not only in particular to the Venetians, but throughout the whole world, by the ſo many ſervices he had don the Common-wealth, to the honour and advantage of the League. Yet he could not but be ſorry, that fortune had advanced ſuch occaſions, as that effects answerable to this generall good intention, were not ſeen to be continued. But that ſince it was in vain to lament what was paſt, and which could not be recalled; and that likewiſe it was not in their power to remove the impediments, which detained Don John in Sicily. The only remedy for ſuch great miſchiefs, was, to ſeeke out-to-do themſelves, (if it were poſſible) in haſting to what they had to do; which be it what it would, he put them in minde, and did adviſe them, it could not be of more advantage, then to go and encounter with the enemies Fleet, which doubtleſſy for number, as alſo in many other conſiderations, was much inferiour to theirs. And that peradventure it had happened by divine providence, which oft-times brings our actions to their predeſtinated end, by waies unknown to human wiſdom, that the Colleagues Fleet ſhould be ſo ſeparated, to the end, that being therefore leſſe mindfull of their affairs, and apprehending no encounter, the enemy ſhould afford them that means of finding them out, and fighting them; which if they had known they had been to withſtand the whole forces of the League, they would eaſily have prevented. And if it ſhould ſo fall out, as that upon the approach of the Chriſtian Fleet, the Turks ſhould retire; it was not to be lightly eſteemed, that they had ſo confirmed the reputation of the League, and ſecured the work which they had undertaken, and were reſolved to do, whether the reſt of the Catholick Fleet came or came not. *Colonna* ſoon yielded to *Foſcherini*s opinion, giving many reaſons, why nothing of more profit could be attempted, then what was now propoſed. But he was of opinion, and did deſire, that being to proceed againſt the enemy, they ſhould go with all their forces joyned together, the greater and leſſer gallies keeping ſtill together in company, which the ſeaſon of the year afforded them great conveniency to do, by reaſon of the Northern winds, which do blow almoſt continually at that time of the year. But *Gelandrads* did neither totally commend, nor totally diſcommend this advice; he told them, They were to proceed with much circumſpection, and not to haſard a buſineſſe of ſuch concernment, unneceſſitated, or at leaſt, without great occaſion. Adding, that they ſhould firſt endeavour to have ſome newes of the enemy, of their forces, and what way they ſteer'd; and then to put on that reſolution, if they ſhould be perſwaded thereunto by more certain information. But he chiefly commended the counſell, of carrying the ſhips along with them, as well to encrease their forces, as alſo not to be diſtreſt for want of viſtuall, and not to leave them at the diſcretion of fortune, and the enemy. At laſt he concluded, that he would not diſſent from the opinion of the reſt, ſhewing himſelf to be very well inclin'd to do any thing, which might be for the common ſervice. So as it was agreed upon, by generall conſent, that the Fleet ſhould forthwith part from

from *Corfu*, which consisted then of 126 smaller Gallies, 6 Galliaffes, and 20 ships; and every Gally had in them 150 Souldiers. The whole Fleet was divided into three parts; the three Generalls kept in the midst with 45 Gallies, the other were equally divided into two wings. Commissary *Soranzo* led on the right wing, and *Canale* the left; the Van, and re-leefe, was reserved for the *Candy* Gallies, which were hourly expected. Two Galliaffes, and part of the Ships, did row on each Squadron of the lesser gallies, with order to guide them to the front of the Fleet, whensoever it should be needfull; it being resolved in Councill, that without these, they should not joyn battel.

At this time, when the Fleet was ready to hoist sayl, a Frigate sent speedily from *Palermo* to the Venetian Generall, from *Placido Ragazzoni*, who dealt concerning Corn for the Common-wealth in *Sicily*, arrived, by which he sent news, that a Spanish Gally was come to *Messina*, which brought positive order to *Don John*, for the joyning together of the whole Fleet, which was not long after confirmed by Letters from *Don John* selfe, to *Mark Antonio Colonna*, whereby he gave him notice of this new Commission received from the King, and of his readinesse to obey it; and that he would come forthwith with the rest of the Fleet, to finde him out: But he desired, that in the interim, the news of his coming should be published, to keep the Grecians who were up, in their Loyalty, and that without undertaking any thing wherein the reputation of the League might be endangered, they should onely munde the thwarting of the Enemies designs, and the securing of the Venetian Territories: though all were much joy'd at this news, yet they thought it ought not to hinder or retard the departure of the Fleet, which was already resolved on: So as on the 28 of *July*, the three Generalls parted from the *Gomenizze*, where they staid, awhile, to expect Commissary *Canale*, who was gone with 16 Gallies to *Otranto*, to take in 3000 foot, who were there ready for the Fleet, under the conduct of Colonell *Horatio Aquaviva*, Son to the Duke of *Atri*; which when they were come, were distributed into the Spanish Gallies, into those of the Church, and into the Venetian Ships. Before they went from this place, *Jovanni Mocenico*, one who was diligent, and well practis'd in Sea affairs, was dispatch away with his Gally towards *Candia*, to give notice of the coming of the Christian Fleet, and to learn some news of the Enemy, of whom nothing of certainty was as then known, neither concerning their numbers, nor their voyage. The Leagues Fleet being on their way, 13 Gallies came in unto them, as they entred into the channell of *Piscardo*, which Commissary *Quirini* brought from *Candia*, and pursuing their course from thence, they came with a prosperous winde in two dayes to *Zanie*: No assured advertisment of the Enemies proceedings being brought thither (as they hoped for) and they being to tarry there two dayes to take in fresh water; they dispatch away three other Gallies, to finde out where the Enemy were. *Mazzali* was at this time come to underneath the fort of *Malvasia*, and had with him about 200 sail, his number being increased by the accels of many Pirats Vessells, which

which came in unto him in his voyage. Wherefore after having for a while scoured the Archipelagus, he was come to this place, with an intention to pillage the Island of *Candia*, and then to pass to *Brazzo di Maina*, to curb those people which were risen up in favour of the Christians. But hearing that the Christian Fleet did advance, which he thought would not have departed from *Corfu*, (for he had been informed, that it was divided) he recalled some Gallies, which in pursuit of his first design, he had sent to *Capo Malio*, and return'd together with his whole Fleet, to underneath the tort of *Malvasia*, where he staid expecting more particular information of our Fleet. But when he was told, that it still advanced, and was already got near the Island of *Cirigo*; and that it came short of his Fleet for number of lesser Gallies, though it were very strong in great Vessels, he resolved to put to Sea, and to encounter it. Having therefore called together his Officers, and other chief persons which were in the Fleet; it is said he spoke thus unto them.

We have great occasion offered us, to win much favour with the Grand Signor, and glory with all men, if we know how to acknowledg it, and to make use thereof. We are inform'd, that for certain, the Christian Fleet is divided; and that the Venetian Generall comes forward with a very small number of Gallies, being drawn by shawe, and by necessity to succour the Kingdom of *Candia*; but (for as far as may be imagined) with a mind far from fighting; bringing along with him so many great Vessels, to keep himselfe from being assaulted by us; whose forces it may easily be known, by their delay, and by their irresolute counsells they are afraid of: I am therefore of opinion, that without further delay, we put to Sea, and go where we may meet the Enemy, and may have means to give them battel. This advice, as it is full of Generosity and Glory, so may it be very advantageous: nor doth it want such assurednesse, as a wise Commander, in the condition which we are in, ought to have regard unto, it will doublestyredund much to the reputation of the Ottoman Empire, to the honour of her Commanders, and of our whole Nation, that after so great a rout at Sea, hapned by misfortune, we have notwithstanding retain'd so much worth and courage, and preserved so many forces, as that we have come forth the very next summer, with so powerfull and gallant a Fleet, as hath not been afraid to face the Enemy, and to fight them, as being desirous once more to make triall of every mans valour, and of the fortune of war. None can deny, but that great praise and glory is to insue from hence; and certainly the profit, nay the necessity thereof, is no lesse, nor no lesse evident, which persuades us to this resolution, or which (to say better) doth thrust, and force us upon it. For if we keep here idle, it is no doubt but that our enemies, grown insolent by their victory, and being the bolder by our fear, will either come to finde us out, to try whether they can fight us upon advantage, and to increase their reputation, boasting that they are come to fight us at our own doors; or else they will fall upon some of the grand Signors Dominions, wherein the defendanis being discouraged by our cowardlinesse, they will the easier prevail: but if we go boldly to meet them, (a thing which peradventure they look not for at this time) who sees not that this their heat being cooled by our unexpected encounter, they will tack about, and losing courage, will rather

ther think of securing themselves, and their own affairs, than of endangering those of other men? I hus will all the Bores of these Seas be kept from being injur'd by the Enemy, all whose designs we shall frustrate; for seeing us come forth to follow them, they will not dare to fall upon any Enterprize, lest we should assault them. All the experience in Sea-affairs, which I have got in so many years, tells me, that we may get this honour, and this advantage safely, and without hazarding our Fleet: for the Enemy have not dared to advance and approach us, out of any confidence they have in the number of their Gallies, or in their souldiers valour, wherein they come far enough short of us: but onely confiding in those great Gallies, and many ships which they bring along with them; behinde which they think they may keep from being assaulted by us, as sheltered by so many strong Bulworks; so as it is clear enough, the matter of fighting will alwaies be in our power, they not being able to force us to fight, unless we will, though we may force them: for they not being well able to govern those great Vessels at their pleasure, and for their conveniency; but being to be at the pleasure of the wind, and at the discretion of fortune, and being unwilling to part from them, so to be deprived of that stout and safe defence, who is not awaie with what advantage we may face them, and offer them battel; and then do, not as chance, or necessity shall enforce us, but what the reason of War shall persuade us unto? nor ought we be any whit terrified, or removed from doing this, by the last years unfortunate successe: for it is well known, that it was not the valour of our enemies, but our own disorders, which occasioned that ruine; and (if I may be permitted to say so) the rashnesse of our Commanders, who by halting too much to fight, made us expose our selves inconsiderately, to the great shot of the Gallies: so as we entred the Battel, being divided, and in confusion; by which example being now taught, we shall the better know how to govern our Fleet, and to know our advantages, and disadvantages, and not commit our selves foolishly to the will of blind fortune. Let us then forget that ill luck, and all fear that may arise from thence; and if we will be mindfull of that bad successe, why should we not likewise call to mind, the so many, and so famous victories which the Muselmans have had both by Sea and Land, over the Christians: in so much as there is not any part in Europe, which hath not been noted for calamities caused by us, and for the glory of the Ottoman Empire. We ought assuredly to be confident therefore, that fortune which doth accompany the valour of our Nation, and which is alwaies a friend to this happy Empire, hath suffered it to receive this one blow, not to imbase it, but that by governing it self well in adversity, and shewing the excellency of its orders, and its souldiers worth, it may rise to greater glory. These reasons are sufficient to make you applaud and embrace this my proposall, certainly a generous longing to revenge the injuries received from these insolent and ignoble Enemies, and to recover that reputation which they boast they have bereft us of, scornings, reviling, and dispising us, as if by one bare victory they had quite overthrowen the powerfull Ottoman Empire, must be of some force with military men. He who doth not resent these things, merits not the name of a Souldier: but methinks, I see you all so inflamed with desire of carrying the Fleet from out this Haven, and so full of good hopes, as prosperous successe must needs accompany us. Therefore let us, without any further delay, put our Gallies in or-

Part II. Written by Paulo Paruta.

order, and not suffer the Enemy to prevent our designs. *Uluazzali* accompanying these his words with action, made all things fitting be immediately prepared, and sayled towards *Cape Malio*. In this interim, two of the Gallies which were sent out to that purpose, brought word to our Fleet, which was already gotten to the Island of *Cerigo*, that *Uluazzali* was with about 200 layl under *Makvasia*. This news being come, &c. it being thought, that since the enemy was so near, they could not without going lesse in honour, pretermitt the opportunity which was given them, of finding them out, and of offering them battel; the three Generalls did joyntly resolve to steere their course toward *Cape Malio*; and that when they should come within sight of the Enemy, they should advance and present them battel. This advice being followed, the Fleet came to the head of the Island *Cerigo*, to the place called, *le Dragoniere*, that they might be the nearer *Cape Malio*, the better to observe the proceedings of the enemy, and make use of any occasion that should be offered. For they could not design to assault them in a place of safety, where they were strong, as well for the shot that might be made at our Gallies, out of the Castle of *Makvasia*; as also for the difficulty they should have of bringing the greater Vessels thither, and in ordering them, wherein our chiefest hopes of victory lay, if the enemy ought to be fought with.

Whilst they were in this place, the Turkish Fleet was discovered on the seventh day of *August*, in the morning, by the guards which were placed upon the Mountain: which Fleet being already past the point of *Cape Malio*, a Promontory of *Morea*, anciently called *Malea*, and following the coast of the *Vaicas*, sayled towards the channell of *Cerigo*: which way of theirs not being above ten miles from our Fleet, it was thought they advanced with an intention of fighting; which our Generalls hearing, they caused the sign of battel be given to the whole Fleet by the sound of Trumpet, and by setting up their standards in their gallies; being very diligent in disposing of all things, in ordering their squadrons, and in making the ships and greater gallies advance forward, that they might withstand the first encounter of the Enemy. And though a contrary wind began to blow a little from the North, the whole greater Fleet was by force of towing, brought to the place designed, and very well disposed of. In which order the Fleet being come from forth the Rocks of the *Dragoniere*, it sayled towards the coast of *Cape Malio*, taking a fitting place to present battel to the Enemy; who at the first seemed not as if they would refuse it: But as soon as the Fleets drew nearer, were it either that the Enemy thought the number of our Vessels to be more, which being distended in good order, took up a great space, and made a terrible shew of Battel; or that the Enemy were terrified at the courage of our men: (if it be not truer, that *Uluazzali* had neither Commission, nor mind to fight, seeming onely to desire it, that he might gain reputation) altering their course, they made towards the Island of *Cerigo*, which is a Rock not far from that Promontory, from whence they were last come; and sayling in a close order, and drawing still nearer

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Land, they went further off from our men; which it was thought *Aluzzali* did, for that (being an excellent Marriner) he would stay for a western winde, which usually in that season blows in those parts, that so he might afterwards have the advantage of a fore-wind, to assault our Fleet: Which the Commanders of the Christian Fleet foreseeing, they designed that their ships (which lay over against the great gallies on the left hand) as soon as the enemies gallies should be past by, they should hoist all their sails, and assault the Enemy with a fore-winde: But the winde blowing at South-East, *Aluzzali* was forc'd to take another course; and making towards the Western point of the Island of *Cerigo*, he crost the channel which runs between the Islands of *Cervi* and *Cerigo*: So as the one end of his Fleet reaching to *Cerigo*, and the other to *Cervi*, it inclosed all that space of Sea, which is about ten miles in length; and turning their fore-Castles, towards our Fleet, they stood expecting it, having put themselves in order for battel, in three great squadrons, all of an equall number of Vessels; which delay of the Enemy made much for the advantage of our men, for they had thereby opportunity to order themselves the better; so as the wind becoming good afterwards, they made forward with the whole Fleet to assault the Enemy: And they were already come so near, as they made many shot at each other, it being undoubtedly thought that the battel would be that day fought, and that that action would decide what the fortune and end of the whole War would be. But the winde beginning to slacken, our men could not advance, without severing the greater Vessels from the lesse, and so part from their first firm resolution. And on the other side, *Aluzzali*, keeping constant to his opinion, not to come near the Ships nor Gallies, stir'd not from the place where he was. There were then in the Turkish Fleet, above 200 say, of which 160 well armed Gallies, very yare and fit for action; the rest were lesser Vessels, mixt together with the Gallies in the battel, and in each wing. There were not above 127 small gallies in the Christian Fleet, but they had six Gallies, and 22 Ships, excellently well man'd, and furnish'd with Artillery: so as each Fleet exceeding the other in some kind, and coming short in some other, the Fleets were justly counterpos'd. This advantage, and disadvantage being very well known to both parties, was the cause why the Fleets, though they were so near, did not joyn Battel; since the greatest and most certain hope of victory was reduced to industry, and to endeavouring to draw each other to fight upon the advantage of such forces wherein each did exceed the other.

Aluzzali endeavour'd therefore by severall means, to shun incountring with the greater Vessels, and to deprive the lesse Gallies of their assistance; and taking the advantage of the Lee-shore, he intended for as much as was conceived, to keep himselfe from shot of the greater Vessels, and to assault our left wing either on the Poop, or Flank: But Commissary *Canale*, who commanded that wing, preventing him, blockt up the passages, and deprived him of that opportunity: Wherefore *Aluzzali* trying to work his intent by some

some other means, commanded 25 of his yarer gallies, to go from the part that was nearest the Island of *Cervi*, and to assault our right Wing, which was commanded by our Commissary General, hoping to disorder it; and by drawing other of our gallies to defend it, to engage all our lesser gallies in fight, far from the ships and galleasses, which being totally becalmed, lay unmoveable. But Commissary *Soranzo*, resolving valiantly to withstand those that came to assault him, before they should be come nearer him, repuls'd them by frequent shot; and making them retire towards their other Squadrons, began to pursue them close, and to endanger them, and was followed by the Fleet; but they were forc'd to proceed slowly, by reason of so much towing: So as many hours being spent, and our men not being able to advance faster with their joyn't forces; and the enemy not willing to accost them, before he had divided them; when the Sun began to set, *Aluzzali*, secured by the coming on of night, and by the great smoak of the Artillery, began to make his gallies be towed back by little and little, yet turning their Prowes; but at last, he took the advantage of the point of the Island *Cerigo*, and turning his Prow, he launch'd out into the sea, and got quite out of the sight of our men, and out of danger; our men not being able to follow them any further, by reason of the slownesse of towing, and of the wearinesse of their men; nor could they well discern then what course he took, as well by reason of the obscurity of night, as also by a stratagem which he used in his flight, having sent one Gally, with a light in the lantern, quite another way, than whither he went with his whole Fleet, to make it be believed, that he was gone the same way. But the next morning, the enemy was kend to be towards *Brazzo di Maina*. Our men having kept the most part of that night at sea, went to the North Cape of the Island of *Cerigo*, to take in water, and to afford some rest to their wearied Rowers; where having tarried that day, and part of the next (for they understood by their Guards from land, that the enemies Fleet was discovered to be not far off) they speedily imbarcked their men, and went to where they heard the Turkish Fleet was; which not being to be found any where that day, our Fleet kept all that night at sea in very good order. But on the tenth of August, the enemy were discovered to be upon the Cape *Matapan*, who keeping their Gallies with their Forecastles towards land, kept about the coast on both sides the Cape. *Aluzzali* seeing himself found out by our Fleet, gave warning by shot of Cannon to his Gallies which lay furthest off, to come closer together, and suddenly put himself in order, being especially cautious, not to put himself in such a place, as he might be forced to fight with our greater vessels; wherefore he took a great circuit, keeping his two wings half a mile distant from the body of the Battel, wherein he kept in the midst: He faced our Fleet which came towards him, in somewhat a closer order, expecting that our Generalls, allured by hopes of an easie victory, should pass forwards, beyond their ships and gallies, to fight his Squadron; whilst it was divided, and severed from his other gallies. And in

the mean while, the two Wings of the enemy, taking a large compass, seemed as if they would encompass our men, and assault them on the back, out of danger of our greater vessels, so as they should not be able to assist our Generalls, if they should come to conflict with their middle Squadron. Which designe being found out by our Commanders, orders were forthwith sent to those that were in both the Wings, that observing vigilantly what course the enemy should steer, &c. keeping their Forecastles still turned towards them, they should not suffer them to passe beyond our Fleet. Thus each Fleet facing the other alwaies in all parts, they were already come within Canon-shot. At this so great a pinch, Generall Foscherini, being ambitious of praise, and of doing somewhat, which might be answerable to the opinion of his conceived gallantry, took a small boat, going sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, and endeavouring to be every where; he ordered, commanded, provided for all things necessary: He desired the governours and captains of the galleys, to be careful of themselves, and to remember the last year's happy success; saying, That these were those very enemies, who, not many months ago, were with so much glory overcome by them in Battle; nay, that they were the poorest, and least courageous amongst them; for all the ablest, and most generous, were slain in the last Battle, and those that escaped were full of fears. That the very reputation of the late victory, would assuredly be sufficient to fight for them, against cowardly people, and who had lost their courage by the bad success of the last Battle; whose Admirall would be the first that should teach them to flee, as it became his trade of Piracy, and as he had done in the last fight. That there was not any, who had not earnestly desired, to have an opportunity of fighting the enemy, believing, that therein lay the chief difficulty, of getting another no lesse famous victory. That this opportunity was by divine Providence now offered them, when they did most desire it, and looked least for it. That if they should now again suffer the enemy to escape away safe, when their forces were so weak, they might in vain seek an occasion hereafter, of suppressing them; for growing in time more powerfull, and more bold, they would bereave them of the occasion, or of the easinesse of other victories; nay, they might deprive them of the fruit of that victory, which they had already gotten. Therefore the end of that war, and the fortune of the Common-wealth, for some ages, did depend upon that daies success. If they valued their own glory, the good of their country, the exaltation of Christendom, let them now fall boldly upon the enemy, since they had that now before their eyes, which was able to inflame poorly spirited men, much more such as were noble and generous. But that if any one should be otherwise minded, let him know, the enemy was so near, as there was neither time nor means now left, of shunning the Battle, wherein their safety and glory did wholly consist. With these and the like speeches, did Generall Foscherini strive to encourage all to Battle: And in the mean time, our Fleet advanced joyntly together, with much courage, hoping to fight the Squadron wherein Uluzzali was, and to beat him, before he could be succoured by his other Wings, which were gone far off. But we were forced to proceed very slowly, and not without some disorder, as well by reason of towing on the ships, the winde being wholly ceased; as also, that our Wings

Wings could not be well adjusted, being to stand opposite to those of the enemy, which (as hath been shewn) had taken a large compass. Yet the Fleets drew still neerer, especially on the side towards the sea, which answered to our right Wing; and to the enemies left. Commissary Soranzo, who was the foremost of his Squadron, against which the enemy came, advanced speedily, with some of the yarest galleys of the first Squadron, to fight the enemies galleys, before they should be able to joyne with their companions. These, not seeming as then to shun the encounter, kept on their course, and came within shot of ours; but finding afterwards, that Soranzo did valiantly advance to fall upon them, they staid a while, expecting relief from some other galleys of their Squadron, which were already got very near them; which made Commissary Soranzo do the like: so as the enemy, who (as was palpably seen) did abhor the conflict, had time to retreat, being much endamaged by shot from our Gallies, giving way manifestly, and being driven from their first station. But our left Wing, the enemy being fallen further off on that side, had likewise taken a larger compass, so as it was neither so near as to fight the enemy, nor could it so soon return to its place, and joyne with the body of our Battle, as was requisite, for their advancing joyntly against the enemy. Things being reduced to this condition, and the North-west wind beginning to blow, which was contrary to us, it was clearly seen, we could not possibly come to Battle that day, unless we should advance with our smaller Gallies, and leave our greater Vessels behinde. The Venetian Generall desiring very much to fall on, speaking aloud to the other Generalls, whose Gallies were near him: *What mean we, said he, that we do not boldly advance? Why do we not forego this impediment of the greater vessels, whereby we must alwaies be guided by fortune, and by our enemies pleasure? Shall we suffer the victory to escape us once more? Occasion invites us to alter our resolution, let us make use thereof whilst we may. We must be bold, and hope well.* Foscherini thought it was the best and safest way to advance, for that they might make advantage of the cunning, which the enemy sought to use against them, by assaulting their middle Squadron, before the rest could come together, and put themselves in Battle array. And if the enemy should continue their first intention, their ships, which the enemy would never dare to approach, would secure them from the danger of being assaulted on the back. But the rest of the Generalls, neither totally consenting to, nor dissenting from this proposition, saying onely, That it was contrary to the resolution which they had maturely taken; and that the time would not permit new counsells; the Fleet continued to advance, though but slowly; and the smaller galleys and galleasses passing by the ships, went boldly forward towards the enemy: but the wind growing stronger, not onely the ships, but the galleasses, which did before advance without towing, were forced to tarry behinde; so as making very slowly forward, Uluzzali had opportunity to retire with leasure, and in good order, with all his Squadrons joyned together. And the better to dissemble his retreat, he for a while made his gally be towed back.

backward by the Poop, till being gotten out of our sight, he thought he might safely wheel about, and launching out into the sea, get (as he did) into a place of safety. These successes might, as it was thought, teach a new and usefull lesson, concerning the Militia of the sea: That as greater vessels are of much safety, by reason of their strength, so they may occasion great inconvenience and prejudice, since they who are to make use of them, must alwaies depend upon the pleasure of the winde, and upon the Enemy's will. For this cause, *Aluzzali*, who had been long accustomed to sea-exercises, when he came from *Makuria*, made use of the men onely that were in his *Moone*, or ships of burthen, to recruit therewith his lesser gallies, leaving the vessels themselves behinde, to shun the necessity, either of abandoning them, or of governing himself according to the will and convenience of others. The Christian Fleet, the Turks being past beyond Cape *Matapan*, and they not being able to pursue them any further, by reason of the contrary winde, and wearineffe of their men, retired to the Island of *Cerigo*, where lying at sea the first night, it came the next morning underneath the Fort, the ships lying a little without.

Whilst our Fleet layed here, newes came, that *Aluzzali* had taken one of our Frigats, by whom having notice of *Don John's* coming, he prepared to go to where the Spanish Fleet was to passe, intending (as being much stronger) to fight it. At which, *Colonna*, and *Gil d' Andrea* being very much troubled, they propounded, that all other respects being laid aside, they might immediately go with all their lesser Gallies, to meet *Don John*, and to free him from danger. But the Venetian Commanders were absolutely against this, considering, *That to avoid an uncertain danger, that Fleet must be exposed to manifest inconvenience, to the hazard of the whole forces of the League, for the greater vessels not being able to part from Cerigo, by reason of the contrary winds, nor having any haven there, wherein they might be safe, they must be a certain prey to the enemy. Nor could the lesser gallies be free from the like fear, their number being lessened, and wanting the assistance of the ships and galleasses, wherein they had so far placed the security and safety of that Fleet, as they thought all opportunities unreasonable without them, though accompanied with much hope of overcoming the enemy. They urged moreover, that it was very like, that they, keeping all their forces joyned together, and observing Aluzzali's way, they might, by following the same trak, keep him in such jealousies, and apprehensions, as he might rather fear to be taken in the midst by the League's Fleets, then intend falling upon any part thereof. They called to minde also, that the artillery, ammunition, and victuals lay in the ships, to deprive themselves of which so necessary things, was no better, then to draw upon them such disorders and mischiefs, as they could not receive greater from the enemy. Besides, that the winde was very contrary to the course which they were now to steer, if they should return to Corfu, whereas it was very good for *Don John* to come into the Levant, who bringing 50 gallies with him, he might easily and safely come to them; and that when they should be all met together, they were likely to meet with some occasion of attempting some enterprises in the Levant, which might become the name & preparations of the League,* whilst

whilst the season of the year, which was already well advanced, might permit them to do so. These reasons not being allowed of by *Colonna*, not by *Gil d' Andrea*, they were full of doubts and difficulties. *Those* thought they might go safely with 100 gallies towards Zante, and thereby secure *Don John's* voyage, and send the greater Vessels the mean while to the Island of *Candia*, whither they might soon and easily get, and be free from all danger: They said, no other course could be thought good, save what made for the conjunction of the League's Fleet. For whilst their forces should be divided, so as they should neither have small gallies enough, nor men of war, to follow the Enemy in all places, or to fall upon any other enterprise; nor yet being able to force the Enemy to fight with their greater Vessels; it appeared clearly, that their longer tarrying in those parts, would be totally to no purpose, which being well known to *Aluzzali*, had been the cause why he was gone (as it was reported) to *Brazzo di Maina* to keep the Fleets from meeting; which if he should be able to do, it would make much for the safety of his own affairs, and would frustrate all their designs.

Whilst this important resolution remained yet undecided, a Frigate arrived very seasonably from *Don John*, which brought word, that he would not take his voyage before the first of August. Which news, though it afforded occasion of accommodating the Commanders first disputes more easily, yet did it not free them from all trouble; for they therewith understood, that *Don John* would not advance much with his gallies, but that he by express Orders, and Letters, willed the Generalls to return and meet him: which by reason of the contrary winds, they being to bring along with them so many great Vessels, could not be done without great losse of time, without much danger, and without much dissatisfaction to the Inhabitants of the Islands, subject to the Venetian Dominion, if they should abandon them at a time when the Enemy was so strong at Sea, and so near them: but howsoever they joyntly resolved to obey *Don John's* orders; and because it was thought almost impossible to do so, and bring the greater Vessels along with them; they resolved to go first to the Island of *Candia*, and there leave the Ships and Gallies, as in a place of safety, and to cross the Sea towards *Zante*, with the lesser gallies. But this was not done, by reason that they heard the Enemies Fleet was discovered upon the *Pelagos*, and that it made towards *Cape Malis*, wherefore thinking they might safely pursue the nearer way, to meet *Don John*, the whole Christian Fleet went to *Brazzo di Maina*, from whence *Aluzzali* was gone but a little before. The winde turning fair for them into the North-west, they sayled in three days from hence to *Zante*, where not meeting with *Don John*, (as they had well hoped to have done) but with new orders from him, whereby he desired them to come to *Gefalonia*, they were necessitated to leave the ships there, though in apparant danger; the Enemy not being gone so far, but that upon notice thereof, they might return, and possess themselves of them: and being told that they did do this, as was suspected by many that they would do, some of those that bore chieftest authority

ty in the Spanish Fleet, moved, that since it was so hard a thing to succour the ships, they should give order for firing them; but General *Foscherini* detelling this advice, resolved to send Commissary *Quirini*, with 25 gallies, to free them from danger, and to bring them to the Fleet, as he did, safely. At last, they past from *Cefalonia* to *Corfu*, whither *Don John* was come himselfe in person with 55 gallies, 33 ships, & 15000 foot, on the ninth of August; who though at first he did not conceal his displeasure, for their not having waited his coming, he being thereby necessitated, (as not having sufficient forces of himselfe to pass into the *Levant*) to lie so long idle, and little to his honour at *Corfu*: yet he was pleased to say, he would speak no more of what was past, and strove very much to make it be believed, that he was greatly desirous to do any thing, which might be for the reputation and advantage of the League. And herein he did the more expatiate himselfe, and shew'd the greater affection, because he heard it was publickly said in the Fleet, that he was come onely to make a certain kind of Appearance, but not with any intention, or commission to do any thing; and that therefore he had cunningly prolonged the time, seeking excuses, and avoiding any occasion of incountring the enemy, or to fall upon any enterprise: Which suspitions did notwithstanding still increase the more, since after so many delays, he came to no settled resolution, because he expected the Duke of *Sessa*, with the Spanish Gallies. But at last, it being thought joyntly by them all, that their forces were sufficient (for all of them being numbred together, the Leagues Fleet was found to consist of 194 gallies, and 8 galliasses, and 45 ships, whereof 30 were Spanish, and 15 Venetians) they were all mustered at the *Gomeniazze*, before they advanced, and resolved in what order to proceed, if they should have occasion to joyn battel. The three Generalls were placed in the midst; with 72 gallies; the Marquis of *Santa Croce* led on the right wing, Commissary *Soranzo* took care of the left, and each wing consisted of 52 gallies: the Van, wherein were 6 galliasses, was committed to the charge of *Fra. Pietro Justimano*, Generall of *Maha*, and *Jovan di Cordona*, and *Nicola Donato* brought up the reere with 22 gallies. The Galliasses, which were commanded by *il Duado*, and placed before the smaller gallies, according to the first orders, stood four of them in the front of the battel, and two before every wing. The ships were commanded by *Don Rodrigo Mendosa*, and by *Adria no Bragadino*; it being resolved to carry them along to *Zante*, and then to leave them there, that they might be the readier for any whatsoever design, but with intention to make use thereof onely, for the conveyance of victuals, and ammunition, which they carried along with them, and not for any use of War, in point of fighting.

All things being thus ordered, the Fleet parted from *Para*, on the eleventh of September, not having resolved upon any thing as yet, save onely to advance, and then do, what they should be invited unto by the Turks proceedings; which by the relation of the gallies which were sent before, to spy out their course, and designs, were quick-

quickly known to be at *Modone*, and at *Navarino*; and that their Fleet was divided, and in want of all things that were necessary, and especially of men, whereof many were fled, and many dead; and that for certain, the occasion that made them tarry in those parts, was for their security, till such fouldiers should be sent unto them as was intended. This was thought a fit opportunity to suppress the enemy, and all of them were the more rejoiced at it, for that they had almost dispaired of it; it having been certainly believed, that the Turks, having understood the joyning of the Confederates Fleets, (which doubtlesly were stronger then theirs) they would have made towards *Constantinople*, and return to winter their Fleet, as usually they did within that strait, after having won much honour, by facing the Christian Fleet twice, and shewed, at least a great willingness to fight: and when they thought they had now no longer reason to apprehend, that the Commanders of the League were to fall upon any important enterprise; which some of *Don Johns* Counsellors made use of afterwards, to discredit the information, though it was confirmed by many clear evidences. Whence it hapned, that much credit being given to their opinion: the Fleets departure was very unseasonably retarded, and the execution of what was resolved by the Generalls, defer'd; though it was confes'd by all, that being to finde out the Enemy, the chiefe hope of good success lay in the quicknesse of the Enterprise; whereby not to afford them time, neither of flying, nor of joyning together; and that the unexpected assault, might cause more terror in them, and put them in disorder. The Commanders therefore designed, to part presently away, and sayling from the Island of *Zante*, not to suffer themselves to be discovered any where, but to come on the sudden to *Sapienza*, which is a Rock lying in the midit between *Navarino* and *Modone*, and so to block up the passage, as the Enemy which was at *Navarino*, could not joyn with their companions, nor shelter themselves under the walls of *Modone*. But this advice was so long delay'd, and they sayled so slowly, as our Fleet, which as it was intended, should have been on the 16th day, before sun-rising, at *Sapienza*, got but to *Prodano*; so as being soon discovered from the Castel of *Navarino*, that part of the Turkish Fleet which lay in the Haven, had leasure to get safely to *Modone*, passing not above three miles before, within the sight of our Fleet; our men thinking, that since *Muzzali* had had the opportunity of getting all his forces together, he would fight them; they put all their squadrons into order; and after having staid a while to arm themselves, the gallies of our Van advanced, which being got near the Enemy, gave fire to their great Guns, to try whether they had any mind to fight, or no; but the Turks meaning nothing lesse, as knowing their disadvantage, retired to underneath the Fort of *Modone*. Thus it fell out, that a few hours delay (of such importance is dispatch in point of War) made the Christians lose a gallant occasion of suppressing the Turkish Fleet, without almost any hazard unto themselves at all, which occasioned a great change in all the ensuing War. The Enemies gallies being retired to *Modone*, great doubts

and difficulties arose amongst our Commanders, touching what they were to do; it being thought very dangerous, and almost impossible to fight the Enemies Fleet within the channell of *Modone*. For the mouth of the channell being of it selfe very straight, and being yet made more narrow by some shelves, was excellently well fortified on one side, by some Gallies which were placed to guard it; and on the other side by a hill, which burring out over against the Rock *Sapienza*, is as it were a Flank, whereon were many pieces of Artillery; and just over against the mouth thereof stands a Rock, called *San Bernardo*, upon which likewise many great Guns were placed: But moreover, when our men should have past all these dangers and difficulties, and passing further in, should have been gotten near the Town of *Modone*; they should have received more prejudice both from the Town, and from the Castle of *San Nicolò*, from whence, (it standing in the Sea) our gallies might be dril'd through by shot, upon the superficies of the water. Wherefore knowing they could not force the Enemy to fight, the Generalls of the League resolved to retire to the point of *Sapienza*, that they might get into *Porto Lungo*, whither two wings, which were the first that were to move, being already on their way; *Muzzali* issuing out of the Channell of *Modone* with 50 gallies, came to assault our Battel, which was tarried behinde. But as soon as he was discovered, *Don John* gave the sign of Battel, and made them all turn their Prowes towards the Enemy; so as the right wing became the left, and the left the right. But *Muzzali*, who was not come forth with an intention to fight, when he saw our men stand in Battel array, began forthwith to retreat, from whence he was newly come; the which he might the more safely do, for that night was already come on, and therewithall a great storm of rain, which forced our men to fall Room-ward, and to launch into the deep, having the Enemies shores on all sides: But the next morning, the Sea being become more calm, the Confederates Fleet went into the Gulph of *Corone*, to take in fresh water at a clear and plentiful River, which runs along four miles from *Corone*, through a most pleasant Country, full of woods all of Cedar; from whence the River takes the name of *Lungo*, which in the Greek *Idiome*, signifies a Wood. But to secure those that went for fresh water, they being to go far from our Gallies, and in an enemies Country, it behoved them to land many foot, whereof *Francisco dal Adria* had the charge; and this danger was seasonably foreseen, and provided for; for *Muzzali* observing which way our men went; where it either to disturb them, or to keep them from carrying away water, or else for the safety of the Town of *Corone*, he sent 500 *Janissaries*, and 200 Horse thither, with whom our souldiers were forced to skirmish more then once; in which actions, *Charles*, Marquils of *Eumena*, who was then a volunteer, together with many other French Gentlemen in our Fleet, won much praise: as also *Juan Battista Contarini*, Master of a gally, who was landed with the rest; for meeting with a company of our men, who were running away, he made them stay, and bringing them boldly on, he repuls'd the Enemy. The foot being re-

re-imbark'd, the whole Fleet parted from those shores, being shot at as they past by the Fort *Corone*, whereby they received no great prejudice. Our Fleet being got out of that Gulph, as it failed between Cape *Gallo*, and the Island *Caprara*, it pass'd within sight of the enemy, in three Squadrons, one in the rear of another, by reason of the narrowness of the situation, and came again to Cape *Sapienza*; on the South-west side, and lay at Anchor almost over against *Modone*; so as the two enemy-Fleets were divided but a little. But finding clearly, that to tarry long in that place, and expect the enemies coming forth, whereby they might have opportunity to fight them, was but to spend time to little purpose, with much indignity, and not without some danger, they being to keep in open sea, and being often deluded by the enemy, who being sure quickly to save themselves, sent some few gallies often out to molest them: The Venetian Generall propounded the landing of 10000 Foot, whereby to make themselves masters of the Hill, which lay upon the point of the Channell, from whence, if they intended to make any attempt against the enemy, they were likely to receive most harm; it being to be hoped, that this place being defended by a few men, and not in condition of being relieved by *Muzzali*, who having the enemy before him, ready to fight him, he would not bereave his Gallies of souldiers, and incur a greater danger. But the Spaniards approved not of this proposall, saying, That being so near the enemy, they were not to land so many men, whereby to weaken the forces of the Fleet, and expose it to much danger. Wherefore *Foscherini*, finding so many difficulties, in whatsoever they should pitch upon; and considering, that they must be forced ere long to be gone, without doing any thing; his opinion was, That in a business of so great estimation, and where the hopes of doing good was greater, then the danger that might be incurred, they were to adventure, and forceably to enter the Channell of *Modone*, and assault the enemy. He therefore propounded this to the Councell, offering to be himself the first, that should expose himself to danger, and to make way for the rest: Which though it were at first approved of, and that every one seemed to strive, who should have the honour of achieving glory by the first danger, yet they came not to the tryall thereof. So as without making any attempt as then, the Fleet went to the Haven of *Navarino*, which is very spacious, very convenient for water, and for other accommodations; and also a safe receptacle for any Fleet; it not being to be injured by shot from the Castell, which is seated very high, and far off; where whilst they should tarry, the enemies Fleet was as it were besieged underneath *Modone*; so as by reason of the many inconveniences which it underwent, it grew into a bad condition of returning to *Constantinople*; and also was in great danger of being driven upon land, and split against those shores by South-west windes: And if they should be forced by these necessities and dangers, to depart from thence, they must afford our men opportunity to fight them. The Turks this mean while sent many Harchebugiers, who

being well skilled in the situations, falling down from the mountains near *Navarino*, did disturb our men, and sought to deprive them of the convenience of water. Wherefore our men were forced to land 5000 Foot, commanded by *Paolo Giordano Orsino*, by which the enemy being driven away, the country remained safe. So as our men keeping there with much safety and convenience, things seemed to be reduced to that passe, as it was hardly to be doubted, but that the Confederates would soon have the victory: whereupon such advertisements were sent throughout all Christendom, as men rejoiced thereat, not as at a hoped-for happiness, but as at one already certainly had. Yet many daies were idly spent, without any appearance of advantage, save what time might produce. Wherefore so long delay waxing tedious, the enterprize of *Navarino* was proposed; but it being afterward considered, that though it was feasible, yet it could not be much advantageous for the main affair, they gave over any further thought thereof, and bent themselves to the expugning of *Modone*, in the getting whereof, the obtaining of their chief intent did consist; for the enemies Fleet being driven from thence, might be fought by our men upon very advantageous terms. It was therefore resolved, to assault the Town and Castle of *Modone*, both by sea and land, at one and the same time; and *Giovann Mocenigo* was sent to *Zante*, to bring Foot in all haste from the ships. In the interim, a certain Engine was invented and made, by *Juseppe Bonello*, a Florentine-Engineer, by fastning four Gallies together, upon which, ten pieces of Cannon were placed, and some kinde of Parapets raised, intending to bring it to the Castle of *Modone*, and to batter it; and at the same time, to secure the comming of other Gallies, which being sheltered by this Engine from the Enemies shot, might enter the Channell, and give an assault. But when this Engine was made, many contrarities (as usually happens in these new inventions) were found to be in it, which made it be but of little use; for it neither could be well guided upon the water, nor was it very safe; for having a very great weight upon it, and the sides of the Gallies being narrow, it might sink at the going off of the Cannon; and the sea being there very deep, it was not known, whether it could have firm Anchorage or no. There was also great difficulty found, in bringing it to the intended place, for it was to be towed by other Gallies, which by reason of their slow motion, were exposed to the danger of being shot through, and sunk, by the Artillery which lay in the mouth of the Haven. So as despairing of getting that advantage by this invention, which was at first hoped for; and it being given out, that the Belgirby of *Greece* was comming with 2000 Horse, to impede that enterprize, the business was given over. But that which did exceedingly afflict the Venetians, and cut off all hopes of doing any good, was, the newes which was divulged through the whole Fleet, that the Spaniards had bread but for a few daies; wherefore they said, They could not busie themselves about any long affair, being, by reason of that want, to bethink themselves of retiring. Wherefore (being still desirous to leave some signe of victory, which might encourage the people

people of *Morea*, and make them hope for better things) they resolved to besiege *Navarino*, which thing had been proposed severall times before, but still rejected; it not being thought, that the getting of so small a Castle was worth the while, in comparison of that their great preparation. The Castle of *Navarino*, which was anciently called *Pilo*, is seated upon a point of land, which thrusting out on the South-east, shapes the Haven almost into the form of a Bowe: It is strong rather by Nature, than by Art, being in an eminent place, and hard to be clammer'd up: it is very diligently guarded by the Turks, for the conveniency of the Haven, and for the situation thereof, which is almost in the midst of *Mora*. There are two wayes which lead to the Castle; the one on the left hand, which lies not far from the shore; and the other backwards, lying towards the firm Land; which encompassing a neighbouring standing Pool, is very narrow, and almost hidden. The Prince of *Parma* had the chief charge of this enterprize; who when he had landed the men that were destined thereunto, which were 1000 Spanish foot, and as many Italians, and ten Cannons of Battery. He took the first way, which was openest, that he might keep the Enemy from being relieved; but as for the other, he either was aware of it too late, or did not much value it: so as *Jovan di Mançada*, and *Monetto Callauress*, going afterwards to possess themselves of that Pass, they were unexpectedly over-powred by many of the Enemy, part whereof came to bring succour, and part came out of the Castle to meet, and back their men: they had much ado to save themselves, which they did not without some losse. Whereupon the Turks, who were above 2000 in number, put a Garrison into the Castle, and having the way open, did also possess themselves of all the most eminent Passes which lay nearest the Town, whereby they had opportunity of succouring those that were within again, and of molesting our men that were without by continuall musket shot, whilst they were busie in planting their Cannon, intending to begin the assault in that very place; and they were at the same time prejudiced and dammified by Artillery from the Castle, so as in three days space they could hardly plant two pieces of Cannon against the place where they had designed them: and this mischief and danger grew dayly greater, for our souldiers lay open, without any manner of shelter, by reason of the want of Earth: and the enemies which were without, with whom we were continually to skirmish upon disadvantage, grew dayly stronger and stronger. These things did very much trouble the Colleagues Generals, knowing that to rise too soon from this begun-enterprize, would redound too much to their dishonour; and yet they could have no certain hope of good success by continuing the siege: But the want of bread was that which did most molest them, which was dayly more and more complain'd of by *Don John* and his Counsellors, who shew'd a necessity of departing. But many thought it very strange, and not easily to be believed, that the Spanish Fleet being come with so many ships from *Cirily*, which is accounted the Granary of Italy, should want bread in so short a time. Others thought, that if the want were

were indeed such as it was given out to be, it might easily and speedily be provided for, by sending to bring some ships away which were loaded with Bisket, and which the Spaniards themselves said, were left at *Taranto*. But the Venetian Generall, to remove all occasions of the departure of the Spanish Fleet, whereof there was no hope left, nor any thought of good success either then, or in the future; offered part of his victuals to *Don John*, intreating him to accept thereof, and shewing that he daily expected some ships with Bisket, wherewith to supply his necessity.

But whatsoever the reason was, the Spaniards did not accept the proposall, nor would they listen to any thing which might retarde their departure; which being resolutely bent upon, they went from *Navarino*, permitting free and safe passage for *Muzzali*, to return with his whole Fleet to *Constantinople*, with the name of an expert and valiant Commander, having got so much reputation and favour, as it might be feared he might be an instrument of more mischief to Christendom. *Don John* indeavoured by all the means he could, that this his departure might be by the consent of Generall Foscherini, and the Venetians, labouring to shew his ardent desire of acquiring glory and reputation; his condition being such as thrust him thereupon, if he had been otherwise inclined, since he wanted power and Estate answerable to his birth. He minded them of the last years Victory, of his forwardness therein, and of the satisfaction he had since received thereby. He accused fortune which had bereft him of the opportunity of fighting the Enemy, which had been so often offered them, and so much by him desired. He also promised, That if he should meet with the ships in his voyage, he would willingly embrace any occasion that should offer it selfe of doing some signall service to the League, before he would return with his Fleet into the west; but that if he should not be permitted to do so now, he would make amends the next year for the losse of that time which necessity had now enforced him upon.

The Venetian Generall finding his resolution fixt, thought good to give way unto it, lest he might make the Enemy believe that the League was broke; and because he knew he was not able to do any good of himselfe alone. Many did firmly believe, that the King had alwaies, and particularly at this time, been very well inclined towards the League, and *Don John* no lesse; but that effects had not ensued answerable to the good intention of these Princes, and to the opinion which was had of their forwardness, by reason of severall impediments and disorders which had occur'd by negligence, or false rumours, or by the bad affection of some State Ministers. And it was more particularly affirmed, that the Orders for requisite victuals, had been badly observed, and that those provisions which were prepared for the Fleet, for the business of the *Levant*, were made use of upon other occasions, which was the reason why the Catholick Fleet was necessitated to give over the Enterprize, and return to her Havens. But it so fell out, as our men hapned to be nearer giving battel to the Enemy, than they had ever yet been, when they left thought of it: for just as the Leagues Fleet was ready to be gone, news was brought, that a Spanish ship which was
come

come from *Corfu*, and was already got to the *Sapienza*, was set upon by some Turkish Gallies; wherefore all things being put in order, the Fleet parted speedily from *Navarino*, to fall upon the Enemies Gallies, and to rescue the ship, which was reduced to utmost danger. The Leagues Fleet was not got wholly out of the Haven, when *Muzzali* began to come out of the Channell of *Modone* with 60 other gallies, to assist his former Gallies, which were gone to take the Spanish ships, and were 25 in number. Whereupon *Don John* gave order, that Commissary *Soranzo* should go with a Squadron of Gallies on the left hand, to keep *Muzzali* from advancing farther; and that the Marquiss of *Santa Croce*, and Commissary *Canale* should go with their Squadrons to pursue the 25 Gallies belonging to the enemy, which when they spied our Fleet from afar off, quitted the ship, and began to fly; and *Muzzali*, when he saw himselfe faced by Commissary *Soranzo*, halted a little, being desirous to know better what our men intended to do. And when he saw the Commissary ply his Oars, and come vigorously to assault him, he wheeled about, and return'd to underneath the Castle of *Modone*, being so closely pursued by our men, as coming very near the Town of *Modone*, they made many shot even to within the wallles. But the Gallies which fought the Spanish ship, having got the start much, and meeting every where with friendly acception, escaped all of them, except one that was commanded by the St. *Jacco* of *Mettline*, Nephew to the famous *Ariadeno Barbarossa*, which being the last that carryed to fight the ship; and for that the slaves, hoping to get liberty, slackned their rowing, was taken by the Marquiss of *Santa Croce*.

These actions continued so long, till the night came on, which bereft our men of making any other attempts against the Enemy. Wherefore *Don John* gave order, that the whole Fleet should return to the Haven of *Navarino*, being unwilling to abandon the Engine of 4 gallies, which might afford occasion to the Enemy, to turn his departure, flight, if he should leave his Instrument of war behind him. But the great ships being also out of the Haven, and a favourable winde blowing a little at the South-east, he ordered the ships to go presently towards *Zante*, and he the next morning went with the whole Fleet the same way, being so desirous to return speedily, as steering his course through the Channel of *Viscardo*, contrary to the opinion of his most skilfull Marriners, who advised him to go to *Cefalonia*: the Fleet run a great hazard about the gulf of *Laria*; and one of the Popes gallies was split against the shelves of *Paru*. *Muzzali*, when the Leagues Fleet was gone, being free from fear of meeting any impediment in his voyage, went with all his gallies carelessly, without any order, to *Cape Malio*, where, by reason of a contrary North-winde, he staid some dayes; but afterwards, the winde turning fair, he came with 100 gallies to *Constantinople*, and was received with much joy and honour; the Turks holding themselves absolutely to be conquerors, because they had defended *Morea*, and all their other Dominions, having offered battel severall times (as they said) to the Christians, and at last chaf'd them from their

their Territories, and made the Sea safe and open. But the same difficulties and desires continued still in the Christian Fleet, (which came on the 20 of *October*, to *Corfu*) though their forces were increased by the Duke of *Sesse's* coming to them with 13 gallies, and *John Andrea Doria*, with some ships laden with Corn. Severall undertakings were daily propounded in Councill, but none approv'd of. The Enterprize of *Santa Maura*, was chiefly had in considerations, whereunto *Don John* seemed to be well inclined; yet it was hindred by the Duke of *Sesse*, who being of a contrary opinion, did absolutely oppose it, affirming it was not time now to beleaguer Forts without Tents; nor to cross the Sea with numerous Vessels, and in an Enemies Country. All designs being therefore laid aside, the Spaniards resolved to turn West-ward, the Leagues Fleet having been but 50 dayes together. *Don John* went first to *Messina*, where leaving part of his gallies, he returned to *Naples* with the rest; and dismissing the Italian foot, he sent the Spanish and Dutch foot to their Garrisons. But *Colonna*, by Commission from the Pope, went to the Court of *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had been done, and to treat how the War was to be carried on the next year, and what provisions would be requisite thereunto. *Colonna* was very glad of this occasion, that he might satisfie the King of some doubts, which he feared might have some impression in him, by the relation of those who envying his glory, and seeking out some occasion to blame his actions, and of putting the King in an ill opinion of him, had accused him, for having gone into the *Levant* before *Don John's* arrival: though it was very clear, that those things could not be done, which were ordered by *Don John's* selfe, without the Fleets departure from *Corfu*. *Colonna* having dispatcht the publick business, and justified himselfe very well, went from the Court, and returned to his employment, with increase of honour and merit. The Spanish Gallies, and those of the Church being gone, onely the Venetians remained, and they almost idle at *Corfu*, where they lay armed all the Winter, that they might go out to prejudice the enemy, very early the next spring.

These were the successes of the year 1572. wherein Christendom had good hope to repair her selfe in part for the so many mischiefs she had received from the Turks, and to recover her pristine dignity, since the so famous victory which God had miraculously granted her, seemed to have made way for other noble Achievements; and that they might have so quell'd the forces of the *Ottoman* Empire, as that the Christian Princes might have been free from fear of being injur'd by them a long time: But really, our posterity may have just cause to blame the Princes of this Age, for not knowing how to make use of the opportunity which was offered them of suppressing the insolency of the common Enemy, which was grown so formidable to them all: and all future Ages will grieve for the misfortune of this our time, wherein, to the greater infamy thereof, the occasion of so much hoped for happinesse was lost. The Leagues Fleet being departed, those of *Morcia*, and of *Brazzo di Maina*, who were risen up in favour of the Christians, and who waiting

ting for the successfe of the Fleets, as neither having field forces, nor strong holds to defend themselves, were retired to the mountains to save themselves from the violence of the Turks, were forced to surrender to their power, and to return to greater slavery, being deprived of all hopes of ever getting quit of it. The Venetians complained grievously to the Pope by their Embassadors, (who at this time were sent upon a solemn Embassy, according to custome, to render obedience to his Holinesse, in the name of the Commonwealth) of these irresolute Counsels, and of the Spaniards slack provisions, and chiefly of the departing from *Navarino*, so much, and so unseasonably at this time prest by them: wherefore to gratifie them, the Pope sent his Chamberlain, *Jovanni Claudio Gonsaga*, forthwith to *Don John*, to perswade him to tarry where he was, in expectation of receiving orders from *Spain*, to winter in the *Levant*: which resolution they hoped the King had already put on, being perswaded thereunto, joynly both by the Pope and the Venetians; and the affairs in *Flanders* having had prosperous success; to facilitate the which, in case the King should not be already resolved thereupon, the Pope sent *Monsignor di Lanzano* speedily away to *Spain*. But all these indeavours proved to no purpose, for having already given a positive answer to the Popes, and the Venetians, other Embassadors, that he would not keep his Fleet so far from his Dominions, he would not be brought to alter his minde: and *Don John* not valuing the Popes desire, as knowing peradventure the Kings, and his Counsellors minde, pursued his voyage (as hath been said) to the West: and in the interim, Generall *Veniero*, finding himselfe indisposed, by reason of his great Age, and much labour, having got leave from the Senate, return'd to his Country with much glory, being met by many of the Senators in the Butcheria, and received very honourably by the Nobility and People.

The affairs in *Dalmatia* were not at this time altogether quiet; for though there were no setled Armies there, yet the neighbouring *Sanacks* over-ran, and pillaged the Country with their Turkish Horse, much to the prejudice of the Venetian subjects: to hinder which, the *Siradiotti* went often forth on Horseback, and the foot Garrisons; so as they had continuall skirmishes, but without any notable effects on either side. For both the Venetians and Turks, proceeded but slowly therein, both of them thinking that it made not much for them, to use powerful forces in *Dalmatia*. The Turks feared, that to send a strong Army into that Province, to attempt any great enterprize, might make the Emperour more jealous of their forces; whereby he might the more easily embrace the offers made him by the Colleagues, and make War with them in *Hungary*: and the Venetians, whose designs lay altogether in the *Levant*, where all their forces were employ'd, did forbear busying themselves in other enterprizes, for that they thought, that whatsoever of importance might be then attempted, either in *Dalmatia*, or in *Albania*, was to depend upon the success of the Fleet, as also the fortune of the whole War. They knew also, that they were not likely to do any good

with, but small forces; the enemy being very strong in that Country, by reason of their usuall Garrisons, and that they were apt to assemble together great numbers of men. Whence it was, that having gotten the Town of *Macasca*, by the advice of *Luigi Grimani*, and of *Julio de Pompei*, which was a place of some consideration, and formerly much frequented by Merchants, being both fortified and garrisoned; they were notwithstanding quickly forced to abandon it; our men being much inferiour in numbers to the Enemy. The like befell them at the Fort of *Clissa*, which being gotten by our men, by intelligence held with them within, they kept it but for a very short time; for the Souldiers of the Garrison hearing that the Turks were comming to assault it with great forces, were terrified at the very news thereof, as they fled all for safety to *Sebenico*, before the Enemy were come. The Turks let slip no occasion, whereby they might prejudice the Venetians; wherefore not having at this time sufficient forces assembled to storm their Towns, they plotted otherwise against them; particularly against the Town of *Cattaro*, which they designed to take by siege, there being no way left to victuall it by land: Therefore to block up all access also by Sea, they had gone about severall times to build a Fort in the mouth of the Channel, wherein that City was placed: but they were always disturbed therein by our men. But the *Saniacco del Ducato*, being at last come thither with a great many of men, he perfected it, and built a Fort upon the point of *Varbagna*, about three miles distant from *Castel Nuovo*, where the Channel is not above forty paces over: Whereof when the Senate heard, they had reason to think that the City of *Cattaro* was in great danger: wherefore they sent particular orders, to General *Fosterini*, that he should send to destroy that work. So Commissary *Soranzo*, having no other occasion of employment at that time, it being in the midst of winter, went with 22 gallies, and 6 galliasses, to the mouth of the Channel of *Cattaro*. He had with him *Paulo Orsino*, *Pompeio Colonna*, *Moretto Calaresi*, and other Commanders, who conducted 4000 Foot to this Enterprize. And as they were on the way, *Nicolo Suriano*, Captain of the Gulph, came in unto them with 4 gallies; being all of them come to *Gianizza*, they landed many men, part whereof went with *Pompeio Colonna*, to possess themselves of a neighbouring hill, to keep the Souldiers of *Castel Nuovo* from succouring those of the Fort; and part went with *Nicolo da Gambara*, to a place not far off, whither *Zacharia Salomon*, who had been formerly advertised with the whole design, was to come at the same time from *Cattaro*, with some souldiers of that Garrison, and with some other people that were raised in the Country of *Zacibertia*. Then *Soranzo* entred the Channel with 18 of his best Gallies, and going foremost himselfe, he past beyond the Fort: from which though many shot were made, yet did not the Fleet receive any harme; but passing on safely, he put himselfe into a fit place, where he might batter both by Sea and Land. The Fort was made of great Oaks, very artificially fastened and chained together, so as they made a double rank, and encompassed a great Plat-form; upon which, some Parapets were raised,

fed, for the safeguard of the Defendants. The whole Fort was 150 paces in compasse, the shape thereof quadrangular, without any flanks; but so placed, as one of the Fronts played upon the Gallies, as they entered the Channell, and the other, when they were past on. It was well furnished with Artillery, and had 200 souldiers to defend it. Wherefore our men resolved to batter it both by sea and land, at one and the same time, to the end that the defendants being busied in severall places, and confused through fear, might abandon it the sooner. The next morning, after their first arrival, they began to batter apace both by sea and land; and soon after, our souldiers came with ladders to assault it. After a short defence, the enemy was forced to yield, leaving the way open for the assailants to enter, and to make themselves masters of the Fort. There were many small guns found therein, and eighteen great ones, which the Commissary sent to *Venice*, and blew up the Fort. This buisness being speedily and prosperously performed, and a sufficient garrison put into *Cattaro*, they returned to *Corfu*, with their gallies, and with the rest of their men, where the Fleet still lay.

During the winter season, many things were treated of in *Rome*, about provisions of war for the next summer: They knew, that dangers were much encreased, the enemy having had so much time given him to repair himself, for the losses he had suffered in the battle, and to gather together greater forces. Wherefore they resolved to increase the forces of the League also, to the number of 300 gallies, and 60000 Foot. It was likewise propounded, to send 100 gallies very early into the *Levant*, not expecting the union of the whole Fleet, which would require more time, that the enemy might be prevented, who, as it was said, would put to sea very betimes, to hinder the relieving of *Candia*, to pillage the Venetian shoars, and to infuse fear into all. Yet they came not to any settled resolution, of obviating these dangers; either for that they did not value them so much as they ought to have done; or, as some said, fearing, that when their forces should be divided, and part of the Fleet should onely be advanced, the Turks might possess themselves, with their joyned forces, of some convenient place, between the one and the other part of the Colleagues Fleet, and so keep them from joyning, and hinder all their designs. The first heat being, out of this reason, allayed, affairs proceeded very slowly; and whilst they thus endeavoured to take safer courses, it was clearly found, that they incurred greater dangers: For whilst the Spaniards endeavoured, that the time for the uniting of the Fleets should be put off, till the beginning of *May*, the Venetians territories, especially the Kingdom of *Candia*, which was of such importance to all Christendom, was exposed to be assaulted by the Turkish Fleet, with very little hopes of being timely relieved. Wherefore the Venetians, that they might not wholly rely upon fortune, were more diligent, in garrisoning all their Forts, sending many Foot thither. And being to continue at this great expence of Garrisons and Fleets, they prest the Pope, (who still solicited the en-

assailing of the League's forces) to help them with some monies: They desired they might have leav. to sel the goods of Ecclesiasticks, and to use other means, which were used to be permitted in such lesser necessities, by his Predecessors. But the Pope, not assenting to any of these things, did onely promise, that 100000 Duckets might be raised by the way of Tithes, from the Clergy belonging to the Common-wealth. So as the war behoved to be maintained by the Revenues of particular men, contributions which were paid into the Exchequer being daily multiplied, and new monies being paid into the common Bank; by which the Common-wealth grew more indebted. Nor for all this could the Venetians obtain any resolution, touching the reparation which they pretended unto, for the contribution which they had given in a greater measure, then they were obliged unto, to the League's service, in number of Gallies and Foot; which being referred to the Pope, could never be brought to an end, who interposed severall delays, and wish'd the Venetians to be contented, that this businesse might be proceeded in by composition, not by decree. From whence the Venetians took occasion to say, that the Pope favoured the Spaniards too much, either in memory of the great and recent obligation, he had to them, having received (as hath been said) that supreme dignity by their means, or for some other concealed ends. Others conceived, that the Pope proceeded with much zeal to the publick good, for that he thought, (as he often said) that in all things which concerned the League, businesse were to be carried on with much dexterity, to shun giving any occasion of breaking, or of any what lessening the good intelligence between Princes, whereby to deprive himself of the good which might be hoped for, by the forces of the League, the next year.

At which time, there had been many things handled at *Constantinople*, touching the composing of affairs: For the Turks hearing of the uniting of the Christian Fleet, and being doubtfull of the event of war, caused severall discourses of peace be often made, to the Venetian Consull. The chief Bashaw was still more and more desirous of agreement; who, after the defeat at *Lepanto*, did increase much in authority and reputation, being esteemed to be wise by all men, because he had foreseen that, or the like ruine, and had therefore advised against the war, contrary to the opinion of other men. He therefore thought this a very fitting time to come to some agreement, whilst *Selino*, who being at the first puffed up by his own greatness, and by the adulation of his other Bashawes, would not listen to any such discourse: But his courage being now somewhat cooled, by the unexpected event of the Battle, he seemed more inclined to peace: Whilst it might be believed, that the Venetians would not be averse thereunto, that they might upon such an occasion treat, upon composing their affairs upon better terms. This *Selino's* inclination being known by *Mehemet*, and hopes of agreement being publickly discouraged of by the people, who were now very desirous thereof, by reason of the many inconveniences which they

they had undergone by war: Much newes was spread abroad throughout *Constantinople*, of the great forces of the League, and of the Confederates designs; which things being amplified by those of greatest authority, who wish'd well to peace, *Selino* was contented, that the businesse might be treated of with the Venetian Consull. *Mehemet* began therefore, so discourse more freely with the Consull, making use therein of *Orembei*, the chief Interpreter, and of *Rabbi Salomane*, an Hebrew Physician; who being gotten into intimate acquaintance with *Mehemet*, was often employed in affairs of weightiest importance. Whereof, though the Consull had sent particular notice to *Venice*, yet the propounded Treaties were not embraced; for the Venetians desired to continue war, being encouraged by hopes of other prosperous successes, and having a better esteem of the League's forces, by reason of their late victory. But when they found, they had lost great opportunities of suppressing the enemy, so much time being spent to no purpose, and all their former designs being totally broken, they were forced to alter their minds, and to listen to proposals of peace, endeavouring to secure their affairs, which were exposed to the uncertainty of fortune, the best that they could. The businesse was propounded in the Council of Ten, to the end that it might be negotiated with all possible secrecy, and be the more speedily dispatch'd, as time, and the condition of affairs seemed to require. But the Senators were not well resolved in the point at the first; the first desire of war being re-kindled in them the rather, for that the Christian Princes, apprehending this Treaty, began now to be more forward, and efficacious in their promises, of favouring and assisting the League: Inasmuch as *Lorenzo Priuli*, being gone Embassadour to *Spain*, in the place of *Leonardo Donato*; Secretary *Peres*, and Doctor *Velasco*, through whose hands businesse of greatest importance did passe, did frequent his house oftner then was usual; and that they might make the better impression in the new Embassadour, laboured to shew him; that the King, who had been always well inclined towards the League, was now more desirous then ever to prosecute the war, and would add much to the forces of the League; saying, That expresse orders were sent to his Agents in *Italy*, to be diligent in making greater provisions, lest they might incur the like delay and disorders, as they had done the last year. And on the other side, *Don John* promised, that he would not tarry to expect the coming of the Spanish gallies, but that he would come and joine with the Venetians, having onely the Italian forces, to the end, that he might be gone betimes into the *Levant*. The Emperour also, who could not be drawn from his first resolutions, neither by the so many offers made unto him severall times, by the League, nor by the assistance lately promised him, by the Princes of *Italy*, of 1000 Horse, and 7000 Foot; made it known to the Embassadour of the Common-wealth, then resident with him, (no reason appearing to move him thereunto, save onely his fear, that the Venetians would come to some agreement with the Turks) that he would adhere unto the

the League. Out of these reasons, the Venetians proceeded doubtfully and irresolutely, in the business of the Peace. Whereupon Doge Mocenigo, who had alwaies been more inclined to peace, then to the League, upon a day, when the Council of Ten were met, spoke thus.

It was not the thought of any one, (as I believe) to perpetuate, or to continue this war, which is intimated to us by Selino; too long, when we did first resolve to take up Arms for our own defence; but with a noble and generous minde, to make tryall of the fortune and gallantry of the Common-wealth, of the good-will and forces of Christian Princes, for the greater safety of our State, and of all Christendom, against the power of the insolent common Enemy. And it is certain, that war is in order to peace; and quick security ought to be the thing aimed at, by all troubles and dangers. Experience of what hath passed of late years, may sufficiently teach us, what our condition maybe, if we shall continue war any longer, what the end thereof may be, what reparation we may expect for so great expences, and what reward for our labours. We lost the noble city of Nicollia the first year, by vainly trusting, that our forces would be accompanied by the like of others, whereby to relieve the Kingdom of Cyprus. Losing no courage, we continued making provisions for war, flattering our selves, that we might repair our losses, by joining in a stricter confederacy with the other Christian Princes. God was pleased to give us such a victory over our enemies, as almost none could hope for; and yet I know not, through what fault or misfortune of ours, Famagosta was miserably lost; and we were compelled to yield up the peacefull and secure possession of the whole Kingdom, to the enemy: But the pleasure of having begun to overcome, suffered us not to be sensible of our great losse. Wherefore we as readily and boldly besook our selves to make great provision of Arms the third year, and to encrease our Fleet and Souldiers, not sparing for any cost, nor passing by any inconvenience. We now see too clearly, what good we have got thereby. Our Gallies lay long idle at Corfu, expecting aid from the Confederates; and when we hoped, that having overcome so many difficulties, all forces would be joyned together, that we might go joyfully against the enemy; we must leave our Islands in prey to them, and let our Fleet return, with more losse of time and reputation, then any advantage we got by the forces of that union. And when at last, fortune afforded us unexpected occasions, of beating the enemy, we must abandon them, by reason of being abandoned by our friends, parting unseasonably from the haven at Navarino, unnecessitated, and dishonourably. But what need I relate things of so recent memory? We are reduced to such a condition, as assuredly we cannot maintain war of our selves alone, against the Turks forces, too disproportionate for us. And we know by experience, that the company of others, which ought to be a help and ease to us, is an incumbrance and impediment; it fills us with great hopes, which it afterwards makes not good, but suffers us to precipitate, and doth rather increase, then secure our evils. We were persuaded, that good intelligence might not only be had, between the Pope, the King of Spain, and our Common-wealth; but that this our confederacy might make all other Christian Princes, to take up Arms joyfully against the common enemy; especially after that great victory, which was alwaies thought, would have conducted much to the suppressing

ing of them. But now we find we built these our conceptions more upon desire, than upon well-grounded truths. Shall we then continue still in the same error, and place the preservation of our State, and all our welfare, upon such uncertain grounds, upon hopes wherein we have been so often deluded? It was certainly a generous, pious, and laudable resolution, not to yield to Selino's insolent demands; not to abandon the cause of Christendom, not to degenerate in the least point from our Ancestors, who did alwaies with much magnanimity undertake such things, wherein they might hope for praise unto themselves, and for glory and grandezza to this Common-wealth. But now, after having courageously taken up Arms, and been fortunate in battell, and that we see clearly we cannot (by what cross destiny I know not) reap any further good by other prosperity, that we hazard all by fighting, and that we get nothing by overcoming. To continue in this same minde, and in the same troubles and dangers without any reward; and when the opportunity of great effects, which was given us by victory, is already vanished and escaped our hands, to grow worse and worse, and not rather to wait for the advantage which we may hope for from time, and from other occasions; may rather appear to be rash obstinacy, than good Christian zeal, or desire of true honour. If we shall consider the condition of our forces, and of our Common-wealth, it is too manifest, that nothing can be more unseasonable, nor more prejudiciall, than to prolong the War. For the condition of affairs grows daily worse for us; the forces of the League which depends upon variety of Counsells, and oft-times upon contrary respects, become vain and useless; though they be great in themselves; and yet the inconveniency of maintaining them is great on our side, by reason of the excessive expence we must be at, and for the want of men, especially of Romans, whereof these wars have consumed so many, as now we must with much expence, have recourse for them to Transalpine Nations, and not be sure of being well served. But if we consider the particulars of our State, and seek not to deceive our selves, we may clearly know, that though our forces be great of themselves, yet are they but weak to sustain the weight of war long against so powerfull and fortunate an Empire, as is that of the Turks; and, (which is of no less importance) our Territories by sea lie far from this city, are divided amongst themselves, and exposed to the injuries of the Enemy, and more easily to be assaulted by them both by Sea and Land, than to be relieved by us; and therefore they require so many souldiers to Garrison and defend them, as we are enforced to maintain at one and the same time, as if we were two Armies, to furnish the Fleet, and to guard the Sea-Ports: and I wish we be not necessitated to raise a third, to oppose those who threaten to assault Friuli. What reason have we then to hope, we shall by length of war be able to defeat the Enemy? It might peradventure have been done, if we had known at first how to make use of our Victory; and therefore our endeavours have still been to raise a great force, wherewith to put a speedy end to the war: What effects have ensued thereupon, and for what reasons, is sufficiently declared by the necessity and dangers which we are in. Our hopes now (if we do weigh them aright) are changed into fear of being ruined by a powerfull Empire; which for the extent thereof, and orderly Militia, is apt to maintain war long. Why should any one doubt then, but that we should listen to

proposals of peace, made and propounded by the chief Bassaw to our Consul, as we have been informed by many of his Letters: since we have in vain endeavour'd to secure Candia, and our other Dominions, by other ways; wherefore shall we not use that course which is afforded us of freeing our selves from the present eminent dangers we are in? We know that Bassaw Mehemet (as one that hath always been desirous of peace) laying the doubtfull extent of war before Selino-bash made him give way to agreement, from which he seemed to be at first much averse. If we let slip this occasion, truly for my part, I fear we shall hereafter desire it in vain: and that our affairs will lie long floating, before they will be brought into the Haven, and to our former condition of Tranquillity, for which we were peradventure more to be envied by other Princes, than we had reason to envy them, who were environed with so many troubles and dangers. Who would ever have imagined, that the Turks would have been able to put together a new, and so powerfull a Fleet, the very next year after so great a rout, as they should dare to put to Sea, therewith to defend their Revers; and yet we see they have done that with ease, which was by all men thought impossible. They haue put to Sea, have much prejudic'd our Dominions: they have faced our Fleet, defended all their own Territories, and are safely returned with their whole Fleet unto Constantinople. What greater proof can we have of their power? What more certain tokens of the next years successes? If after having been so beaten, they have resumed so much courage, and been able to put together so great Forces, we may very well imagine what they will dare, and what they will be able to do, after having had so long time to recruit themselves, and having in a large manner recovered their former reputation and greatnesse. But let them who are of a contrary opinion, say, I beseech you, if the Turks shall come forth the next year so powerfull to our prejudice, both by Sea and by Land too (as some affirm) and that the King of Spain, moved by some more particular important respects of his own, by reason of jealousies which he may have of the French, or Germans, which is already spoken of; or that for any other such occasion, he resolve to employ his Forces destin'd for the service of the League, for the safety of Flanders, as he did the last year: or if he shall purpose to effect his old and chief design about the business of Africa; which, as we know all, is the thing chiefest desired by the Spaniards, and which we may have just reason to apprehend by his not suffering his Fleet, to winter in the Levant; how shall we be able to defend Candia, Corfu, and our other more important places, against so eminent danger, whilst we rely upon one who is not steadfast in his resolution of adhering unto us? so as by vainly trusting to such a leaning stock, our forces shall become the weaker, and less able to withstand the enemy, or to do any thing against them, when they shall besiege our Islands, play upon our Forts, we shall then send our Embassadors to Spain, Portugal, and Germany, vainly imploring and soliciting the assistance of other Princes, acquainting them with their own and our dangers, (which they value but little) as we did the late years. And our enemies, when they shall see us deserted by our friends, and not resolved what to do our selves, will become more insolent than yet they have been, will scorn all conditions of agreement; and that which we now refuse being offered, shall not be esteemed unto, nor granted when it is propounded by us. My opinion then, Gentle-

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Part II. Written by Paulo Paruta.

men, it, that the occasion of achieving more generous and noble ends, as might with reason have been hoped for, after so famous a victory, being to the great misfortune of our selves, and of all Christendom, let slip, we may at least reap thereby what advantage we may, to the end that all our dangers rest not wholly unrewarded; nor that the blood of so many of our well deserving citizens be shed in vain. We ought not to recommit the total of our Fortune, for any slight cause, to the uncertain event of Battell; and experience teacheth us, that we ought not to hope for any great enterprises. Let us then be rational, let us free our selves as soon as we can from the Dominion of fortune, and let us let this malignant influence of the Heavens, which doth but badly befriend our Common-wealth, passe over. Nor ought this to be a badge of infamy to us to the world, nor unsatisfactory to the Confederates. Our actions have been too evident, our good will therein have been sufficiently seen therein by all men; none can deny, but that we have readily concurr'd to the observancy of the League; that we have desired, solicited, and endeavour'd the suppression of the enemy, and to make good use of victory. But since all our endeavours prove vain, who can blame us, if being advised thereto by reason, or rather compelled by necessity, we have thought upon securing our Dominions, by peace, as well as the Spaniards endeavour'd to secure theirs the last year by detaining their Fleet, which by the Articles of the League, was destin'd to the common service in the Levant. These our just reasons are known to all men, the Spaniards themselves know not how to gain-say them; nay, (as we have been lately inform'd) a State Minister of the Kings, seeming to have some jealousy of this Treaty, said, the King would not be displeased, that the Common-wealth of Venice, to the preservation and dignity whereof he had alwaies been a well-wisher, as all Christian Princes ought to be for the good of Christendom, should treat with the Turks of peace upon honourable conditions. And says that this peace which shall now be established, be not likely to be of any long security to us, through the enemies perfidiousnesse; we may notwithstanding get advantage of time by it, a thing very seasonable in doubtfull and dangerous accidents, and which always ought to be endeavour'd by those that are weakest: for humane things are govern'd with much of change, and not onely mens opinions are seen to be altered in a short time, but the whole state and condition of the most important affairs. Let us now endeavour to find out some remedy for our instant dangers. God, who hath alwaies taken this Common-wealth into his particular protection, and who will peradventure correct her by this scourge of war for some error of hers, but not ruine her; will open some more certain way to her safety and greatnesse, which is as yet hidden and unknown to human wisdom.

The Doge's words bore great weight with them; his gravity and authority, accompanied by reason, became more efficacious: wherefore his advice being approved, new Commission was given to the Consul, to attend the Treaty of Peace, and to induce him with authority to conclude it, upon the conditions which shall be hereafter related. Severall accidents made much for this resolution: many difficulties which were found for recruiting the Fleet, by reason of the great number of men that were consumed, by labour and hardships, and through great fear which had possit all

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men, and which was made the greater, because it was not now tempered, as it was before, with hopes of prey and reward. Moreover, the pains and danger did now increase, by the reason of fresh commotions in *Flanders*, and of assistance which was preparing for them in *Germany*: wherefore it was said, that the Spaniards being thereupon chiefly intent, had wholly bent themselves upon the augmenting of those Garrisons, and upon making the forer war the next year in *Flanders*. It was also understood, that a Chiaus was come at the same time to the *Cesarean Court* from *Constantinople*; who (though it was afterwards known, that he was sent to treat of things touching *Moldavia*) was suspected to be sent to demand passage for the Turkish Army, which was said to be prepared for assaulting *Friuli*. Their forwardness being out of these reasons somewhat allaid, who were at first for continuing the League, they all unanimously resolved upon the Treaty of Peace. Monsieur d'Aix, the French Ambassador, was presently made acquainted with these resolves; who being returned from *Constantinople*, was then at *Venice*, and who had received new orders from his King, to return to *Constantinople*, that he might, as oft as he should be requested, be ayding to the treaty of Agreement, to the which the King of France had both formerly, and at this time, oft exhorted the Venetians. The Consul *Barbaro*, was therefore acquainted with all these proceedings, to the end, that when the French Ambassador should be come to *Constantinople*, he might consult with him touching the Treaty of Peace; and according as he should see occasion, make use of his mediation and authority.

But the Turks, as soon as they heard of Monsieur d'Aix, returning to *Constantinople*, hoping that he had brought new conditions for the stipulation of Peace, and which might be more advantageous for them, cooled in their negotiations formerly held with the *Bayle*, endeavouring cunningly to spin out the time, without declaring any resolution in the point. Which delay did much prejudice the business; for severall difficulties were fallily promoted by such, as for their own interest, desired to disturb it, chiefly by telling *Selino*, that great provisions being already made both for the Fleet and Army; it was neither advantageous, nor honourable, to treat of Agreement: so as the condition of affairs grew daily worse, and unreasonable proposals were made; the Turks appearing to be totally alienated from thoughts of peace. They imprisoned the *Bayle* closer than they had done formerly, made all his windows be shut up, set more guards upon him, and dealt more severely with him in all things, thinking thereby to make him discover his latest, and most secret Communications; or else to keep him from sending notice to *Venice* of their provisions for War; or rather, as appeared by the sequel, to keep him from communing with Monsieur d'Aix, who was come just then to *Constantinople*, imagining, that by this meanes, they might the more easily draw the new conditions from him, which they conceived he had brought. But when beginning to treat with him, they found that really he had only generall orders concerning

cerning peace. And the chief Bashaw growing jealous, that the French would interpose themselves in this business, for their own particular interests; as if the Turks, esteeming these endeavours, as tending much to their service, would be the readier afterwards in lending their assistance, for the election of Monsieur d'Anjou, brother to the King of France, to be King of Poland, he cared not to continue the business by this way; but having recourse to the former means; and to those who had formerly negotiated therein, to wit, to *Orembei* and *Salamone*, he reassumed the Treaty with the Consul; and after severall proposals and replies on all sides, The Agreement was at last concluded, and established about the midst of March; all things contained in the former Capitulation being now again confirmed, but with a particular declaration, that the *Castel* of *Sopoto*, which was yet held by the Venetians, should be restored to the Turks: But that all the other Towns of *Albania* and *Slavonia*, together with their confines and territories, as they were constituted before the war, should remain possess'd in whose hands they then were. That all the goods which had been taken in time of war, from the Merchants of either side, should be intirely restored. And moreover, that the Venetians should be bound to send yearly, for the space of three years, 100000 Duckets; to the Court at *Constantinople*: which was stood upon and endeavoured by the Turks, more then any thing, as a token of their grandezza, and reputation. The Consul dispatch'd away his son *Francesco* to *Venice*, with these capitulations, confirmed and signed under *Selino*'s own hand, who came thither about the midst of April. The newes of the conclusion of peace being published, at young *Barbaro*'s arrivall, people discomfited thereupon variously, every one according to their own particular sense and affection; many thought, their interests were concerned herein; others persevering in their first hopes, that Christendom might have been much advantaged by war, blamed the Venetians, for having laid down Arms, and abandoned the League. But those of wiser and more mature judgment, who measured things to come, by what had been past, did constantly affirm, that this action deserved praise, or at least justly to be excused, the reason of State requiring it; for the preservation of the Commonwealth's Dominions, which without this onely remedy of peace, would be subject to great inconveniencies and dangers. But of all others, the Pope was chiefly scandalized hereat; to whom, when the Venetian Embassadour went to acquaint him with the whole business, the Pope, not being able to moderate his anger, would nor as then, nor for many daies after, give ear to any thing that might be said, in the justification thereof, nor admit the Embassadour to his presence. This so great anger of the Pope's, made the Cardinals, and chief personages of the Court, and, by their example, all the people, speak very freely of it. Wherefore it was doubted, that the Pope, moved chiefly out of a desire, of giving better satisfaction to the Spaniards, whom he thought would hold themselves much injured hereby, would shew himself so severe; and that some Cardinals, imagining, that by so doing, they might please both the Pope and the Spaniards, for which they daily ex-

pected thanks, and remuneration, would aggravate the business, more then they themselves believed, it deserved to be. But the Catholick King, who was accustomed to govern, and knew by experience, how very rationall it is in Princes to desire, that their Dominions may be preserved by wisdom and moderation, not being at all troubled at the newes, that peace was concluded, seemed not to be displeased with what the Common-wealth had done, for her own interests; saying, That assuredly they must be weighty and important occasions, which had moved the Venetians to put on such a resolution. And that as he had been ready to lend his forces to the service of Christendome, and particularly to the good of the Common-wealth; so he did assure himself, that they being sensible of his good-will, by his actions, would do the like to him, when occasion should require it. And the Spaniards generally, both in the Court of Rome, and in Spain, using much moderation, made no outward shew, either of dislike, nor repentment. Some said, They were rather sorry for the occasion, which had necessitated the making peace, then for the peace it self. They confessed, that those respects, which had perswaded to this resolution, must have been very great, but not so well known to them, by reason of the distance of their Dominions, and of their Kings power. And the Spanish Embassadour who was at Rome, understanding that the Embassadour, who was chosen to go to Constantinople, to confirm the Capitulations, was not yet gone from Venice; propounded new endeavours to enliven the League. This way of proceeding, regulated by the reason of interest, not of affection, was much wondered at, as a thing but little known, or practised by Italians. Wherefore some said, that the Spaniards were thus moderate, lest by blaming the Venetians, they might provoke them to justify themselves, by complaining of the actions of the Colleagues, the last years past. Others said, That though they had lost the advantage of the League for that time, they would not forego the friendship of the Common-wealth for ever, which they might make use of upon other occasions. But, it may be, the truest cause was, that following therein their naturall custom, of maintaining their dignity, it became them not to value much the dissolution of the League, as if they were not sufficient of themselves, to give a just counterpoise to the Turkish forces. But the Pope continued still unsatisfied. Wherefore the Venetians, not being willing to be held contumacious, resolved to send an expresse Embassadour to Rome, that the Pope might be the more easily pacified, and admit of their true justifications, by this signe of their reverence and respect. *Nicolo da Ponte* was chosen for this employment, a man of reverend years, and of great esteem and authority in the Common-wealth, being a Procurator of St. Marks. This man going speedily to Rome, and having obtained audience of the Pope, shewed him, that the Common-wealth had just cause to accept of the peace, which was offered by the Turks, That all their territories by sea, were exposed to very great danger, by reason of the enemies many preparations made to offend them, and through the slow proceedings of their friends and confederates to defend them. That the weight of

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this war was become so grievous, by reason of the expences which the Common-wealth had been at, for the space of three years, and through the many inconveniences, whereby her Subjects were prejudiced, as it became now unsupportable. That as long as the hopes of prosperous success, and of future quiet, did keep up their hearts in the bitterness of war, and did a little console the present evils, the Venetians had out-done what they were bound to by their Articles, in providing for war; and exceeded their abilities. But that the best occasions being now unseasonably let slip, what reason had they to continue at such expences, and dangers; since it was now clearly known, that the Common-wealth could not preserve her Dominions better, then by peace. That the Pope should be well pleased, it being for the common service of Christendome, that accommodating her self to the times, she should temporise with so powerfull an enemy, that she might employ the remainder of her forces upon some other seasonable occasion, for the good of Christendome, and of the Church, as she had so often formerly done. That in this respect, Paul the third, when he knew that it was in vain to take up arms against Soliman, did himself exhort the Venetians to make peace; though they had the same obligations of League upon them, as they had now. That the Senate did not communicate this their resolution to their confederates, out of just and fitting respects, governing it self by that rule, by which all other States govern themselves, and by which the Catholick King, a powerfull Prince, had walked. For, that he might not break the League unnecessarily, if the condition of affairs should alter (as they did) and not to seem to distrust his forces, whereby to encourage his enemies. He did not acquaint the Venetians with the reasons, which moved him to keep back his fleet; nor did any thing, but the effect it self, discover his intentions, and the jealousies which he had of the French. That it became the Venetians to do the like now; who, at the beginning of the treaty of peace, which was as then doubtful and uncertain, bargained the loss of the uncertain advantage of the League, and of countervailing many inconveniences, in following that advice, which reason did dictate unto them, or rather necessity; though it might be more truly said, that peace was much nearer, being concluded, then was imagined; it being thought, that an Embassadour was to be sent expressly for that end to Constantinople, as had been done formerly; and that such resolutions might be communicated in fitting time. But that that which was much desired, and much to be desired, being proffered, it ought not to be refused or deferred, for any respect whatsoever, the damage not being to be repaired by any mediation, which any delay, though never so short, might occasion in a business of such importance; they being to treat with a barbarous Nation, insolent, and full of jealousies. That they had also considered, that to advise in a thing, which was judged by those that demanded counsell, not to be avoided, seemed to be unseasonable, and to no purpose; the rather, for that it would not have been lawfull for the Pope, though he had known the true reasons, which had caused the Venetians to make peace, to dissuade them from it; or to hinder it; nor would the place which he held, permit him, to advise or give way thereunto. So as since their occasions forced them, to do contrary to his declared will, and not to be governed by his exhortations, their offence would have been made the greater. That lesser evil was occasioned hereby, since he knew nothing of the treaty of peace, before it was concluded. The Pope being convinced by these reasons, was indifferently

rently well pacified, and began to treat with the Venetian Embassadors upon all occurrences, in a quiet and peacefull manner.

The Senate had in the interim dispatch'd away *Francisco Barbato* with much expedition, with the confirmation and stipulation of the peace, to *Constantinople*, till such time as *Andrea Badoaro*, who was chosen Embassadour to that purpose, might go thither, for the solemn settlement of the Articles, and bring with him accustomed presents. *Barbato* used great diligence, answerable to the importance of the business; and having ended his journey in fourteen daies, came very opportunely to the Court at *Constantinople*, on the first of May. For newes being daily brought thither, of great preparations which were made at *Messina*, the Turks began to suspect, that the Venetians had made use of this treaty of Agreement, meerly out of cunning, to keep them from providing for war, that so they might suppress them the more easily. And they were the rather confirmed in this opinion, because the Embassadour was so long in coming thither, which for these respects was thought might be delayed. They therefore began to be more diligent in making ready their Fleet, though the season was far advanced; *Mehemet* having, by interposing severall difficulties, endeavoured to keep the Fleet from going out; to obviate any occasion that might disturb the Peace; but at last, *Muzzali*, and *Piali Bashaw*, put to sea about the midst of June, with 150 Gallies, 30 Fliboats, and ten Mahones, wherewith they passed to *Negroponte*, where they tarried a while, expecting what would become of the treaty of Peace. For *Piali* hearing soon after from the Saniacco of *Chefsego*, that the Embassadour, and the new Consul, were already come to *Dalmatia*, on their journey towards *Constantinople*, he forthwith went with his whole Fleet to *Modone*; & finding the Agreement concluded with the Venetians, he turned his forces to prejudice the Catholick King; so as coming to the Rivers of *Puglia*, he committed much pillage, and burnt the Town of *Castro*. But the Venetians, by reason of the newes of the Turkish Fleets being put to sea, and of many speeches which were given out, that the Turks would not observe the Articles of Peace, and that all their Treaties were treacherous, grew almost as jealous of the Turks, as the Turks had been of them. So as though the Embassadour was gone, and come already to *Dalmatia*, they were notwithstanding doubtfull, what the successe of that Embassie would be. And Generall *Foscherini* being gone, by order from the Senate, to *Sara*, with intention to disarm all the Gallies, save six, which he left at *Corfu*, did delay doing what was resolved upon; nay he was enjoyned, to take all the men out of ten of the worst furnish'd Gallies, and to reinforce the rest with them; which being done, there remained yet 92 Gallies in the Fleet, fit for action. These things being done by the Venetians, and known by the Turks, did much encrease their jealousies. But when the apprehensions of these jealousies were vanisht, and that the Senate thought, the affairs of the Common-wealth were now in a safe condition, they, to the end that they might be no longer at so great expence, gave order to the Generall, that he should by degrees disarm the Gallies; which when

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when he should have done, that he should then return home, and lay down his Commission. At the same time, the Embassador *Badoaro*, who was come to *Constantinople*, had delivered his Embassie to the grand Signior, wherein, in a few words, (as the custom is, not to use many words with that Prince) he told him: That the greater the grief was, which the Duke and Senate of Venice had conceived at the occasion of breach of amity, which had for so many years been had, between the Common-wealth and the Ottoman Family; the greater was their consolation at the present, to think, that all past differences being accommodated, they were to return to their former condition, whereby the people on both sides might enjoy tranquillity, and free commerce. That they hoped, the peace which was now renewed and established, should be preserved for many ages; which the Venetians, for their parts, would alwaies carefully endeavour, assuring themselves, that *Selino* would do the like, as became a great Prince, and a lover of what was just and honest. To which *Selino* made no other reply, save, that he did approve of what the Embassadour had said, and that he did ratifie and confirm the Capitulations, which had been formerly agreed upon with the Consul.

Thus after the space of almost four years, and after so many and so fore adventures, as you have heard by our narration, Peace was renewed and established with the Turks, and the Common-wealth was restored to her former quiet: Wherein we pray God that she may long continue, in better and more fortunate times, since we see, she hath so often, with much generosity, but still with great misfortune, taken up Arms against the Ottoman Empire.

FINIS.
